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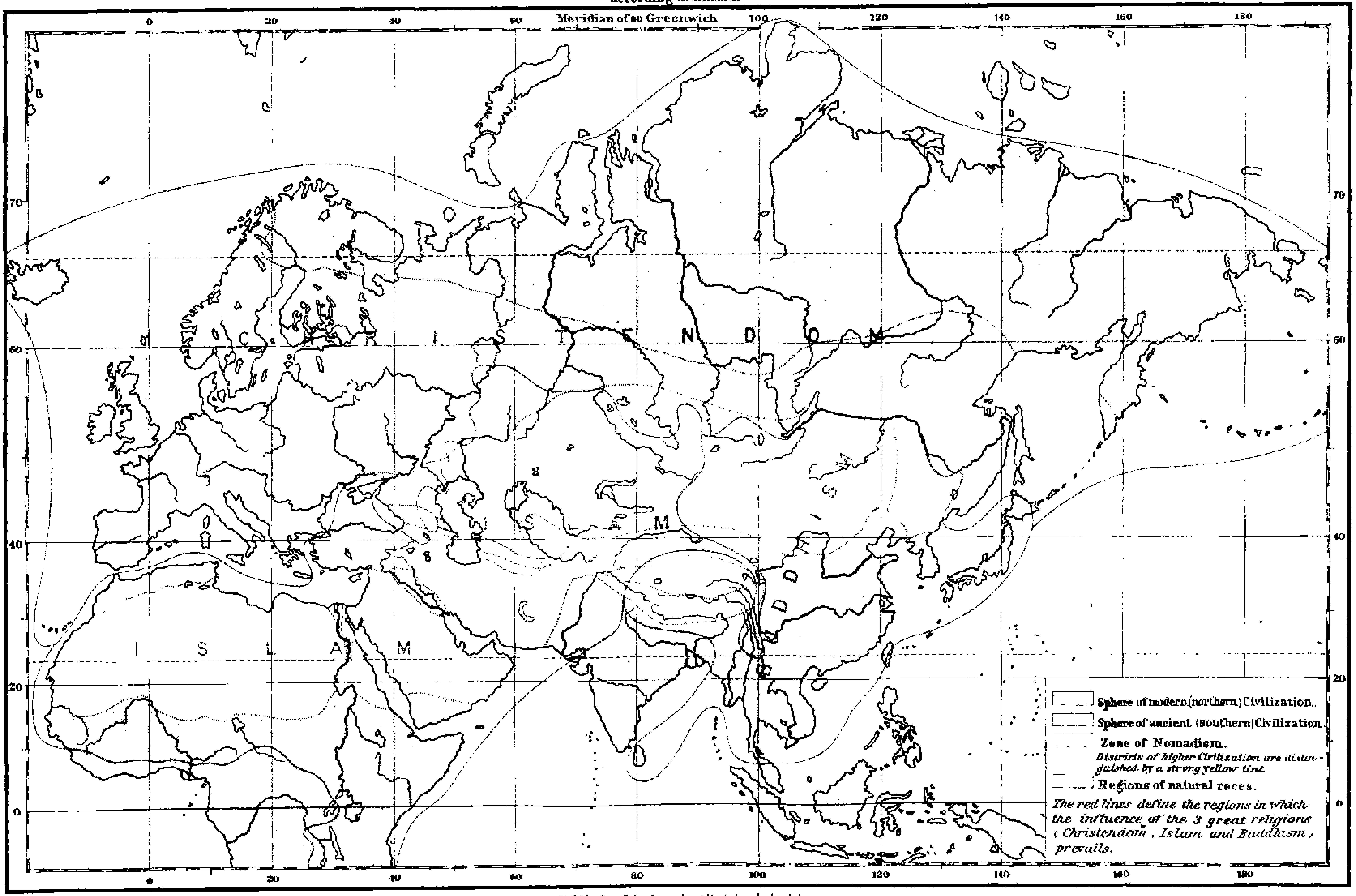

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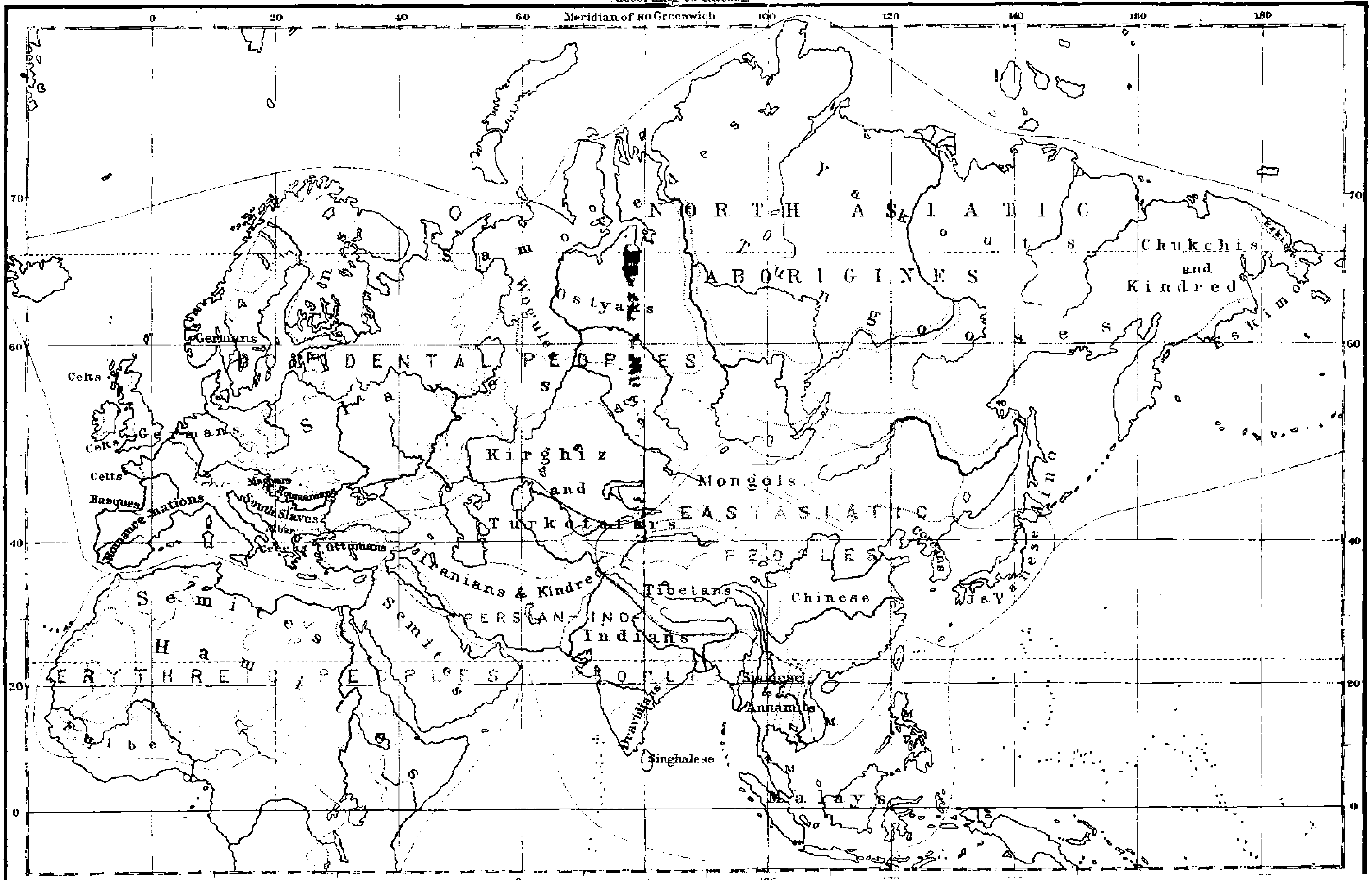

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THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

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HISTORY OF MANKIND

BY

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH RATZEL

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION

BY

A. J. BUTLER, M.A.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S.

WITH COLOURED PLATES, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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B. THE AFRICANS OF THE INTERIOR

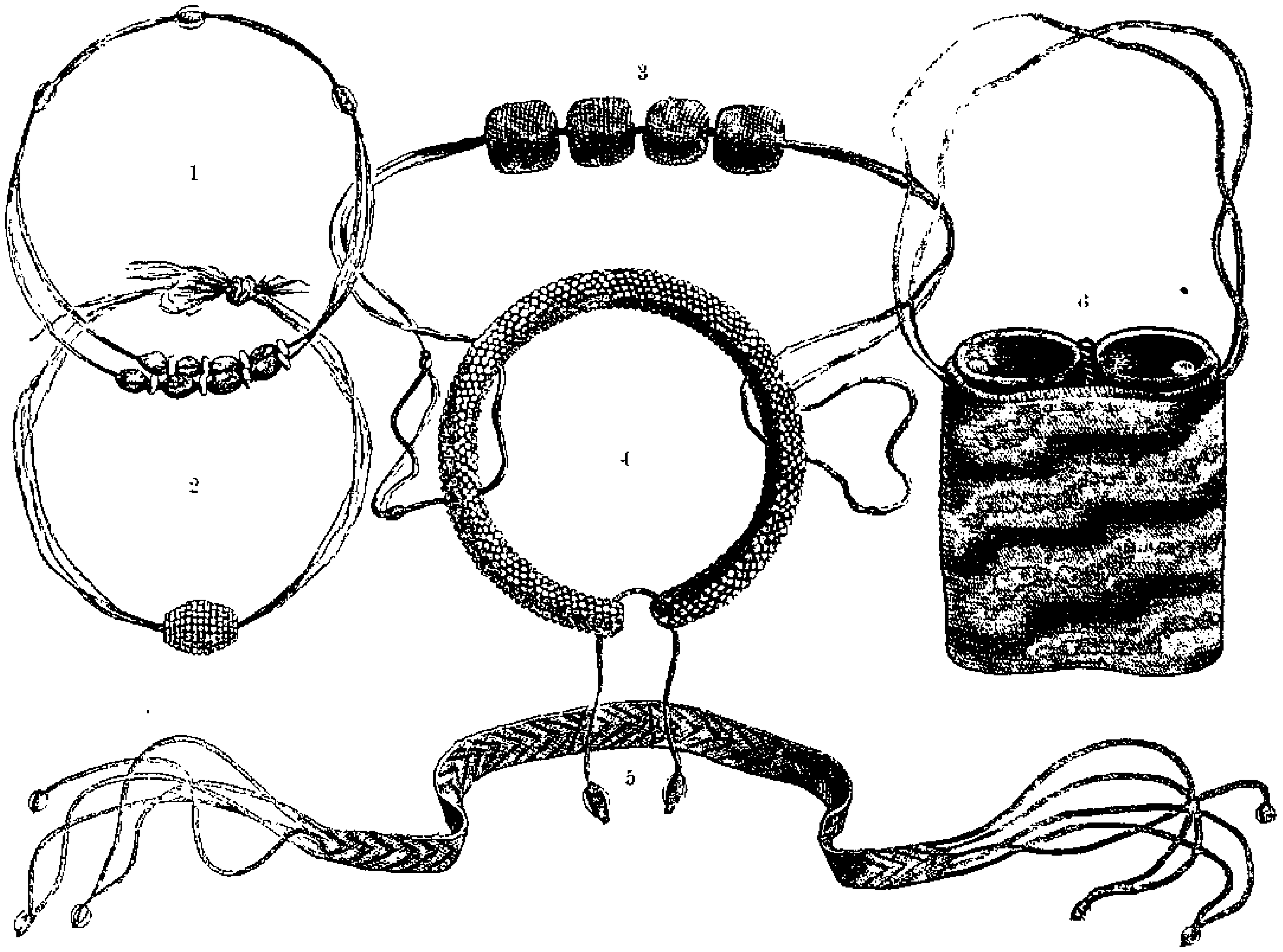
§ 8. THE WAGANDA AND OTHER RACES WHO HAVE FORMED STATES IN THE DISTRICT OF THE SOURCES OF THE NILE

Relations with the East African pastoral peoples—Mixture of races in Uganda—Waganda, Wanyoro, and kindred peoples—The Wahuma—Sketch of the Wahuma States, Unyoro, Uganda, Karagwe, Usinja, Ruanda.

IN the population of the lands around the sources of the Nile, divided as it is by language into Waganda, Wanyoro or Wasinga, and Warundi, we are met between Lake Albert and the north-east border of Lake Tanganyika by an anthropological distinction, which appears of double importance as coinciding with one of ethnology. In its level of culture this contrast is connected, as in the southern parts of East Africa, with that between settlers and nomads. But in its anthropological basis it is clearer here than there, for in the settled tribes even the first visitors to the land of the sources of the Nile recognised a stock other than that of the pastoral races who roamed among them and lorded it over them. The former have more affinity than the latter to genuine negroes, but collectively are raised above the darker negro peoples as a race lighter in colour and of nobler bodily build, the result of a specially favourable admixture of breeds.

From the descriptions of the most unprejudiced observers we get the impression of a nobler type of mankind, and from their pictures we carry away the feeling that we have here reached a border region of true negroid men. The statements even as to the colour of skin paint them in yet lighter tints. Among the Waganda of pure breed Stanley speaks of a bronze colour, or dark reddish brown, and in reference to some of their women, of a colour like light reddish gold, which here and there approached that of white men. But of the pastoral Wahuma he says: "Though the majority have a nutty brown complexion, some even of a rich dark brown, the purest of their kind resemble old ivory in colour, and their skins have a beautifully soft feel, as of finest satin." Elsewhere he speaks of "tall, finely-formed men, with almost European features." In general it may be said that here the South and Central African form of figure recedes, and we are at the point of transition to those of East and North Africa, influenced by Asia. In Uganda, the most important in every respect of these countries, this blending of races has no doubt reached its highest development, at any rate has been most thoroughly studied. Here the Waganda form the basis of the population; with whom we may reckon also the island-dwellers, Bazese, who live in the islands along the coast of Uganda, have the same origin, and speak

a dialect of the same language. Both are negroes with dark chocolate-coloured skin and short woolly hair, above the middle height, well-built and powerful. The Wahuma, called in the south Watusi, who in numbers take undoubtedly the second, and as rulers the first place, are here, as wherever they appear, the same peculiar stock whose acquaintance we made in Section 5—tall, with oval faces, thin lips, and straight noses, their hair, however, not wavy but woolly. The women are so fair and handsome that the Waganda chiefs prefer to select their wives from them; and even far to the west, in Ruanda, the Arabs ally themselves



Waganda ornaments, etc., 1, 2, 3, 4, neck ornaments; 5, belt; 6, double vessel. (Vienna Ethnographical Museum.)

with them as with equals. Wherever the Wahuma are found they are herdsmen, living principally on meat and milk. They are strictly exclusive toward other tribes, live in remote villages, mostly on the edge of the forests, and do not easily mix with the tribes dwelling round them. Dark tribes, and subject to them—mostly indeed in the position of slaves—are the Muddu in Uganda, the Wichwesi in Unyoro. These have been held to belong to the earliest inhabitants, and special magic powers have often been ascribed to them. Similar to them are the Wasoga tribe. These immigrated from Usoga eastward into Uganda, but brave and warlike as they are, were gradually subjugated by the Waganda, while a great part of Usoga was annexed. Their skins are much darker than those of the Waganda.

The Waganda and Wanyoro are distinguished from all the surrounding tribes by their clothing. They are the only negroes who—unless in imitation of Arabs or Europeans—go clothed from head to foot; and the effect of this is so striking that by the naked tribes of the Upper Nile region they are styled women. To this

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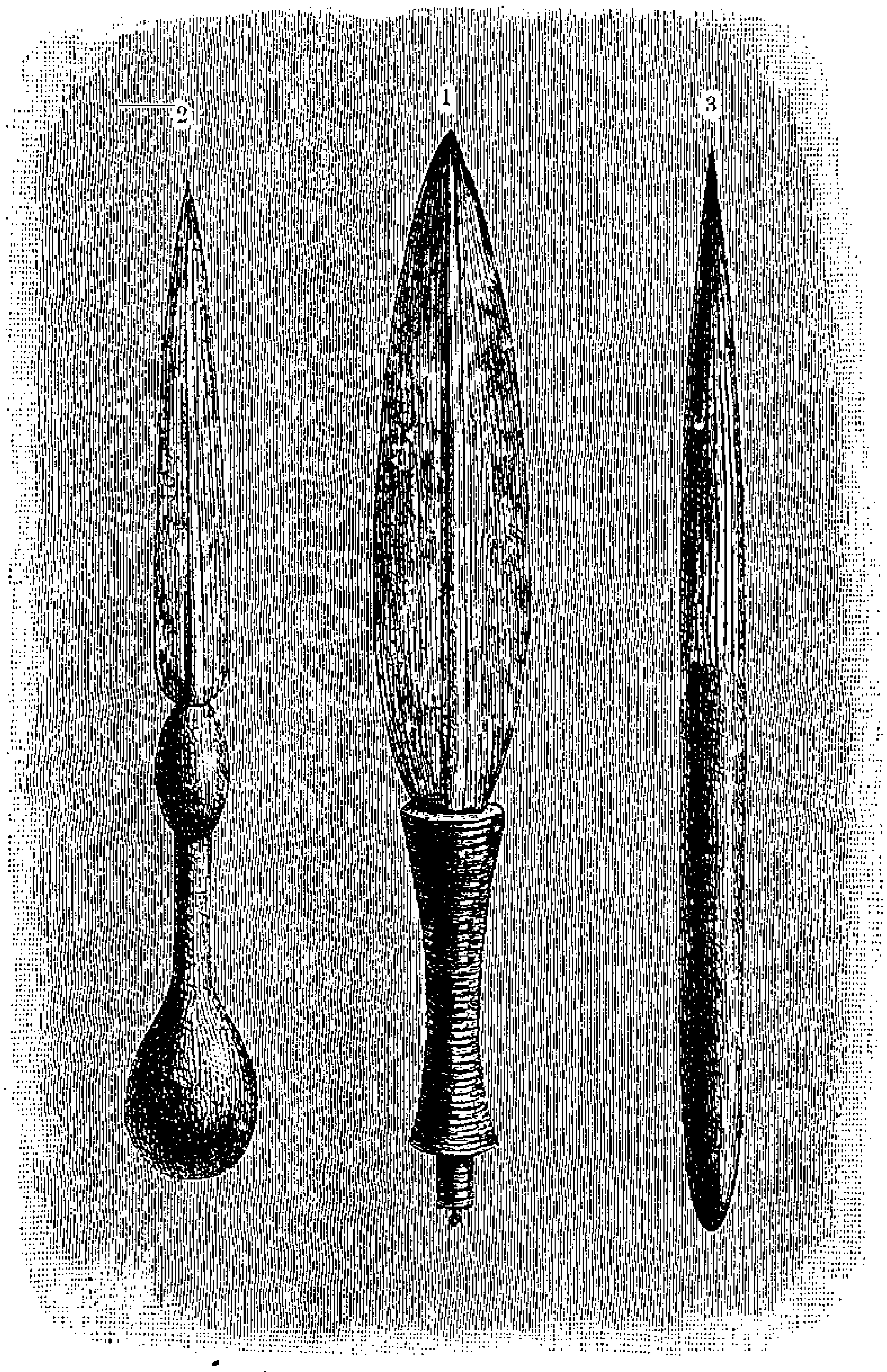
DINKA GIRL

Speke refers the tale which the Nyam-Nyams are said to tell of a race of women. The laws with reference to clothing are very strict, and any one, man or woman, who lets himself be seen in the road not fully clad, incurs the penalty of death. Laws as to clothing form a special element in the traditions. One of Mtesa's insane orders enjoined that every man should wear a string of beads round his wrist, every woman round her waist, and for any omission to do so a man should have his hand chopped off, a woman be cut in two. Indoors things are not so precise, and there the younger women often take their clothes quite off. Similarly men go in battle unclad save for a waist-cloth. The national garb is the *mbugu*, made of bark-cloth, which the men wear as a loose flowing robe. It is buttoned on the shoulder, leaving both arms free, and falls to the feet. With women it is fastened tightly round the body below the arms. Over the *mbugu* chiefs often wear a garment of tanned hide, in which a whole ox-skin is used, or two goat-skins sewn together; but the most costly are made of the bright dark-brown skins of a small kind of antelope, of which twenty to forty are required for a robe of this kind. In Unyoro and Usoga skin garments are more prevalent than in Uganda; the Wahuma too wear them by preference. Of late years, too, foreign clothing has gradually penetrated among the people, ever since King Mtesa exchanged the native *mbugu* for Arab dress. In Usui and Usinja cotton stuffs have driven out the old native goat-skins and bark-cloth. The Washash on the east bank of Lake Victoria wind their bodies round with strips of bast, after the Wanyaturu fashion. A great number of charms, as might be expected from the vigour of the superstitions, are worn in the form of ornaments. Little horns filled with some article of magic potency, and the neck-rings from the giraffe's tail hair—to which magic power is ascribed—worn by great people, play the chief part. Sandals of buffalo hide are often worn, also fantastic head-dresses, turbans of cotton stuff or coloured handkerchiefs, and caps woven of string.

What first surprises the traveller on entering Uganda is the complete absence of all tattooing or bodily disfigurement. They have not even the custom of knocking out or filing teeth. Mutilations, when not inflicted as a penalty, are forbidden and punished with death. In this respect the Wanyoro stand lower than the Waganda, for their tribal mark is two branded scars on either temple, while the lower incisors and perhaps the eye-teeth also of boys and girls are taken out when they come to maturity. The Warundi again know nothing either of ear-boring or of mutilation of teeth. On the contrary, their teeth are very carefully looked after. Circumcision is practised by the people of Londu, who according to all accounts are immigrants from the west, and by the Washashi east of Lake Victoria, who also ill-treat their ears and teeth after the Masai fashion. Infibulation is also said to be found among them. The Waganda are very cleanly, washing often and never greasing their bodies. Their hair they mostly cut close.

The huts throughout these peoples are in the conical style. By great industry they have attained not only to more finely built and durable, but to more roomy edifices. Large doorways and architectural prominences improve the outward appearance. Instead of the cylindrical clay huts with spherical roofs which still prevail in Unyamwesi, we find bee-hive shaped huts mostly covered with grass. This better and roomier style of building extends quite up to the highlands by Lakes Albert and Albert Edward. In Mukungu, Emin Pasha inhabited a grass

hut 20 feet high and 26 feet in diameter. The Arab and Swaheli traders have become quite used to these huts. King Mtesa used to receive his guests in the wide doorway of a conical hut, surrounded by a double fence containing two courts. This king's palace was a building, barn-like indeed, 100 feet long, consisting of canes and straw, "but the space at least was of aulic extent," says Stanley. It rested upon gigantic tree-stems as pillars. A hall occupied some two-thirds of the entire length of the building; on both sides were long narrow apartments, and at the back was a suite of smaller square rooms through which the palace garden was reached. The Wanyoro huts, too, have as a rule the rounded form of a hoop-petticoat, and are divided internally into two parts. Their fences, like those of the villages, are, in Unyoro — where there are many wild beasts, where lions abound, and there is even a close time for wild buffaloes—made of very strong thorn-hedges. The huts lie in recent clearings in the primeval forests of Unyoro, among the new fields planted alternately with bananas, Angola peas, and haricot beans, occasionally also with maize and Virginian tobacco, in groups of three or four; hemispherical, with a grass roof coming nearly down to the ground, which is supported over the door by posts; hastily constructed edifices, which not uncommonly are deserted after harvest. Where tranquillity prevails, as in Urundi, they live in hamlets; where wars are frequent, as in Uhha, in villages of as many as 120 huts. The round huts of the Wahuma stand several together within a thorn-hedge, strengthened inside by a bank of cow-dung 5 feet high; and they may be recognised far away by the absence of the banana-hedges and the green plantations which surround the villages of the agriculturists. The regularly shaped dung-heaps, standing everywhere by themselves, mark for a long time the spot where a settlement of this kind has stood. The pastoral villages, as a rule, consist of enclosures of this kind. Moreover, the negro tendency to change the place of abode is here also opposed to the growth of permanent residences. Banda, the old capital in which Speke and Grant saw Mtesa, is deserted and has



1, Waganda elephant-spear; 2, Shir knife; 3, Wanyoro pointed club, found also among Bors, Agars, and Dinkas. (After Baker.)

completely disappeared; and the same fate befell one or two other towns. In their place two other capitals sprang up under Mtesa—Rubaga and Nebulagalla. The salt town Katwe on Lake Albert Edward was estimated to have 2000 inhabitants.

The industry of these peoples gives evidence of care in details, without rising by novelty in either aim or form to any considerable extent above the negro level. In originality indeed their productions are behind those of remotest Central Africa; but there is the same spirit, the same direction of taste, which have here sought to express themselves in the same materials but amid greater peace and more secure prosperity. Speke refers in one place to a village of potters in Uganda, which points to a division of labour. A natural and ancient tradition of taste is conspicuous in form and colour, and above all is not spoilt by overloading. The simply shaped thin earthenware vessels of the Wanyoro, almost spherical, and worked with a light relief in the upper rim only, blackened inside and out, outside also as it were varnished by being hung up in the smoke, are delightful with all their simplicity. Two forms of pipe are in use, one with a round bowl, holding little tobacco, and one of conical shape which can take a handful. Both kinds of pipe and the drinking-vessels are also ornamented by painting with red and white earth. If we consider that all this earthenware is made without the use of the wheel, its regular forms are quite admirable.

The art of plaiting attains a high degree of perfection. The ribbons and strings of fine fibre, plaited in variegated patterns, would do credit to any highly developed industry, and to the best taste. Especially pretty are the four-edged strings in which these ribbons terminate, and the red and black zigzag pattern, used in the casing of many articles, such as the double boxes which serve to hold small objects. Not less excellent are their baskets and stands for pots. Large flat circular baskets are made from grass; these are water-tight and used for carrying food. From the narrow young leaves of the wild date-palm are constructed small baskets with lids for holding the indispensable coffee-beans. For the manufacture of the plaited cylinders out of which the native beer is drunk, a hollowed and carved block is surrounded with tight-fitting plaited work of variously coloured date-palm leaves, and at the lower end a kind of close plaited sieve formed from variegated grasses. From an artistic point of view it is a charming and admirable piece of work. The mats which form part of the outfit of every household are woven from strips of young date-palm leaves and are very supple. Even remote tribes, like the island-dwelling Wakerewe, plait very tasteful patterns in their basketwork. See cuts on pp. 2 and 6.

The bead-work is equally tasteful in form and arrangement of colours. The thick body-rings, closely set with beads, the strings of bast or fibre ornamented with a single large bead, the smooth fruits set with beads on one side, and strung together in chains, all show a high degree of taste. The wood-carving of the Wanyoro is not on the level of their other industries. The fine smoothing of the carved wood, such as is found among races which in the absence of iron devote all the more attention to wood, is lacking here, as almost everywhere in Africa. The great men of Uganda carry walking-sticks cut out of a hard white wood, nicely rounded and polished. The King sends his staff to meet distinguished visitors by way of greeting, as the King of Dahomey does.

Of the *mbugu* or bark-cloth industry we have already spoken on p. 3 and

vol. i. p. 95. We may add here that they colour it in various patte… a square check printed in black or colours. The black pigment is … soot of a sweet-smelling wood. Large dark-leaved trees of the fig … supply bark-cloth, and at a pinch firewood, are planted round the vill… do these people less excel in the preparation of leather by scraping an… whereby the hides become as soft and pliant as glove leather. In me… smiths of Uganda are as superior to those of Unyoro as the latter ar… neighbours, and in Usui and Usinja all the metal-work is done by a race … the Warongo, who recall the Elkonono mentioned vol. ii. p. 494. They …

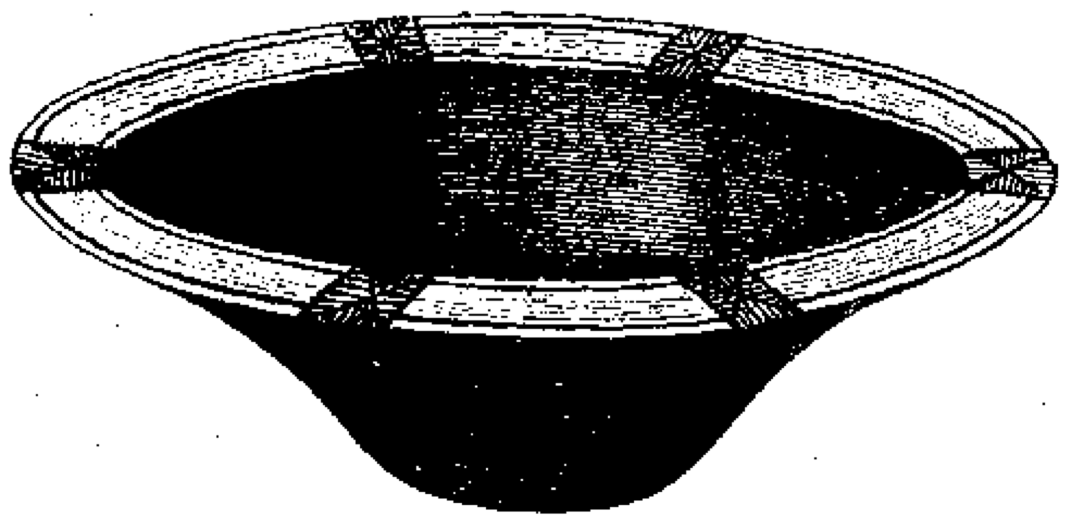
Domestic utensils of the Wanyoro; 1 and 2, pots; 3 and 4, wooden dishes; 5, stand for a pot; 6, food-basket.

iron from native ore. Of steel they originally knew nothing. They make spears, bells, and rings of copper imported from Zanzibar. They are very clever too in imitating European work, and can, for instance, convert match-locks into percussion. Wilson saw cartridge cases cast in brass, which were wrought with astonishing accuracy and smoothness. Balula of Fatiko, the lame armourer of the King of Unyoro, when a prisoner at Dufileh, mended all the Egyptian rifles.

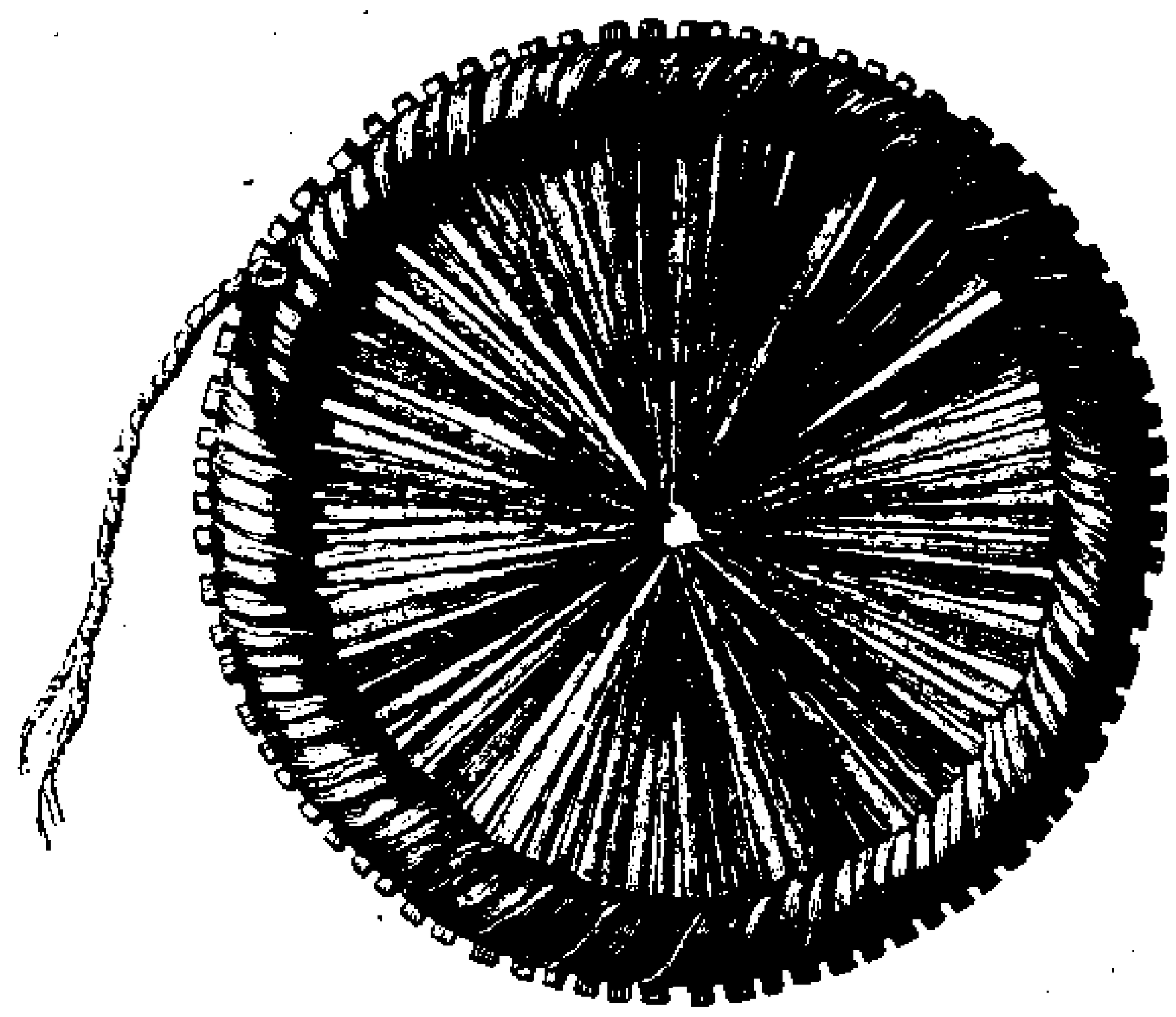
Their tools are few and simple. For tilling the ground, the hoe or *nkumbe* is in general use; a heart-shaped implement with a long spike at the broad end, fastened to a crooked handle about a yard long. A sickle-shaped bill-hook is used for clearing papyrus. In remote districts, among the Wangatura and Wakara we find a hoe with a shovel-shaped wooden blade. Agriculture is looked after principally by the women, the men only taking a hand in case of need. In the more thickly peopled Uganda, which is better cultivated than Unyoro, the gardens are divided from the road by high hedges, and kept with extraordinary neatness. Each kind of plant is sown in a separate bed, and diligently kept free

from weeds. Tobacco is sown close, in small beds, the seedlings being lifted as they grow up and pricked out in rows. The bottle-gourds, trained on wooden espaliers, climb over the walls of the hut.

The Waganda, especially the lower classes, live chiefly on vegetables, among which the banana holds the first place. It grows everywhere and with little tending, so that it must have long been naturalised here. Various kinds have special names; some are stewed, others roasted, while from others wine is obtained. They are also cut up into dishes, dried in the sun, and stored against times of dearth, or as provisions for a journey. Next to the banana, the sweet potato, also grown here in great quantity, forms the chief victual of the native. Besides these plants the Waganda also grow *Colocasia antiquorum*, *Helmia bulbifera*, various kinds of beans, two or three gourds, a kind of *Solanum*, sugar-cane, a kind of red spinach, cassava, maize, millet, sesamum, rice, and grapes. The coffee plant too is extensively cultivated, but the berries are very small. Uhiya, separated by a deep valley from Karagwe on the west, is famous as the chief district for the production of tobacco and coffee. Tobacco is exported by the Wahiya in quantities to Karagwe, Uganda, and even to the Kiches; and the traders are found all round Lake Victoria. Besides these the Arabs have imported onions, tomatoes, guavas, pomegranates, and poppies, in addition to which radishes and *Hibiscus esculentus*, the Arab *bamia*, have come from Egypt. While fowls and eggs are seldom partaken of in Uganda, they eat the flesh of the tiger-cat. On Lake Victoria and the islands, the fish of which the lake contains many kinds are a chief article of food, from the tiny *mukeni*, a fish as large as a bleak, to the huge *kambari*, which often attains a hundredweight and more. Some kinds are dried, and bartered for coffee and other products. The mode of boiling in Uganda is very intelligent. In boiling bananas a large leaf of the plant is laid upon the water in the pot, and the fruit upon it, so that this is only steamed. Meat or fish is wrapped firmly in a young banana leaf, which has been held for a few moments over the fire to render it supple. Good salt is a great rarity in Uganda, that commonly used is a dingy grey, and bitter; while in Unyoro, on the contrary, west of Lake Luta-Nzige, it is found of much better quality. Hands are washed before and after meals; then pipes are brought and coffee-berries passed round to chew. A person who knows what is proper in Uganda always carries some coffee-berries about him, and offers them to his acquaintances to chew when he meets them. The Waganda never drink during a meal, but at the end of it they swallow copious draughts of water or the *pisang* wine made from bananas. The drink, kept in large bottle-gourds, is called *mubisi* when unfermented, *mwengi*



A Wanyoro earthenware dish. (Vienna Museum.)



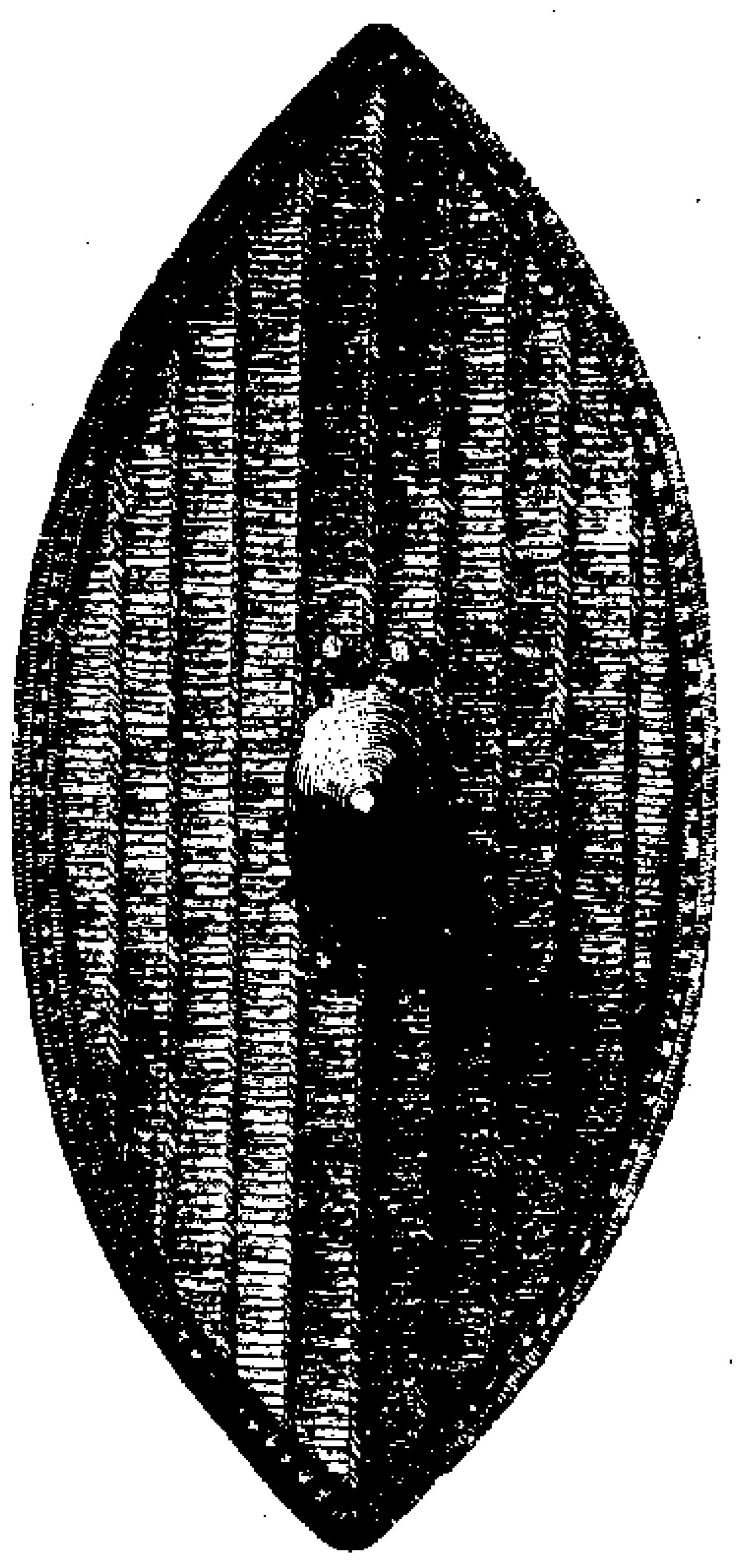
Waganda trap; used also by the Shulis, and in the Arabian desert for gazelles. (Vienna Museum.)

when fermented. Mixed with boiled millet it has the name of *malwa*. *Mlamba* is a small beer prepared in a similar manner. The brewing of banana wine is always the first business as soon as a camp is pitched and a company got together. The wine being light, it is taken in great quantities, and being easy to prepare, the poorest can have enough and to spare of it. Speke calls Uganda "a *pombe*-drinking country." At his reception in Mtesa's palace the queen and the dignitaries drank out of the pail, the cups not pouring in the drink fast enough. Drunkenness is frequent, especially in the upper classes. Immoderate eating is also a very common vice. Persons were pointed out to Felkin as having eaten a whole goat at a sitting. Nor are they less great as smokers, and in this the women are not behind the men. The excellent tobacco of Uganda is always used clean, and free from mixture with other ingredients; it is not made into cakes, but used in the leaf.

The domestic animals in Uganda are cattle and sheep, goats, dogs, and cats. The Wahuma, who are the real owners of the cattle, breed a strongly-built species, found in Abyssinia and among the Gallas, and descended from the *sanga*-ox. They are mostly beasts of brown or iron-grey colour. The cattle have naturally very large horns, but are often hornless, the horns being seared at their first appearance to make it easier for the animals to get about in long grass or tangled bush. Not till we reach Ukerewe do we find the genuine East African zebra breed. In making presents, people select usually long-horned beasts; and King Kabrega's herd, which Emin Pasha put at 1500 head, was all long-horned. Only men may milk; no woman may touch a cow's udder. Sheep (of the Somali breed) are few; but goats, on the other hand, are plenty. The poultry looks wretched, being never fed. Dogs are kept chiefly for antelope-hunting. The Waganda are keen sportsmen, many of them hunting elephants as a regular business. Three or four hunters unite and attack the animals boldly, and in cold blood, with their spears; a mode of hunting which claims numerous victims. Buffaloes, which in Unyoro are regarded as sacred and therefore spared, are taken by means of a contrivance like that shown on p. 7. A hoop of thorny twigs is attached by a cord to a heavy block of wood. When this is stepped upon, the foot breaks through; the animal is hampered in its movements, and cannot escape from the hunter. The smaller antelopes are often taken in drives, in which whole villages participate, by means of strong nets about a yard high. On Lake Victoria wild geese are caught in nooses. Fishing is carried on with energy by the inhabitants of the shores and islands. They fish usually with the rod; the hooks are small and not barbed; and the line, very fine and strong, is made from the fibre of a kind of aloe. Night lines are also employed. Besides these, wicker baskets are in use; these, fastened side by side to the number of eight or ten, are taken out into the lake, weighted with stones, and sunk. After a while they are dragged ashore with long ropes, which have twigs attached to them close to the baskets, that the fish may not escape in the shallow water.

The Waganda and Wanyoro are very well armed. Their weapons are spears of excellent workmanship, with long heads of different form in different districts, and mostly with a ferrule coming over the long beautifully smoothed shaft. In the south light javelins are usual. In Uhha, doubtless borrowing from the Zulu-like Wangoni, they carry long oval shields, made of light wood, somewhat concave and loosely covered with a network of the thin shoots of a climbing plant; these

nearly cover the body. The shields have a boss in the middle, hollowed within to save weight; at the back a handle of osier-twigs is attached, often shaped like a lizard or other animal. Beside the spears, bows and arrows are used, seldom by the Waganda, often by the Wanyoro. The rather large bows, recalling the shape used on the Upper Nile, as shown vol. ii. p. 253, are difficult to bend; the arrows are a yard long, often provided with frightful barbs, and poisoned. Besides vegetable poisons, cases are known in which the bones of dead persons and the products of putrefaction are used. The quivers are of leather and bamboo, and arrows are also contained in long gourds. Good shots can make sure of hitting with an arrow at over thirty-five paces. Besides their native weapons both Waganda and Wanyoro now possess a considerable number of muskets.


A Wanyoro shield. (Vienna Museum.)

A few general words may here be permitted upon the various forms of shield which occur over a small area upon the Upper Nile, and in the Equatorial Lake region. They may be divided into two great groups—those made of wicker, and those made of hide. The Azandeh shield may be taken as the pattern of the former, the Zulu of the latter. The former consists of a wattle of black and white reeds strengthened with rods at the edge, over which the work is carried. The white bands form geometrical figures within and without. On the inner side a rectangular piece of wood serving as a handle, and interlaced with white reeds, is attached by ties of reed. The shields of the West Azandeh are similar, but rougher, and edged with hide. The Wanyoro shield is a pointed elliptical wooden shield, slightly curved with a sharp conical boss, covered with wicker-work inside and out, and edged with hide. At the other end of this series stands the Shuli shield, an improved Zulu shield, consisting of a single piece of thick hide. It is rectangular, slightly scalloped and padded on the longer sides, while up the back runs a stick adorned with a bunch of feathers, bound with a webbing of hide, strengthened with iron bands, and often beautified with iron rings. The Turkaná buckler, shown on p. 31, is equally built upon the model of the Zulu or Shuli shield, of thick hide, rectangular, scalloped at the side, with a stick wrapped in hide and two handles of plaited hide at the back, and the whole adorned at the upper end with iron rings. One of these two main forms runs all through East Africa from the Upper Nile to the south-east extremity, while the other points to affinities with the Upper Congo and Soudan.

The importance of the Waganda as a nation rests principally on their military institutions. Every man who can carry spear and shield is a soldier. When the king in council has determined on a campaign, the great war-drum is beaten, and next morning bodies of warriors equipped for the fray assemble before the palace. They have laid aside their ordinary clothing, down to the loin-cloth, and painted their faces white or red. In Unyoro the warriors wear as a sign of war a banana-leaf or a bit of bark cloth round their heads. The king, with his nobles round him, stands before the palace gate armed with a shield and two copper spears,

which only the king and the most eminent chiefs may carry. Each detachment comes up to the king dancing and yelling, and, going through the movements of attacking, swears fidelity to him and vengeance upon his enemies. Thus a mighty host gradually forms around him. Then he summons the chiefs who are appointed to command the army, and gives them his orders, after which the enormous assembly breaks up. The leaders now send for the various *butongoli* who have to furnish the fighting men; it is settled how many each is to call up, when and where he is to join the others; each division marches off, and in this way the whole force starts by degrees for the seat of war. In the fight every man carries two or three spears; the warriors advance upon the foe in disorderly masses, dancing, shouting, and yelling; when they are near they hurl one or two spears, and fight hand to hand with the remaining one. Prisoners become slaves as a matter of course, unless every prisoner is killed, in which case the herds form the only booty. Beside these levies the police form a standing army, which in Unyoro is 1000 strong, surrounds the king in time of peace, lives by plunder, and is glad to receive into its ranks any runaway slave, any criminal or lazy debtor. On his return journey, Stanley found these troops alike on the west shore of Lake Albert and on the north-east shore of Lake Albert Edward, in both cases as predatory frontiers-men, dreaded far and wide under the name of Warasura. He has also given us a remarkable picture of one of king Mtesa's campaigns. First went the auxiliary troops, followed by the picked warriors, with their war-cry, "Kavya, kavya!"—Mtesa's name "Mukavya" is explained further on,—and then the body-guard, amid which marched the king and his ministers. Among the troops that followed later came Mtesa's large harem. Each division of the troops might be recognised by its peculiar drum-tap; they marched fast—"it is their custom to move always at a trot when they have any warlike business on hand." On this occasion Mtesa had painted his face a fiery red. In order to soothe the terrible Muzimu or evil spirits, and render them propitious, it is usual before a battle to present all the effective magic drinks and charms in Uganda to the monarch, that he may touch them, or at least point to them, with his forefinger. During the battle the sorcerers, male and female, chant their formulas of incantation, and fling their charms high in the air before the enemy. Stanley reckoned the army which was called out against the Wasoga at 100,000 men, and 150,000 women and children; probably somewhat above the mark.

The Waganda possess a large fleet of war-canoes, distributed among the numerous islands near the coast of Uganda, so that the headman of an island has two or three under his charge. Many of these canoes hold 40 men, and all are well built. In each one are a number of fighting men, and usually half as many rowers protected by the shields. To the war-canoes is attached a prow, the extremity of which is adorned with antelope horns, while a fringe of grass passes along it to the bow. Several points recall the Malay and Polynesian craft. The vessel is steered by the two after paddles. In their flourishing time the Waganda possessed perhaps 500 canoes, the largest 65 feet long, manned in all with 8600 rowers and boatmen, but capable of transporting 16,000 to 20,000 men. Speke saw among the Wanyoro only "dug-outs." Emin Pasha describes small out-rigged boats, which he saw near Rubaga. Instead of the beak a long bayonet-shaped spur is attached, probably to facilitate entrance through the reeds.

In the character as in the mental capacities generally we meet here with a

higher development than we find among many other Africans; yet the difference is not so great that it can be indicated in brief and clear words. One can indeed say that this level of general culture, this tendency to order and cleanliness, unconsciously aiming at a higher human dignity, the greater attention paid to government, the better army, and so much else, cannot have grown up upon a purely intellectual basis, but must come from at least somewhat greater steadiness and firmness in the character. But all this is easier to recognise by its results than to put into words.

The strongly-developed sociable feeling found among these races is supported by their love for music. In this they may be no greater artists than other Africans, but they cultivate it in a grander style, and with a greater variety of appliances. They have regular bands of music, at Mtesa's receptions twelve flute-players and five drummers performed. The most important instrument of the Waganda is the harp, or *nanga*, with a wooden sounding-board, which is made concave, covered with the skin of an animal, and strung with six to eight gut strings. This instrument is played with the fingers. Certain large drums of a specially fine tone, some of them the workmanship of former kings, are in the possession of the chiefs. Each has its own name, is guarded with great care, and only used on festal occasions. The *madinda*, as a rule played by boys, is a *marimba* without the calabash sounding-board. Flutes of reed or from the stalks of an umbelliferous plant, and horns of the ox or antelope, with the mouthpiece at the side, are other popular instruments. Besides these ways of making music, we find at dances little iron bells attached to wrists and ankles. Bottle-gourds filled with parched peas and used as rattles are among the apparatus of the witch-doctors. Particular tunes are sung and played on special occasions.

Singing is usually accompanied among the Waganda with the *nanga* or harp. There are singers by profession who are kept by the king and chiefs at their courts. In singing they improvise allusions to occurrences of the day or to persons present. Many of their songs glorify the king or great chiefs; others are war-songs, others again dirges for the dead. We give two specimens, after Wilson; one a hymn in praise of Mtesa, one a dirge for dead chiefs:—

I.

Thy feet are hammers, son of the forest[1]
Great is the fear of thee; great is thy wrath;
Great is thy peace, great is thy power.

II.

O Separator,[2] O Sematimba!
They tied goats, they tied goats in vain for him.
Son of a king he has no pride
He freely gives plantain wine.

Lubinga, Lubinga! him of whom I speak
He has no pride for he freely gives plantain wine
Mkwenda, Mkwenda! whose home is Chikongi[3]
Him of whom I speak, he has no pride
For he freely gives plantain wine.

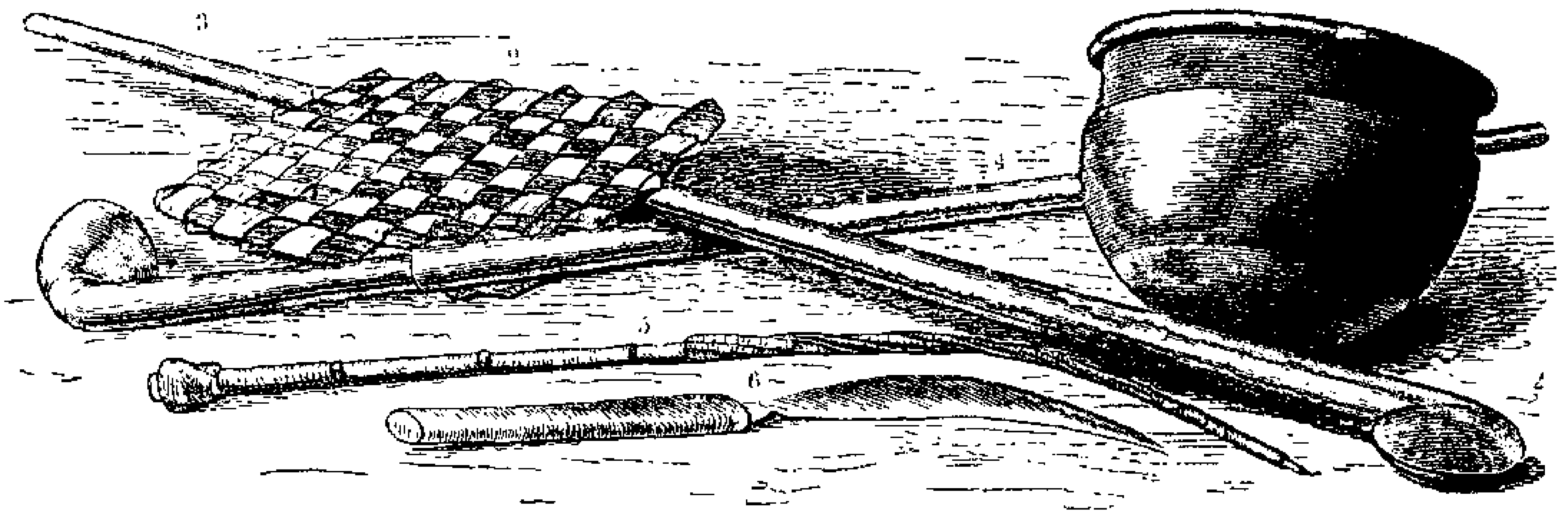
The young men of Uganda are expert wrestlers. They always begin by

[1] That is the lion, the symbol of royal rank. [2] Periphrasis for death.
[3] Chikongi, Mkwenda's burial-place.

taking hold of the opponent with the right hand only, holding the left behind the back till they have got a firm grip, then the other hand comes into play. The war-dances with spear and shield resemble those of the Zulus.

In their system of numeration there are names for numbers up to 1000. When taking messages or re-counting, the Waganda aid their memory by means of bits of sticks and the like. When Speke drew near the capital, royal pages came to meet him, carrying three sticks, each of which denoted a wish of the king. The first meant his head, troubled in dreams by the spirit of a person deceased; the second, his desire for a powerful stimulant; the third, his wish for some means to keep his subjects in dread of him. In the same way the queen-mother enumerated her complaints on those sticks.

The government of the Waganda and Wanyoro is based in theory on the king's lordship of the whole land; but this is not much more than a fiction of government, for in truth the land belongs to the highest chiefs of the kingdom.



Waganda utensils: 1, earthenware pot; 2, mat; 3, chief's stick; 4, pipe; 5, plaited tube for sucking wine; 6, knife. (From Dr. Felkin's collection.)

In Mtesa's time these embodied the popular opposition to foreign influence, and Mwanga stands in dread of them when he would like to introduce any novelty. But if the monarchy is actually limited, it holds an imposing position in respect of external formalities. Towards the mass of the people the sovereign stands as an unlimited ruler, for he disposes as he will of life and death, and feels no constraint except in the narrow circle of the highest courtiers. This constraint, which may be very largely limited by those who have a natural power of ruling, takes from the princes of this country nothing of their high sense of their own dignity, even when they let themselves be bribed by Europeans. The Arab Nasib said quite rightly to Speke: "These Wahuma kings are not like those you saw in Unyamwesi and elsewhere; they have officers and soldiers like the Sultan of Zanzibar." With this high position of the monarchy corresponds the apologetic character of its legendary or rather mythical history, which is so strong that even Rumanika, the clever king of Karagwe, teemed with the most fabulous fancies even about his father and his immediate predecessors. Nay, even about himself Rumanika made marvellous assertions. Thus after his father's death there appeared to him and his two brothers a very small magic drum. It was as light as a feather, but so full of magic that it could only be lifted by him whom the spirits wished to indicate as the rightful heir. Naturally Rumanika lifted it with his little finger, while his brothers laboured in vain to do so. He further related that every heir to the throne, before he enters upon his reign, sits upon the ground at a

particular spot. The ground thereupon rises up like a pillar, and if he is the rightful heir, it sinks gently back again; but if not, it comes down with a rush, and crushes him.

Court ceremonial occupies an exaggerated space in Uganda as well as in Unyoro. Agreeably to the character of the oligarchy, the people may only approach the king on special occasions, but of the highest dignitaries some are almost constantly about him and a part of the chiefs are even compelled to live at the court. If the king condescends to allow strangers within his presence, it takes place with great pomp. "The first court passed," wrote Speke, in describing his reception by Mtesa, "I was even more surprised to find the unusual ceremonies that awaited me. Three courtiers of high dignity stepped forward to greet me, dressed in the most scrupulously neat fashions. Men, women, bulls, dogs, and goats were led about by strings; cocks and hens were carried in men's arms, and little pages with rope-turbans rushed about, conveying messages, as if their lives depended on their swiftness, every one holding his skin-cloak tightly round him, lest his naked legs might by accident be shown." Dancing musicians then led the procession into the hall where the king sat on his throne, surrounded on three sides by courtiers crouching in the dust, some female witch-doctors, and the symbol of Uganda—a woman, a dog, a spear, and a shield. Leopard-skins, the sign of kingly rank, were spread in front of him, and the most sumptuous drums in the palace were displayed to view. The white man sat for an hour, staring and stared at, till the king rose, asking if he had seen him, "and went away with the straddling step, copied from the lion, which is thought majestic in Uganda," but to Speke produced only the impression of a waddle. A later audience was graced by the presence of hundreds of the royal wives, from whose charms, however, all the subjects of Uganda were strictly compelled to avert their eyes. Next morning, Speke found in his hut twenty cows and ten goats as a present to the guest from the king, who was condescending enough to send word that he liked him well. The magic circle in which all Waganda live is drawn with double strength around the king; he moves and acts in a cloud of nonsense. Nothing that his hands are to touch may be handed to him till it is exorcised. The bearer extracts the magic by wiping it with his face and hand. Making an offering is thus a serious business with all these ceremonies, and at the audiences there is a crowd of women, cows, goats, poultry, dishes of fish, baskets containing little antelopes, porcupines, curious rats which his hunters have caught, rolls of *mbugu* from his cloth-workers, coloured earths, sticks and other apparatus of his magicians, all having to be disenchanted in this manner and offered to him.

The court and council of the king is composed almost entirely of the *wakungu* or nobles. The rank of the three leading *wakungu* is hereditary. The first officer of state after the king is the *katikiro* or chancellor, who is appointed by the king and holds office at the king's pleasure. He has the precedence of all the other grandees both in the council and in his place beside the king. Beside these personages two others of great importance live at court, the chief brewer and the head cook. They hold a conspicuous place in the court, sit near the king, and take part in the great council. This great council or *lukiko* is the real governing power in the state. It consists of the king, the *katikiro*, the *wakungu*, and highest *watongoli*, also the head cook, who may rise to be katikiro, the brewer, and one or two other creatures of the court. In ordinary circumstances

the council meets daily and occupies some hours in discussing the affairs of the state. The chiefs have the right of requiring it to be summoned. If in less important matters the king can act independently, he must consult the council in all serious cases, and if chiefs and council unite in demanding anything, no king would venture to refuse it. All chiefs have in rotation to pass three months a year in the suite of their king; the other nine months they may live on their estates. But most *wakungu* and the highest *watongoli* live always at the capital, if not fighting abroad.

From a political point of view Uganda may be divided into four classes; the slaves, the *wakopi*, or peasants who form the basis of the population, *watongoli* or chiefs of the second rank, and *wakungu*, chiefs of the first rank. The *wakopi* are in many respects the most important class, partly owing to their great number, partly because the formidable army is composed of them. From their ranks is recruited the second order of chiefs, and the sons of *watongoli* became *wakopi* again, the rank not being hereditary. These *watongoli* govern provinces under the *wakungu*, and have in time of war to raise a stated number of soldiers. By means of this hierarchy of officials or courtiers always in movement to and from the seat of government, the internal cohesion in the administration of the country is rendered firmer. The king or his counsellors know what is going on in the country, and have means of acting vigorously even at the farthest point. "Nothing is lost in Uganda," says Emin Pasha, and in fact, before he left Mtesa's territory he got back all the things that he had missed in and about Rubaga. Europeans and Egyptians have had wonderful experiences of the vigilance of Uganda and Unyoro. In 1876 Emin Pasha was only a few paces, so to say, from Stanley and Mason, and neither had any news of the other. The imminence of war between Uganda and Unyoro remained quite unknown to Junker and Vita Hassan, who were living in the latter country. Trade is so firmly regulated in Unyoro that, Vita having given five shells more than usual for a fowl, Kabrega sent word to him that he was not to pay for things above their value and spoil the market. All these chiefs are *ex-officio* judges in their own districts, but more important cases must be brought before the *wakungu* or the king himself, to whose decision the accused can appeal. Chiefs have a judge to themselves, while the countless law-suits among the lower classes can be settled by subordinates of the *katikiro*. Naturally there is no written code according to which causes are decided, but certain laws are in existence under which verdicts are given. A condemned person is put in the stocks, mutilated, or put to death. The first penalty is applied for small offences, such as unimportant thefts and refractory behaviour in women and slaves. Theft is often expiated by the loss of the hands, the nose, the ears, and—most hideous of mutilations—the lips. Adultery, and in some cases murder also, are visited with the capital penalty, but for the latter a money-fine is generally held sufficient. The Waganda have various modes of execution. Cutting the throat and hanging are the most common. Human sacrifices are always beheaded. For the worst offences a penalty is inflicted under which the victim bleeds gradually to death; sharp splinters of reed are thrust deep into the body, large blood-vessels being carefully avoided. The greater chiefs keep a little host of executioners, of whom some are always in their train. They wear a rope or a wispy wreath of grass round their heads, and, when they seek their victims, their faces are hidden by a plaited cap.

Cruelty is far too prominent a feature in the maxims of government that prevail in Uganda not to throw a dark shadow over all prospects of higher development. Always and everywhere it ruins any unfolding of the picture of higher culture, of whose nascent outlines some people think that a glimpse may be caught. Aimless slaughters, due simply to the wish of the sovereign to have so many executed daily for a given time, or to have 2000 men, women, and children, almost all poor and unprotected, caught on the roads for a festival of the dead, or to have all Christians murdered off, have stained every government that we have heard of. Emin Pasha brings out strongly the contrast with the very peace of nature produced by this devastation of human life, when he writes, on the road from Rubaga to Lake Victoria: "We marched on through banana-groves and houses as through a garden. If man has left a gap anywhere, Mother Nature has been all the more busily concerned to fill it with a splendid vegetation of grass and slim elegant trees. Gardens, artificial and natural, followed in constant alternation; but the former of bananas and sweet potatoes could not vie with the latter either in picturesque beauty or in variety of contents. A fair and favoured land, with its red soil, its green gardens, its breezy hills, its dark recessed valleys. Man alone disturbs the harmony of the picture. Corpses in the middle of the road compel us to turn aside; the small Uganda vultures at our approach desert their gruesome meal with rushing flight. Four corpses lie there; the hangman has raked them in together, young and old, cutting the throat of one to the very vertebrae, and smashing the skull of another with a heavy blow from behind. Daily and hourly the people go past them, perhaps soon to meet the same fate themselves."

The Waganda have shown themselves ready to meet foreign influences half-way. Strangers may attend the council, and are often asked for their advice in various political and social matters. But their participation in all business connected with the succession to the throne is strictly forbidden. Even in 1882 a report of Mr. Wilson's called attention to the fact that foreigners were beginning to exert an influence over the people, and that a considerable advance in this respect could be noticed since Speke's time. The Arabs, who have been longest in the country, had naturally made the strongest impression on the people up to that time. Thirty years ago, bark-cloth, or *mbugu*, was universally worn, and no one save the members of the royal family might possess any other material; but even Mtesa in his later years, as well as most of his chiefs, wore Arab dress, while turbans and white cotton trousers have come fast to the front. Leather belts with buckles have spread with ridiculous rapidity. The number of firearms increases every year. Foreign fruits and vegetables are grown more and more. Many chiefs use chairs and stools, whereas formerly every one sat on the ground. The few European tools, such as files and screws, which have made their way to Uganda, are cleverly used by the craftsmen; and the square house with perpendicular walls and gabled roof which Mackay built was soon copied, if on a smaller scale, by the chiefs. Intercourse with Zanzibar was followed by the introduction of the Swaheli language, for though this is not understood by the people in general, two or three persons who speak it may be found in every village. Many people of rank have as good a command of it as of their mother-tongue, and most of the great men partly comprehend it, so that the traveller who has come to Uganda from the east coast is in a position to communicate with the people directly.

This is the result of an intercourse which has lasted at most two generations. Foreign religions have, if in the first instance only outwardly, made their impression on Uganda. The Mussulmans have not spread their faith, for Mtesa's so-called conversion to Islam was merely nominal, so that even the Arabs do not claim him as a convert. He declined to undergo circumcision, and a hundred boys and lads who had submitted to the rite were simultaneously burnt by his orders. This rite seems indeed to have been the main reason why the religion made no way with the Waganda. Christianity, on the contrary, though Mtesa's conversions were only mockery, has gained ground with uncommon rapidity.

The royal family is not of the Waganda stock, but belongs to that of the Wahuma, of the origin of which we have spoken in § 5. Though blended with the negroes, enough of the characteristic marks of that stock had remained to distinguish Mtesa as a foreigner among his subjects. In regard to the succession to the throne, curious laws existed. When a king died the three senior *wakungu* chose a successor among his children. A child is always chosen. During his minority his mother and the three grandees govern the country, while the young king is being instructed in the traditions of his ancestors. Even later the mother exercises some influence; when Mwanga was in one of his bloodthirsty fits, the queen-mother sent him a warning through the *katikiro* only to kill those who disobeyed him. We have spoken above (vol. ii. p. 492) of the traces of woman-rule in Unyoro. If the three chiefs do not agree in the choice of a successor, they fight, and the winner puts the boy of his choice on the throne. The brothers of the king-elect are kept in custody during his minority, and when he comes into power are burnt all but two or three, who continue the stock in case of the young king's dying childless. The king's children hold no special rank or position, and not all the princesses are allowed to marry.

Polygamy, sustained by a great excess of women in the population, is universal in Uganda, from the king, who formerly used to have 7000 so-called wives—at Speke's first reception Mtesa's excuse for assigning him no quarters in the palace was "that all the huts were full of women"—down to any *mkopi* who can scrape together enough to buy more than one wife. The fact that many in the lower classes cannot get any wives is the cause of much immorality. The usual price for a wife was either three to four oxen, or six needles, or a small box of percussion caps. Speke saw two of the King of Uganda's wives offer their maiden sisters to him. He indicated his acceptance by sitting in the lap first of one girl, then of the other, pressing each to him, and laying his head first on her right shoulder then on her left. This is said to conclude the marriage ceremony. Wives are also demanded as the penalty for certain offences, which naturally opens the way to arbitrary caprice. On the other hand, if a wife does wrong, her husband can sell her as a slave. One of the ways in which the king maintains his influence or popularity is by supplying his *wakungu* with wives. Marriage between near relations is not forbidden by law, and often takes place. At a man's death, his eldest son even inherits all his wives, excepting his own mother. Women seldom have more than two or three children, and according to one law, which presupposes polygamy, after the birth of a child the mother must remain separated from her husband for two years. The king and the chiefs have establishments of their own in the country, where their wives are sent for this period. Twins are greeted with delight. The umbilical

cord is preserved, if the father is a chief, and ornamented with beads and other finery.

The corpse of a king is buried in a gigantic package of bark-cloth, that of a chief in a wooden coffin; while that of a slave is merely flung into the thicket, and that of an executed criminal left lying in the public road.

The Waganda have a large repertory of names. Some are especially popular among them, as Makassa, the deity of Lake Victoria; for they see nothing inappropriate in taking the name of a god. Names of beasts and insects are also given to men. Many names have a definite signification. Thus Mtesa means "one who tries or decides controversies"; Mkavya, or Mukavya, another of his names, which he assumed on the occasion of his great victory over the Wasoga, means, according to Wilson, "he who causes to weep."

The larger among the political organisms into which this group of races is divided, are also of significance in respect of their relations to the neighbouring races. These are Unyoro and Uganda. Emin Pasha notes Kinyoro as the older language, and that which has been maintained in the greater purity; while Kiganda has been much modified by continuous contact with Zanzibar, and is still changing. In Karagwe and among the Washashi on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, as well as on the large island of Ukerewe, a language is spoken nearer to Kinyoro than to Kiganda. Uganda seems generally like an intrusion into an original Kinyoro-speaking district, which embraces Unyoro, Udda, Karagwe, Usinja, and Urundi, and reaches as far as Unyamwesi. Tradition has it that a single great territory called Kittara, of which Unyoro seems to have formed the nucleus, once extended over the district occupied by these kingdoms. Kittara as a general name has now disappeared; it is usually applied only to the western fragment of the ancient kingdom. From this state there successively split off Nkole to the west, Karagwe and Usinja to the south, where perhaps a larger kingdom once existed with Usinja as its nucleus. Unyoro lies to the north and west of Uganda. It does not touch Lake Victoria, but reaches to the left bank of the Nile and the east shore of Lake Albert. Without exercising a definite overlordship, Unyoro has a strong grip upon the Kiches, the Wasoga, the Gunis or Shulis, the Ulegas and other tribes on the Upper White Nile. It is less fertile than the district to the south, being a pronounced prairie and pasture country. Cultivation is less careful than in Uganda, and the whole administration of the country, the organisation, the laying out of the roads, are less complete. The history of the last few decades records a whole series of conflicts between Waganda and Wanyoro, and of distrust on the part of the latter towards the former. In the north of Uganda numerous Wanyoro settlers are found, who have been captured in campaigns and brought along by Uganda chiefs.

Uganda lies in a crescent round the north end of Lake Victoria. The country is rich, and maintains a large population. If we cannot take quite literally Stanley's remark that the Uganda peasant realizes the ideal of happiness after which all men strive, yet copious and regular harvests seem to reward his labours. In Karagwe the line between the ruling Wahuma and the agricultural Wanyambo is drawn even more sharply than in Uganda. Culture is in general at a lower stage. Karagwe is said to have been founded twenty generations ago in the following manner:—A conspirator named Rohinda fled from Kittara to Karagwe with a great following of Wahuma. At that time Nono was king of

the Wanyambo, the settled residents in that country. Rohinda managed to insinuate himself into the king's confidence, laid an ambush for him, and killed him, placing himself then on the throne. Since then the Wahuma have held the sovereignty of Karagwe. The foundation of the Wahuma kingdom of Usinja is said to have resulted from a quarrel between brothers in the royal family of Karagwe.

The expeditions of recent years have brought us acquainted with another negro-state ruled by Wahuma—Kavirondo to the east of Lake Victoria. Its dark inhabitants are of Nilotic stock. We have also learnt through Stanley of a country called Undussuma, two days' journey from the western shore of Lake Albert, and through Stuhlmann of a series of countries to the west of the Nile sources, where Wahuma rule or roam, and in some cases have a clear recollection of their arrival from Unyoro. To these belong particularly Ruanda, where on the plateau which borders the great Central African forest a specially pure Wahuma population feeds its herds. The lords here are the warlike Wasamboni, with shields like the Waganda, spears of the type of Karagwe, Uhha, and Urundi, bows two yards long, and arrows of twenty-eight inches, kinsmen of the races on the Upper White Nile and Lake Albert. Their subjects are Central Africans of the Wavira stock. Though the strict military and political organisation of the Wahuma states, and especially Unyoro, does not reach thus far, manners and customs point to the presence of Wahuma in this region also.

§ 9. THE NEGROES OF THE UPPER AND MIDDLE NILE REGIONS

Relation with East and West—The separate groups: Shillooks, Jurs, Shulis, Dinkas, Nuers, Madis, Mittus, Baris, Nyambaras, Latukas—Ornament and dress, iron spoons, weapons, traps, canoes, hut-building, size of the villages, agriculture and cattle-breeding, disastrous results of cattle-thieving—Trades, iron industry of the Jurs and Bongos, pottery and weaving—Music, signal-horns, dances—Family and community—Political disintegration and retrogression.

THE great majority of the rivers falling into the Nile in the upper portion of its course are broad shallow streams with slow current. For long distances they are blocked by a growth of papyrus and *pistia*. The land through which they flow is one vast swamp; the abominable vapour over the waters, the stupefying smell of the tropical swamp-vegetation, the mosquitoes which fly about one's head in thousands, the difficulty of keeping a firm footing owing to the uneven conformation of the ground, the numerous hindrances in the way, climbing plants, fallen stones, deep holes made by elephants' feet, all tend to make this district of swamps impassable. It is for the greatest part uninhabited, and at most forms the theatre of frontier wars between the Wanyoro and the Nile tribes living to the north of them. In many parts the dry season is the only period of intercourse by land. To get from the Bongo country across rivers and swamps to the regions inhabited by the most southerly Baggaras is only possible at the very driest season. Where the country is higher, the absence of any decided fall still remains, and gives rise to a network of streams which are not less of a hindrance to traffic; above all in the Bahr-el-Ghazal region. With this the water supply

[illegible] the river-beds is apt in the dry season to be deficient rather than excessive. [illegible] and swamp reach their culminating point in Lake No, whose barricades of [illegible] vegetation have from old times placed a barrier to any advance into the region of the lakes where the Nile rises. Into this flows the Gazelle River, sluggish, rushy, and grassy, from the east comes the Sobat, from the south the Bahr-el-Jebel, already a mighty stream. It shows significantly the difficulties of navigation that no true race of boatmen has here sprung up, such as the Congo knows on its head-waters and tributaries. They are rather mere swamp-dwellers, who have attached themselves more closely to the moist climate. Thus, too, the spots where settlements are dense on the Nile and its tributaries are more limited,

Meshra-er-Rek on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with the Nubian trading fleet. (After Heuglin.)

even if we look back to the time before Egyptians and Nubians had invaded the life of these people, disturbing and destroying.

The relation of these people to the streams on which they live is also peculiar, inasmuch as the larger groups always occupy both banks. Ethnographical differences, however, are grouped along either side, corresponding to the position of the Gallas and Semites on the one hand, and the Central African Negroes, whose centre of gravity lies in the Congo basin beyond the Nile water-shed, on the other. But the east side predominates decidedly over the west, where the herdsmen may be seen far into the Bahr-el-Ghazal region, roaming about with manners and customs similar to those of the east; just as biological limit between forest and plateau, essentially fixed by climate, extends much further to the south in the east than in the west. The *doom*-palm, *Hyphaene thebaica*, so characteristic of the Nile country, leaves off on the west bank in 5° 20′ N., whereas on the east it forms groves even in Latuka; while the animals of the open country, elephant, giraffe, zebra, ostrich, follow the Nile valley on its east side as far as the lakes; but in the west do not as a rule go further south than 4° N. Thus the plateau and its inhabitants embrace the Nile-lands to the east and the south-east.

A chain of true negro peoples runs between the lighter races of Abyssinia and the light Azandeh and Monbuttus down the Nile valley, to near the point where the Blue Nile mingles its waters with the turbid stream of the White.

Those who dwell round the great lakes form the connecting-li[illegible] Nile negroes and the Bantu family, while the Nuba negroes of K[illegible] Fors of the mountains of South Darfour connect them with the [illegible] The majority belong to the pronounced pastoral stocks, and sha[illegible] descent, but also most of their methods and usages with the pastor[illegible] and South Africa. The agricultural tribes are equally near to th[illegible] Africa.

We have in a former section traced the kinsfolk of the Galla[illegible] into this district. To th[illegible] largest populations of th[illegible] who are indeed genuine n[illegible] connected with the Ha[illegible] Africa by their fashion of [illegible] Masai also by language[illegible] transition. Physical as [illegible] graphical characteristics [illegible] decidedly to the pastor[illegible] east and south, colonies of [illegible] trate them deeply. H[illegible] have been grafted upon [illegible]. The resemblance is expr[illegible] breeding, in hut-building [illegible] of the most northerly and m[illegible] groups are essentially [illegible] each perhaps their maximum [illegible] the southern Shillooks or Sh[illegible] are geographically in the clo[illegible] contact with the light-coloured [illegible] and Wanyoro. Less striking [illegible] of contact with their [illegible] neighbours, over whose territo[illegible] and small groups of our tri[illegible] equally distributed in the fashio[illegible] colonies, such as the Baris in the Makaraka country, or the Shillooks in [illegible]-el-Ghazal region. The insignificant physical differences do not [illegible] forth such pronounced transition-forms. In the matter of dress the [illegible] covering encroaches as we go west, skin and leather are exchanged for bark-cloth, bows and arrows come to the front, leather shields disappear. The most obvious transition-people here are the Bongos. Physically they stand between the negroes proper and the lighter skins and more noble forms of their neighbours to east and north. In fact they are genuine hybrids of the two, in part only mingled; and this alone can explain why observers have seen in the Shillooks the ugliest, blackest, most ape-like of negroes, and then again tall, slim, light-coloured people with fine profiles. Schweinfurth's judgment was the more favourable, and Felkin found the Shillook chief Kaikum unusually gifted both physically and mentally. The Shulis' feeling for beauty, as shown in their choice of sites for their villages, is especially noted by Emin Pasha. The [illegible] indeed are strikingly long and lean, so that they have even been compared [illegible] wading-

A Shillook negress. According to Dr. Stuhlmann, this is also a good type of the Wanyoro face. (From a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

out of their marshes, but are predominantly dark, like the Baris, among whom Junker remarks as a peculiarity a shading of the skin towards grey, in spite of their powerful build; but the Shulis and Madis are not only tall and powerful, but also lighter than the Baris and Dinkas.

The position and delimitation of the districts inhabited by the more important peoples on the Nile may be briefly given as follows. The most northerly

Shillook warrior and girl. (From a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

negro people are the Shillooks; they form one great family with the Lurs and Shulis in the south, one dwelling to the west of the Nile, the others to the east. Emin Pasha first called attention to the resemblance of these people's names with those of the Luohs and Shillooks. Similarly the Belandas and Jurs stand as links between the northernmost and southernmost members of the Shillook tribes. The Shulis encroach to the eastward upon the territories of the Langos and Kiches, and are limited to the south of the Victoria Nile; beyond this there extend only small groups, known in Unyoro as Shefaloo. The eastern limit of the Lurs

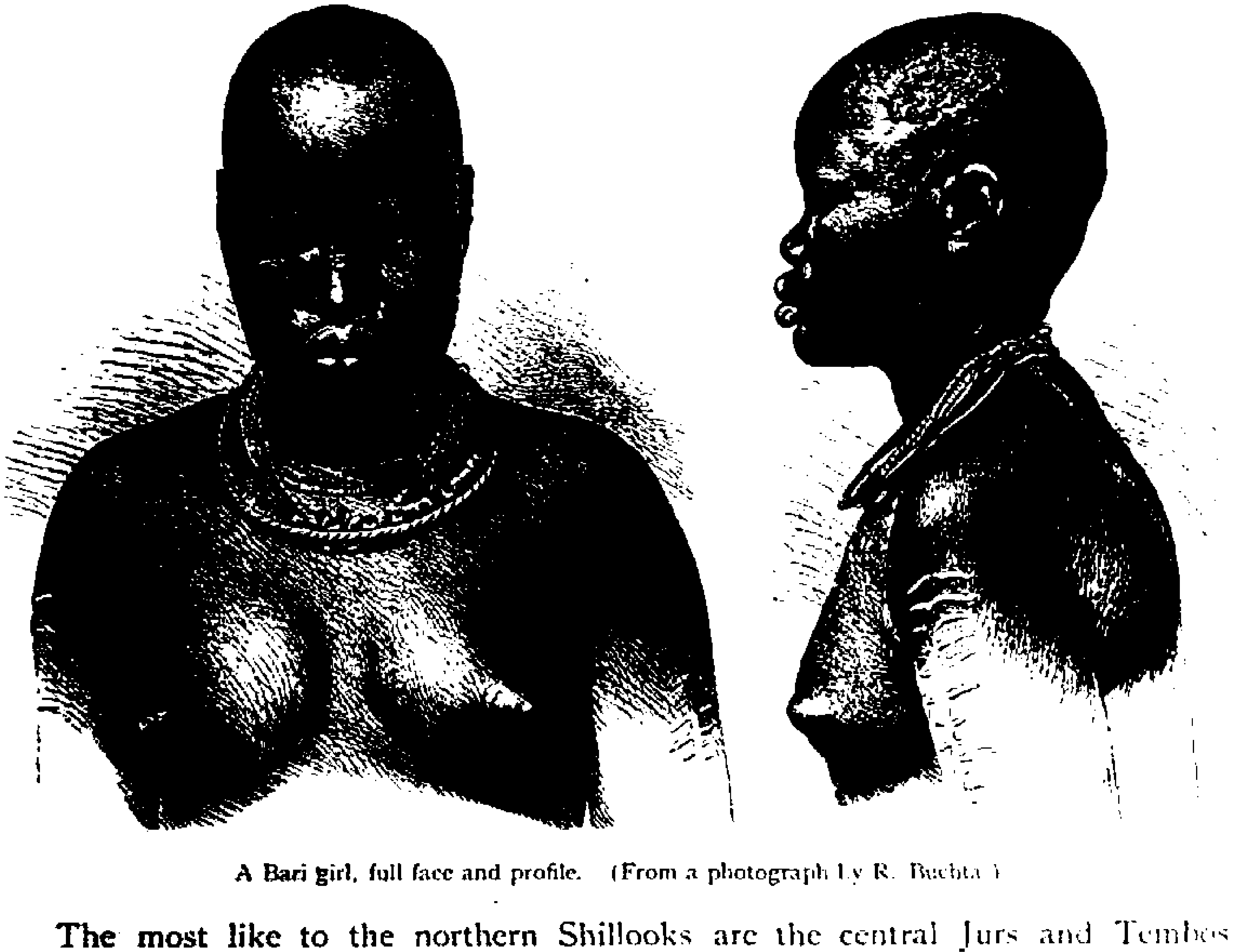
is formed by Lake Albert and the Bahr-el-Jebel, on the western ba[illegible] they are settled as far as 3° 10′ N. Westward they are almost certa[illegible] by the Madis.

Thus we distinguish three great Shillook districts, that to the nort[illegible] largest, in which the Shillooks proper, who still bear that name, dwel[illegible]

A tattooed Shuli-negro with his weapons. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

the Bahr-el-Ghazal. As we proceed up the Nile from the north we come upon their place of abode, and follow them as a scattered group of peoples, living—with the exception of some eastern outliers in the Sobat region, where they dwell a day's journey up from the mouth of that river on the left bank of the White Nile and some of its tributaries, roughly speaking between 6° and 12° N. They once extended to the neighbourhood of Khartoum, but since the founding of that emporium of the Middle Nile region, they have constantly been pushed farther back. When Schweinfurth travelled up the Bahr-el-Abiad in 1869, they came in

[illegible] and canoes at most as far as 12° 30′ N., and their habitations certainly did not extend so far northward. Among the Shillooks proper, according to Brun-Rollet, a legend is found that they were once settled on the Sobat, in about 5° N., that the Gallas drove them out of that, and they migrated down the Nile, where they appeared as "people from the Joll" (that is the Sobat River), and drove back the Dinkas. In this tradition, which has nothing unlikely about it, may be found an easier explanation of the presence of the Shillook language at the Equator than is given by Emin Pasha's hypothesis of a great migration to the south. The Shillooks were complete outlaws; "to begin with they are heathens; secondly, they often revenge an injury done them by an attack upon a boat; thirdly (and chiefly), their numerous cattle are a very desirable acquisition."



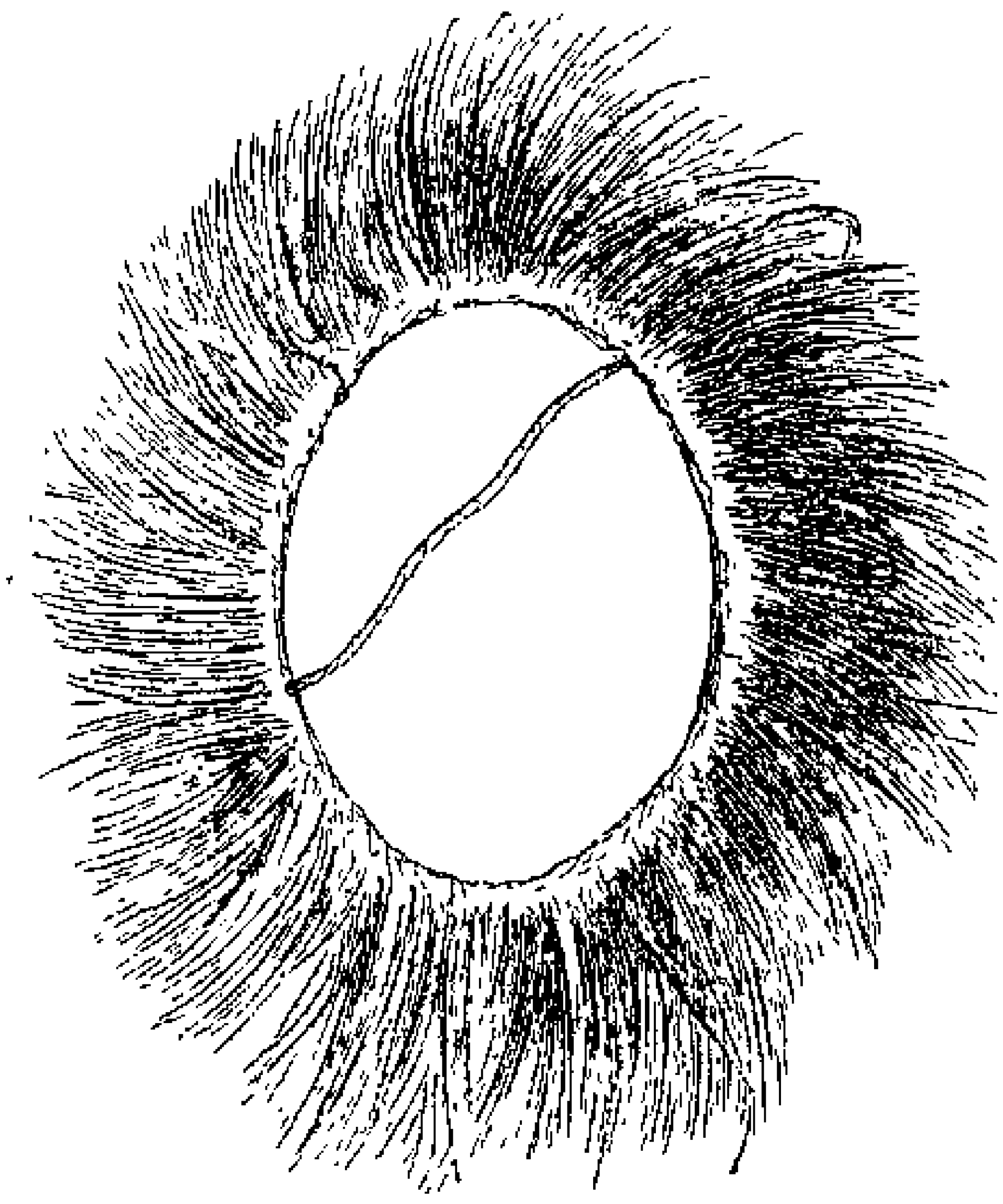
A Bari girl, full face and profile. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

The most like to the northern Shillooks are the central Jurs and Tembos who dwell upon the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Tonj, and form an *enclave* amid the Dinkas; and the Belandas more to the south, separated from the Jurs by the whole breadth of Bongoland, and bordering on the Azandeh. There is much in favour of the view that we have here comparatively recent immigrants. We still see migrations taking place under the influence of the extensive breeding of cattle. Formerly, too, all these races were warlike, and pressed upon their neighbours by dint of their more compact organisation as states, at any rate in the north. They themselves were first driven back by the invasion of the Egyptians and Nubians, and brought to the verge of annihilation. The most northerly of the dispersed members of the Shillook race, the Jurs, is in this respect like them. They have above all retained the many-sidedness of the Shillooks in the acquisition of means of subsistence, they take eagerly to hunting and

fishing, and when opportunity serves, their women till the ground industriously. They also attach great value to cattle. A poultry-yard always full, and a dog, are indispensable to the domestic comfort of a Jur family.

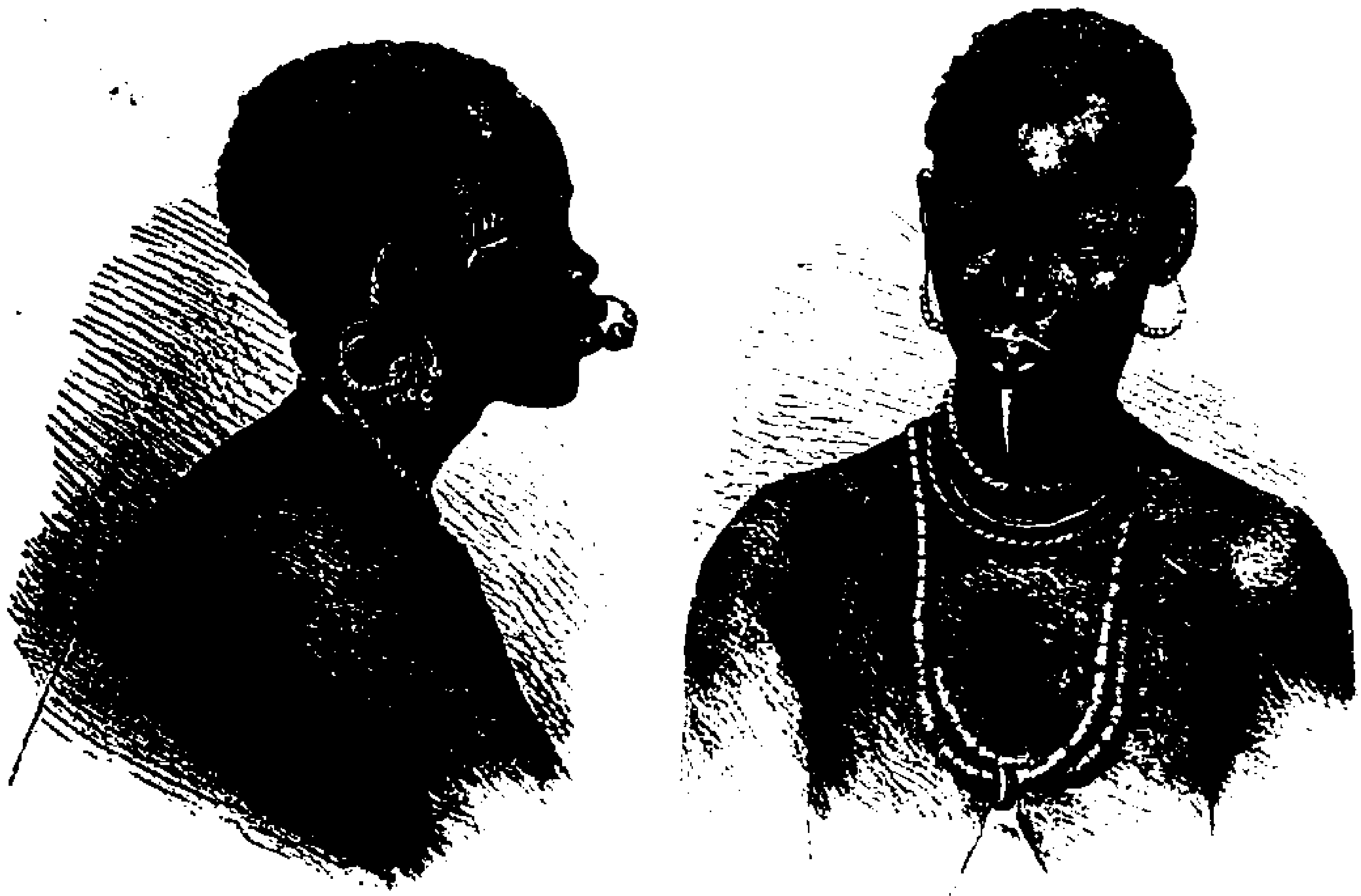
The Shulis, or as the Wanyoro call them, Ganis, to the agreement of whose language with that of the Shillooks the attention of Emin Pasha was first drawn by the natives—a proof of its obviousness—encroach the most deeply from a geographical point of view alike to the south and to the east upon their Hamitic neighbours. Part of them, the Shefaloos, live on the same ground with the Wanyoro, and Shuli chiefs claim to be descended from the same Wavitu to whom the Wahuma sovereigns trace their pedigree.

The habitations of the Dinkas stretch nearly as far as those of the Shulis, reaching along the right bank of the White Nile as far as the mouth of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and along the right bank of that river. Perhaps, too, the Jangehs of the Middle Sobat are a fragment split off from the Dinkas. Very like them also are the Amams on the Blue Nile, whom Matteucci calls the "Patagonians of East Africa." The Dinkas have undergone the similar fate of being driven back by the Nubians, but although more exclusively a pastoral people than the Shillooks, they are not their equals in warlike character. Though their territory is so extensive that their existence seems assured for a long time amid the chequered fluctuations of races in Africa, and although their national unity in respect of race, mode of life, and customs, cannot be doubted, they yet lack any political cohesion. The numerous tribes are often at war with each other, and hence comes the variety in their fortunes. The northern Dinkas were once extraordinarily rich in cattle; among the southern tribes, on the other hand, are found poverty-stricken dwellers in swamps. The custom of going quite naked is very frequently found among the tribes of this race and the Baris. In hut-building, and in the working of iron, they are inferior to their neighbours, for which reason the Jurs, cunning iron-workers, long kept them in a kind of subject position. Their chief tribes are the Dinkas proper on the Lower White Nile, the Bors and Kiches up the Bahr-el-Jebel, the Reks about the mouth of the Gazelle River, the Agars on the Yolo or Rohl River. The Alwajes, Schweinfurth's Aluadi, who carry bow and arrows, are men of the woods, forming an *enclave* among the pastoral Dinkas of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in an oasis of thick forest amid the flat, otherwise forestless country. All these are closely allied in language, while the Nuers and Atots speak a peculiar dialect. The Nuers are settled on the Upper Nile between the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Sobat, but do not reach the latter river, having been, it is thought, turned out of their former abodes by the Dinkas. They are a warlike pastoral race, in many respects like the Shillooks and Dinkas. The practice of boring the lip begins with them.



Head-fillet worn by the Shillooks. (Berlin Museum.)

The Madis[1] are settled to the north and west of the southern Shillooks in a general sense, westward of Lado. Tradition makes them immigrants from the north-west. They undoubtedly belong to the tribes whose appearance on the Nile divided the northern Shulis from the southern. Shuli fragments which have survived in less accessible spots, like the Labila mountains, point to an incursion of this kind; thus there are Shulis who go under the name of Madis, like the "Madis of Dufileh," and a great agreement often prevails between the customs of the two. Linguistic affinities, however, point to the westward, and Emin Pasha accordingly proposed to place the Madis of the Bahr-el-Jebel with the Lubaris, Kalikas, Loggos, Breras (on the Kibali), Abukayas, Jojeris, who



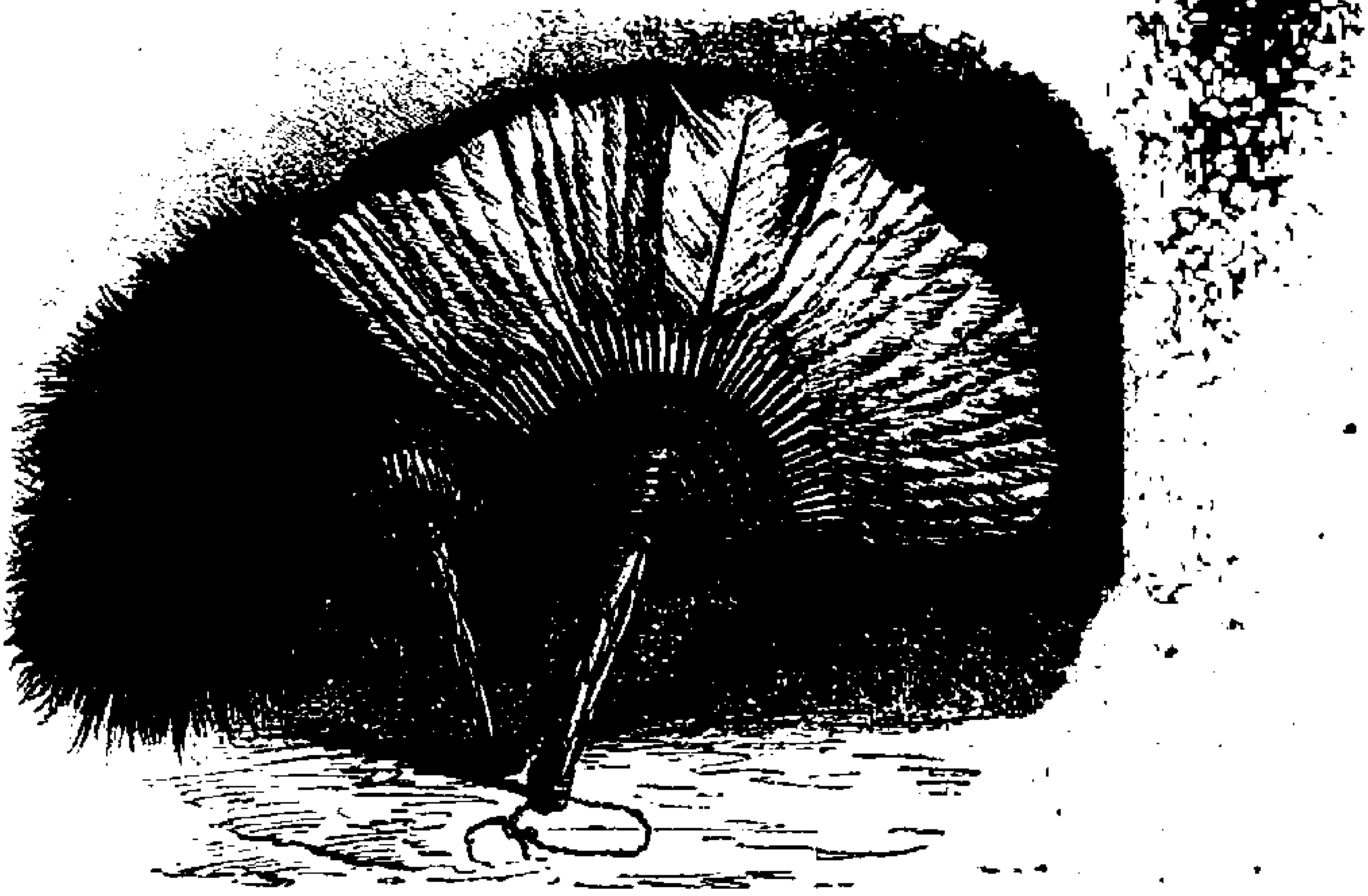
Moru woman with lip-ornament. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

belong to that part in a western group of races forming a counterpart to the northern Dinka group. These belong to the lighter (a light chocolate brown), taller stocks, of more nobly-formed features. The Mittu or Kederú tribe again, seems to belong here, though the dialect shows differences. The Moru tribe resemble the Mittus ethnographically, but not in language.

The Baris, occupying both sides of the Upper Nile, from 2° to 6° N., a powerful, tall, dark race, among whom a large part of the Egyptian army was at one time recruited, are herdsmen of limited capacity and passionate disposition. They are conterminous with the Dinkas to the north, the Madis to the south and west, and the Gallas to the east. They say that they migrated some generations ago down the Lasiri from their seats in the south, whence they were driven by war and over-population, and that they drove out their predecessors, the Beris, from the places where they now reside. They are said to surpass the neighbouring peoples in intelligence, but the Gondokoro mission found it impossible to introduce Christianity among them, and had an opportunity of learning their

[1] Several peoples have received this name from the Arabs, so that Madis are found both east and west of the Nile. We adhere to the use of Emin, Felkin, and others.

savage disposition in 1859, when they killed their chief and ra[illegible] because he was unsuccessful in averting a famine. A westerly [illegible] Baris are the Yanbaris or Nyambaras, who do not clip their hair no[illegible] bodies. Just as small Bari colonies are found scattered over Maka[illegible] three are distributed further to the west and south, other and some[illegible] dissimilar groups of the same stock, Fajelus, Kakuaks, Liggis, Man[illegible] territory has been invaded by Azandeh tribes from the west, who have [illegible] people eastward, or broken them up, isolated them, and subjugated them[illegible] and Nyambaras form a southern, Mandaris a northern group, K[illegible] Fajelus are forced south-eastward into the hills. A very small grou[illegible] fragment flung off from the Bari stock, is formed by the Marshias on [illegible]



Bari fans. (From Dr. Felkin's Collection.)

clever workers in iron. Emin Pasha thinks that his Bari tribes can all be distinguished by their peaked skulls and depressed temporal bones. The differences in language among them are at any rate only a matter of dialect, while the manners and customs of those who live to the west have been modified by Azandeh influence.

Contiguous to the Baris on the east are the Latukas, near akin to them in language. They are probably also akin to the Masai, being spear and leather-shield bearers, but are in very close contact with the herdsmen of the Nile through their cultivation of durra and their methods of cattle-breeding. The smith's craft too is indigenous among them. Their kinship with the Gallas formerly maintained by Emin Pasha can be proved to exist only in externals, such as their dress, in which, to be sure, much recalls their neighbours the Langos, especially the use of skins and the peculiar head-covering.

Mutilation of the body, which is the most primitive form of ornament, is practised on a large scale by the negroes of the Nile. The Baris, who have little bead-ornament, tattoo themselves, as do the vain Shulis and Madis, often in very

[illegible]ms. The painful operation is performed at the epoch of bodily maturity. [illegible] slashed scars on the forehead are the tribal mark of the Dinkas and N[illegible] Shillooks and Jurs do not tattoo themselves at all, only a few dwellers on the frontier imitate the scars on the face in vogue among the Dinkas. The Moru tribe show a characteristic dotted tattooing of the forehead and temples, while the Nyambaras tattoo their temples with a plume-like pattern. Emin Pasha describes a Shuli fashion of painting the face with purple-red and ashy grey. The

A Lango negro. (From a photograph by Richard Buchta.)

custom of knocking out some front teeth, usually the two middle teeth in the lower jaw, to which, however, the four upper are not rarely added, is found among all Nile negroes. One mark which distinguishes the western tribes from all others is the habit of wearing in the lips a bit of polished quartz 3 to 4 inches long. The Shulis wear it in the lower lip, where it "wobbles" to and fro when they speak, so that their communication, which has already suffered by the knocking out of the lower incisors, becomes completely unintelligible. For this reason Heuglin excuses the absence from among his scientific results of any vocabulary of the Dor language. Little sticks of transparent quartz in the shape of drawing-chalks, having the blunt end surrounded by a small iron ring, are worn by the Jurs and Yanbaris in both lips, by the Nuers in the upper. The Madi women wear in their upper lips disks of wood or brass rings with a few beads; the Moru people fasten a stone not only in the lower lip like the Shulis, but in the upper lip also,

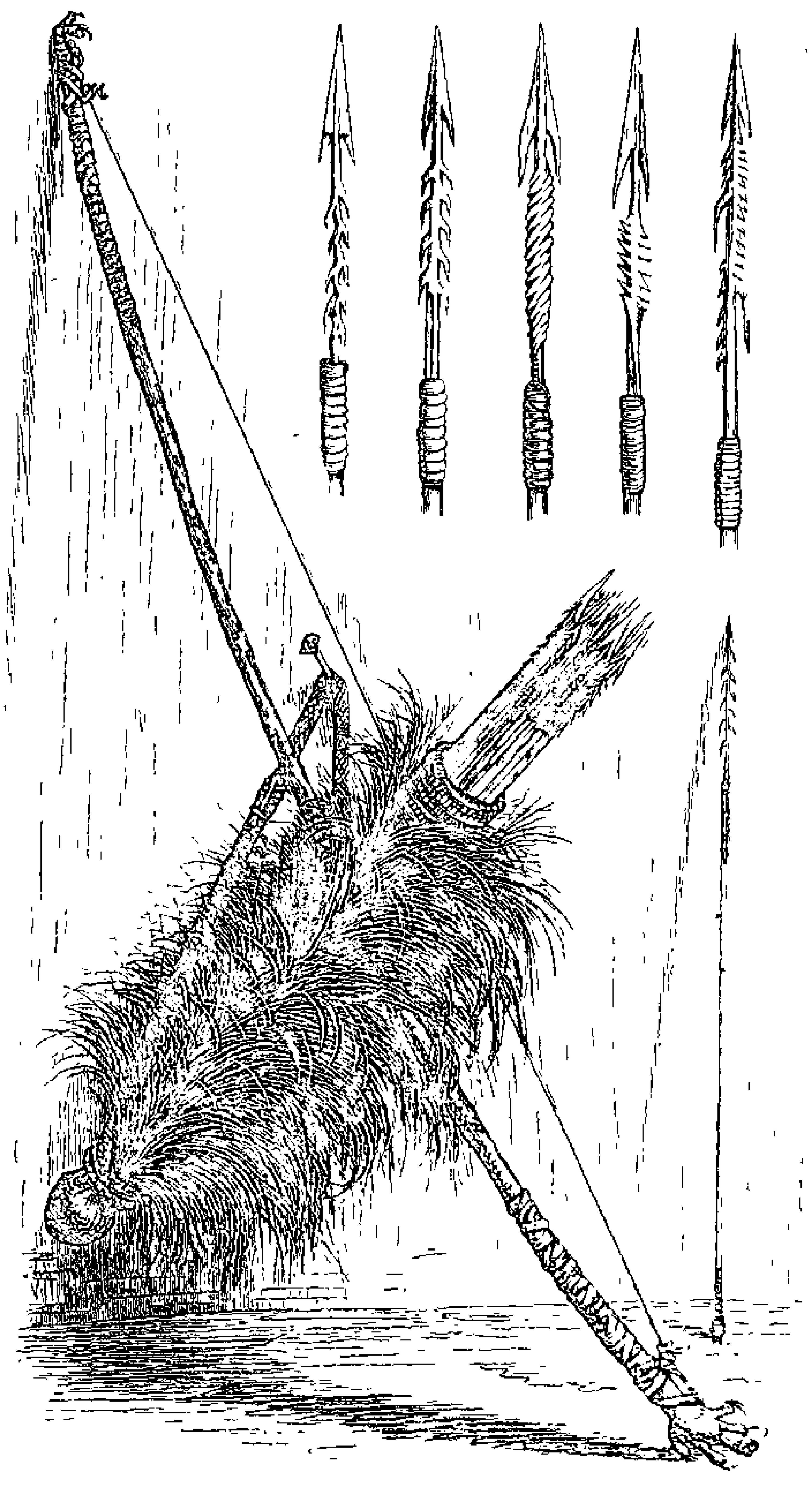
so that it clicks against their teeth when they speak. The cattle-b... in the yet unexplored country south of the Sobat are said to wear... the lower lip. Bari men often wear flowers by way of ornament, ... belt or the ear-rings, or as garlands round the neck. Greasing and ... body is found among all the Nile negroes.

The basis of the remaining ornament is given by the ring round...

Madi with bow and arrows. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

and neck. The mark distinguishing them from other negroes is the preference for iron and the manifold variations on the original type. While from the Baris we have neck-rings which are, as a rule, simple hoops of iron, notched or scalloped; among the Madis head-rings appear with a circular dilatation to fit over the forehead. Among the Shulis iron rings on the arms and legs, heavy enough to be a hindrance in walking, are usual. With the Madis the arm-rings are developed into dangerous weapons, furnished with spikes 2 to 3 inches long. Then again the Jurs wear an elegant arm-ring, finished off with two sharp points forming a fork, so that it can be equally well used as a weapon. It is shown in

the cut vol. i. p. 101, and on the next page will be found the Irenga arm-ring, made of a sharp-edged plate of iron of circular form. In peace the outer edge is covered with a leather sheath, and this being removed for fighting, reveals a formidable weapon. It is said that among the Baris only persons who have killed a man, or slain an elephant single-handed, are allowed to wear this. Formerly ivory rings were met with in quantities, but this soon changed, and the ivory rings common in Heuglin's time among the Jurs were not found by Junker till reaching the Ubangi. Leather rings round the upper arm, no doubt amulets, are also found here. The earrings so frequent in the west are here rare. Boars' teeth, which the Madis wear round their necks, as also necklaces of dogs', sheep's, and men's teeth, are allotted the rank of amulets. Among the Shulis, who vie with the Madis in the abundance of their ornament, men and women wear little disks cut out of snail shells, on long strings round their waist. As with the Baris these have a value as coin. They also wear strings of iron beads to which are hung numbers of little double disks and spirals, adorned with dots and lines.



Jur bow, arrows, and quiver, bound and ornamented with lizard skin—one-sixth real size. (Christy Collection.)

Before the extension of trade, copper and brass played a part only in the more westerly countries of this district. Heuglin formerly found among the Jurs arm-rings of brass or very light yellowish copper, nearly an inch in thickness. These had been made by the Homr-Baggaras. But five-and-twenty years ago brass spirals had made their way from Zanzibar to the Lirias and Baris, forming the favourite finery.

Iron is even brought into use for the adornment of the head; and of the two methods employed to impart to it the desired elegance one consists in the transformation of the hair into a firm mass, which can be modelled at pleasure; the other is the application of iron. With this goes the development of peculiar head-coverings most artistically wrought. Thus the Lángo men, in the region at the head of the Nile, wear an artificial head-dress of beads and shells, rising sometimes half a yard above the head; or a thin circular plate of iron on both sides of the head, a usage which is again found much further north, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The Lango women see to the decoration of their husbands' heads, and often devote several years to a single one. Then, however, their labour is repaid by such a wondrous spectacle as in the cut on p. 27. Among the Latukas it hangs far down the back. The hair of the Shillooks, Jurs, and Nuers, is worked into a plastic mass by a method similar to that of the Kaffirs, with clay, cow-dung, and gum. The women only wear as a rule their woolly hair short. The Baris, and in some measure also the Madis, are perhaps, of all Nile-negroes the most moderate in the ornamentation of their heads, for they shave their hair, leaving only a bunch. Chiefs wear a thin band of iron round the forehead; other men draw a bunch of hair through a perforated iron plate. Many, especially the Shillooks, remove all hair except that of the head.

Among the uncommon wealth of forms shown by the head-coverings of these people, we may mention one of the western Langos as adhering most closely to nature. It is in fact nothing but a wig, which is interesting as an anthropological illustration or caricature, reproducing as it does, by little buttons of palm-bast set close together, the "peppercorn" state of the negro hair. In the Vienna Ethnographical Museum there is a cap presented by Emin Pasha, made of wicker-work, with two teeth set upon it like horns, and stuffed inside with human hair. Other Shuli and Lango head-coverings consist of strong bast-matting, close set with concentric rows of cowries, with a woven blunt appendage, shaped either like a flat conical cup or like a helmet enclosing the head and hanging down the back of the neck (see again vol. i. p. 101). Among the Latukas and their kinsfolk heavy helmets are used to cover the head, made of close wicker, bound round the edge, with crests recalling Greek forms. A few iron rings are usually let into these crests, while a ring of cowries runs all round, and strips of sheet copper are attached in front, no doubt as a defence. Here again come those hats closely woven of straw, with a substratum of reeds, looking just like a copy of the Somali or Zanzibar shields of rhinoceros hide.

Among these people, again, the women are as a rule more scantily clad than the men, indeed the Lango women often go quite naked. However, the like is reputed of the men among the Shillooks, Jurs, Baris, and Nuers. Skin and leather are the chief materials. Among the northern tribes we occasionally meet with the use of skins to afford the covering demanded by bare decency, while among certain tribes in the south it is universal. But neither the large skin garments of the Wahuma, nor the bark-clothes of the Waganda and Azandeh, have spread to these peoples, and consequently they dispense with all the crafts whose aim is the manufacture of clothing. Only the pre-eminent iron industry has been drawn to any extensive degree into the service of this requirement. The leather apron trimmed with iron is frequent in the Upper Nile district. Among the Bors it appears in comparatively simple forms, in the shape of a raw goat-skin.

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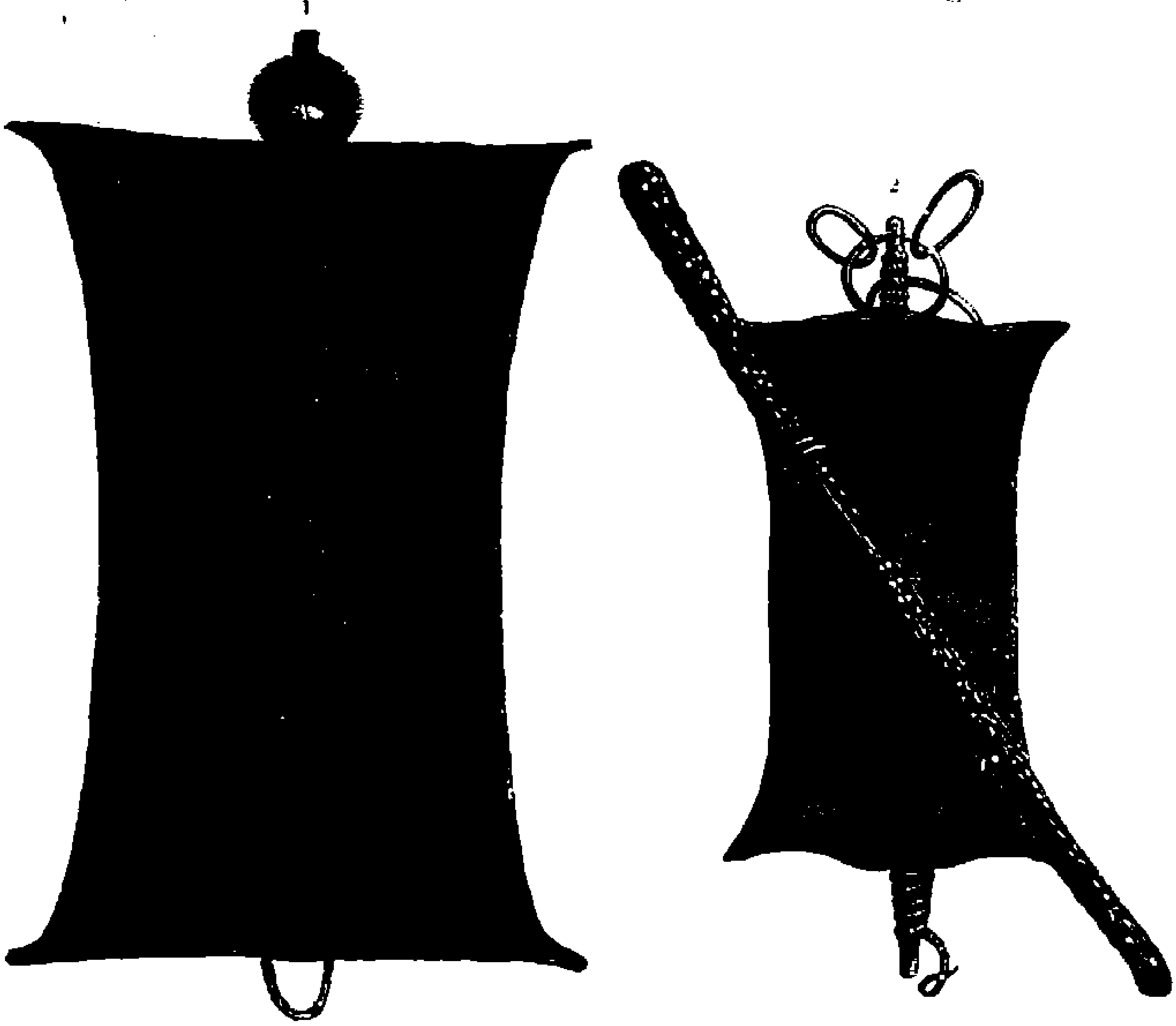
BARI WARRIOR AND WIFE

(From nature by [illegible])

The Baris, however, have it in a completer form as a belt of smooth or pressed leather, hung with longish iron plates in a close row, or having strings of iron chains dependent from it. Among the Madis to the east the apron takes the form of a coat, and among those on the Upper Welle the belt becomes narrower and is set with little flat iron bells, or vanishes in a simple waist-string of iron beads. Another variation is the Moru narrow leather thong having numerous iron rings hung with rattling beans passed through a row of holes. The tail of cotton strings worn by the Shuli women reminds us of the Bongos. The Amams

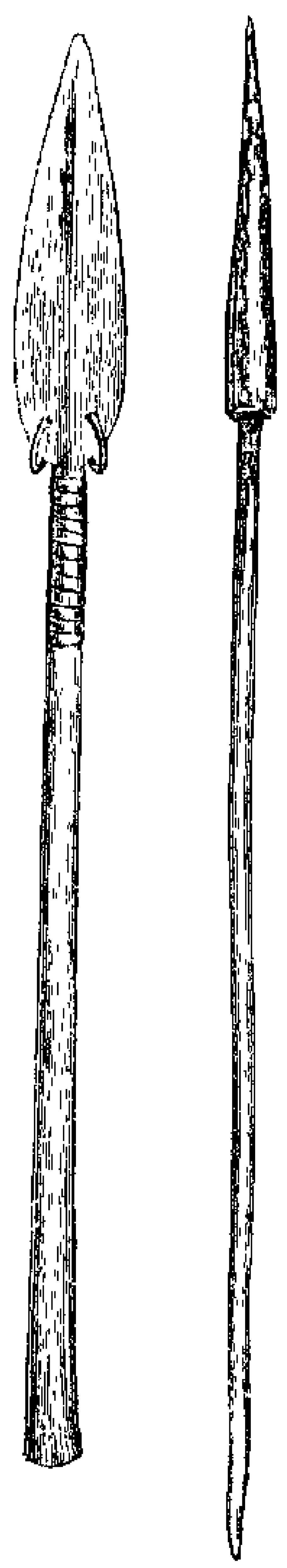


1, Shuli shield; 2, Turkana buckler with iron-studded club. (Vienna Museum.)

on the Blue Nile wear two thick ropes of grass hanging down before and behind from a leather girdle, they wrap their ankles thickly with the tough tendrils of a wild vine, and in wet weather cover themselves in a great rush cloak, having a collar of finer grass attached. The Nile negroes, however, have advanced in regard to body covering under the influence of the Nubians, and still more of the Egyptians; they even make themselves clothes of Egyptian cut. Thus here too we have to note the sequence in which the blessings of culture are adopted: first ornament and luxuries, then weapons, lastly clothes. In general the weapons possessed by these races are much less various than among those living further westward in the same latitude, from whom the Bongos obtain by barter knives, throwing knives, and spear-heads. In fighting and hunting, iron ornaments are put on and the face is painted.

The Shillooks and Dinkas have essentially the same weapons; a stick a yard long, something between a club and a parrying stick, is their constant companion,

so that, as depicted in the cut on p. 21, they look to be carrying a gigantic nail. Further, they have tall spears armed with long iron heads of excellent workmanship, as have also the Shulis. The Nubian custom of never going without a brace of spears in the hand is found among the Langos and the Latukas. The Shuli weapons are not so good as those of the Shillook-Dinka group, and to the westward also a deterioration may be noticed. The Shillook lances with heads of antelope horn are an interesting survival of an older equipment; but the wooden spear of the East Shulis, with a rib along the head and rings inserted, is not a weapon of war.

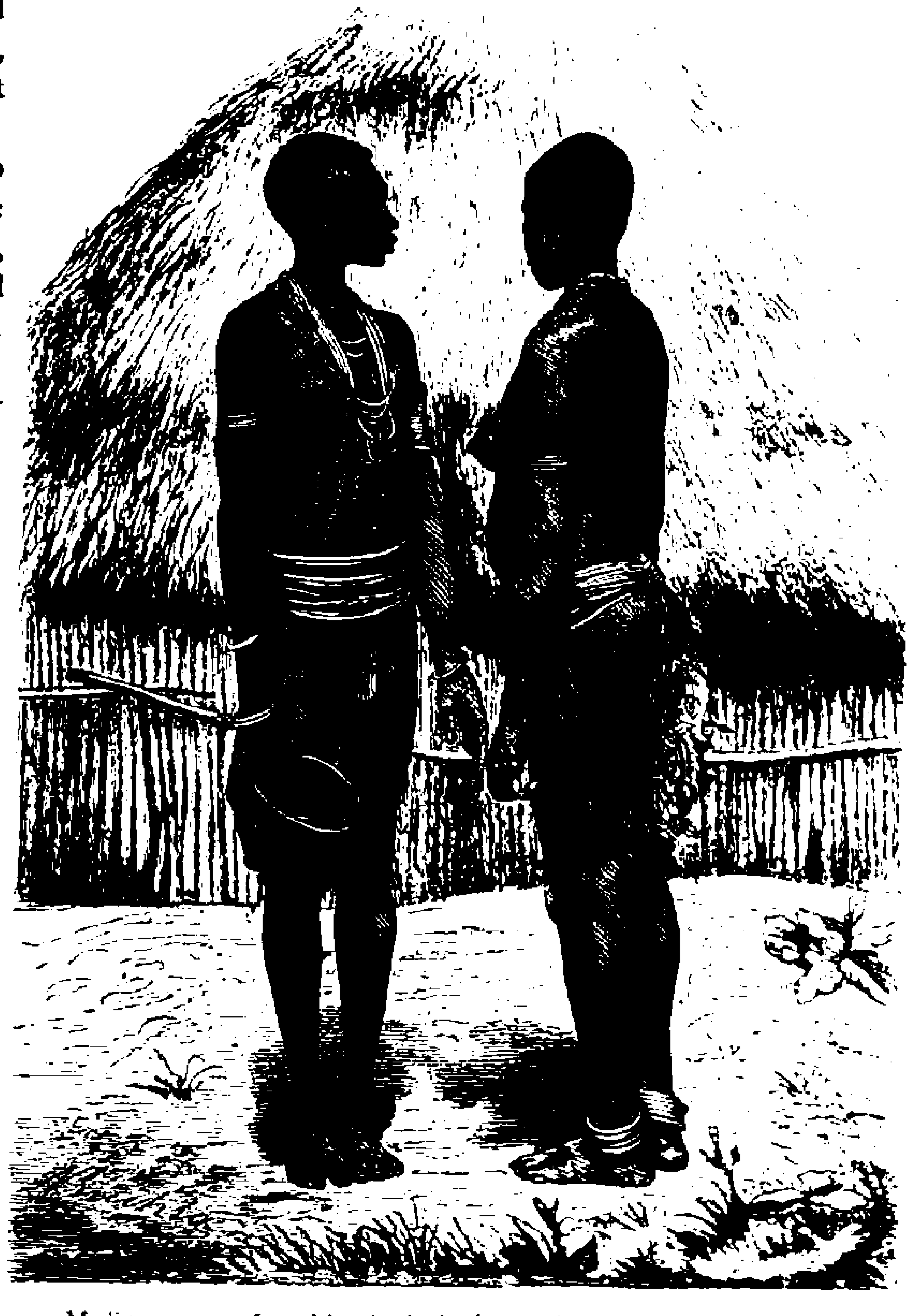


1, Shillook lance with head of antelope-horn; 2, East Shuli wooden spear with iron rings. (Vienna Museum.)

The bows of the races of the Upper Nile, as well as of those in the country about the watershed of the Nile and Congo, and Lakes Albert and Victoria, recall those of East Africa, in the partial employment of animal sinew, the symmetry of the ends, and the custom of binding them with the skins of various animals. If they are somewhat taller and broader, and also somewhat flatter in shape, their ends are almost always a little turned back. Closer affinities with the west, as far as the Upper Congo, appear among the more westerly Nile negroes. The most unique group is found on the Equatorial Nile and on Lake Albert; large bows of small curvature, usually of a long oval or spindle-shaped section, having no notch or similar contrivance for the string, which is a strong thread of animal fibre, only exceptionally of bast, and characteristically bound with lizard-skin and strips of iron. The skin of *varanus* or of some snakes drawn over the wood when moist holds remarkably tight, like fresh hoop-iron, says Junker; even gun-stocks are mended with it. The wood is generally bamboo, perhaps of the Abyssinian variety. Many of the Bari bows, a couple of yards long, have rings covered with hide, for hanging them up and to get a better grip of them, at about a third of the length. These rings are plaited into the wrapping of the bow. The expenditure in iron is considerable. In a bow in the Berlin Museum iron and lizard skin alternate through its whole length, the ends for a distance of some 6 inches being wrapped with iron only.

From these forms, found in the largest African bows, we descend as we go westward to very small models. Strings of rattan and considerable curvature appear together, the shortening being due to the string. The reports of the old Portuguese give reason to think that people using bows wrapped with snake's skin, to whom belonged the often mentioned Anziques of the Lower Congo, formerly lived far to the westward. To-day we find, west of those just mentioned, the allied bows of the Upper Congo, bound, however, with hide. Shorter shapes begin to occur among the Wanyoro, the Mondus, and the Madis. From Buchta's portrait on p. 28 we may conclude that even shorter and more strongly curved bows are to be found among the Madis. The Makaraka bows also are short, 3 feet 4 inches to 4 feet, either simply made from knotty wood in such a way that the

[illegible] is flat, and the ends strongly curved, or more regular and polished with the string twisted over to one side, and various wrappings over covering the greater part of the wood. Feathering is generally unknown among the races of the Upper Nile, while it occurs among the East and West Africans, who use feathers, and in the very simple form of an inserted leaf or bit of leather, among the forest races.



Madi women; a fenced hut in the background. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

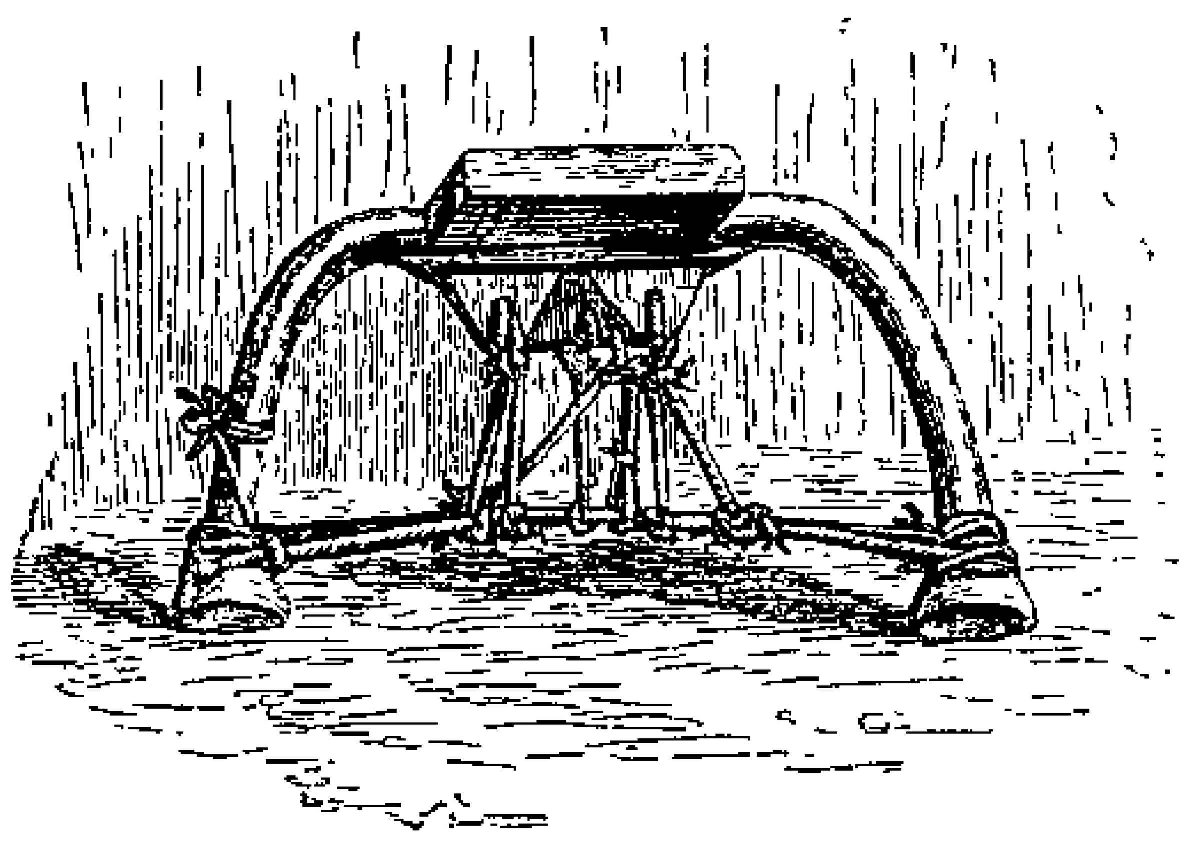
To this group belong further the bows of the Bongos, the Azandeh, and the Bakumu, whom the Wagenya drove away from Stanley Pool. They are short, strongly curved, round, smooth staves, the short blunt ends notched to receive the rattan string. Heuglin describes the Nyam-Nyam bows as at most 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, made of rattan, the string being a piece of rattan bark. The quiver mostly consists of an animal's skin without seam, and contains many, often over 100, little arrows, the iron heads of which are poisoned. If in general the bows with rattan strings are not worse than those strung with animal sinew, still here too, in a district where the spear predominates and the bow drops into the background, we behold the latter in a weaker form. The broad rattan strings seem universally to shorten the bow. To this class also belong the excellent bows of the Jurs, distinguished by considerable length, neat workmanship, and well-chosen ornament. The staff is wrapped at the ends with lizard skin, and the tip terminates in a lizard's foot. Similar in form, size, and stringing, but usually not wrapped, are the Kich, Yanbari, and Lur bows.

The shields of the Upper Nile tribes are of the Zulu shape, and thus are oval

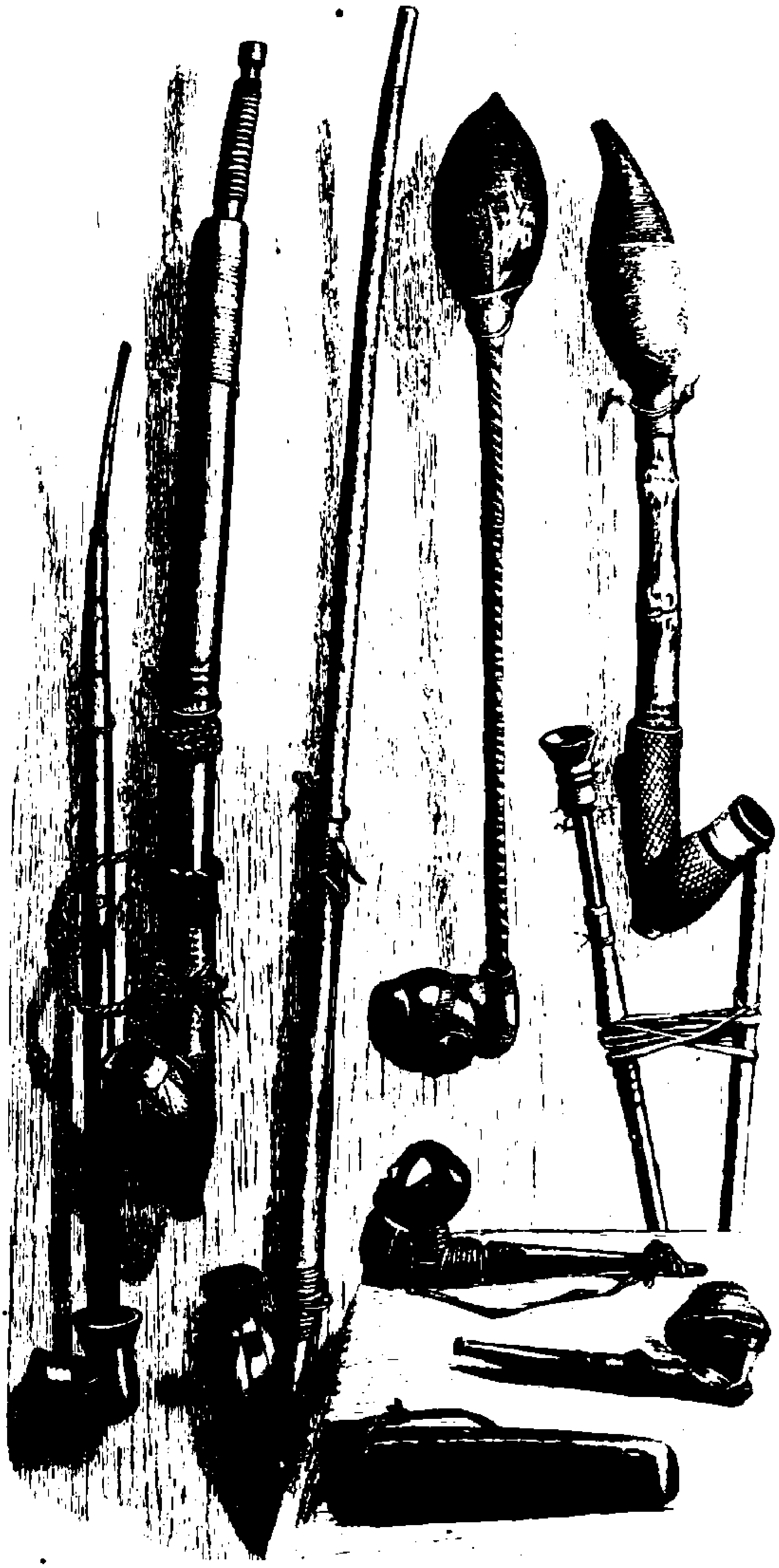
or rectangular, cut from hides and supported by a stick passed through cross-cuts. The parrying shield of the Turkanás also takes this form, while among others, as the Mondus, it is narrowed almost to the shape of a rod.

Hunting is carried on by means of cunning traps, or self-acting bows; driving is done with the help of nets; the hippopotamus is hunted in specially strong boats. At Kodj, Felkin saw a hunting boat made of a bent tree stem. In the days when the Shillooks were strong, they navigated the Nile, as traders or pirates, in large canoes holding forty or fifty men. For fishing, the Shulis have harpoons. Many tribes despise a fish diet; but the rafts made of *ambatch* branches, as light as tinder, of which, as is said, one man can carry three rafts, and one raft three men (see cut vol. ii. p. 375), are of especial use to fishermen.

The conical shape of hut prevails as far as the Monbuttus, and there they are not on high ground as among the Waganda. Even with the Langos the huts begin to be smaller and dirtier than those of the Wanyoro. Naturally with the great political organisations the palatial premises also disappear. On the other hand, wattled instead of grass huts make their appearance from the Madis onward. Walls 3 to 6 feet high of wattled work with bell-shaped roof are characteristic of the Madi, Bari, and Shuli huts. The Shillook huts with their projecting roofs of straw look like mushrooms; while the Dinka huts are more massive, and have a porch in front of the entrance. Among the Jurs the roof is carried up into a high point; the Madis crown it with an ostrich egg; the Bongo huts have a bundle of straw at the apex; and the Shulis with their sense for the picturesque let gourds and passion flowers climb over the village fences. From the Baris, whose villages and court-yards are very clean, there is a rapid descent in the scale of cleanliness as we go eastward to the Shulis, Lirias, and Langos. The wicker corn-bins, plastered with clay and cow-dung, and made to empty from the top, stand on clay substructures or on posts, to protect them from rats. Among the Madis the lower part includes the kitchen. They erect large sloping stages on which the sesamum is spread to dry; and nearly every family has a hut for strangers. Special huts for boys, also for girls, are to be found here, as among the Shulis, in almost every village; others again for the beer, which is common property. On the village "place" may be seen huts for conversation, look-out towers, and grindstones neatly embedded in clay. Among the Baris a spacious hut stands in an open place in the middle of the village, in which young married couples live together till the birth of the first child is drawing near. Then for the first time the couple get a hut for themselves. Besides the magic-averting horns on fences and gates, there is often found in the village a place, held in high honour, where a tree or stump stands adorned with the horns of antelopes and buffaloes, and the skulls of lions, leopards, and wild cats. Little consecrated huts are especially frequent in Shuli villages. In front of a chief's hut the insignia of his rank are as a rule set up in the ground; also several large *nogarahs* or wooden drums, and other instruments of warlike music.


A Bari stool. (From Dr. Felkin's collection.)

[illegible] size of the [illegible] is very [illegible] The political disintegration is now too advanced to allow of any real capitals where the larger part of the tribe should be collected round the chief. The great Shilloök village of Denab has long since been destroyed by the Baggaras. The southern tribes, less broken up by the slave-trade, can still show largish centres of population like Madi and Tarrangole. The rule is universally maintained that the pastoral tribes have larger villages than the agricultural. Madis, Shulis, Bongos, as well as all peoples that live almost exclusively by husbandry, have only small villages. Among the Bongos, Heuglin saw none counting more than thirty houses. Yet many such hamlets are often found within a small radius. In general more permanence in the sites of villages is found here than in the west and south. Before the devastation of the slave-traders the lands of the Upper Nile undoubtedly



Pipes and tobacco-box used by the Nile negroes [illegible]
(British Museum.)

were among the most populous portions of Africa, and in some parts they are so still. Both the connected territory of the Shillooks on the left bank of the White Nile, and to the south of it the Shillook *enclaves* of the Jurs and Dembos, afford examples of very dense population, such as we find as a rule in the neighbourhood of large rivers. After the subjugation of the Shillooks in the year 1871, the Egyptian government had a census taken for the Shillook territory proper, which resulted in an estimate of some 3000 villages.

Some tribes on the Upper Nile take a high rank as agriculturists. The only implement, besides the dibble for making holes for the seed, is the feeble hoe with crescent-shaped blade, shown on p. 91 of vol. ii., the handle of which ends in a fork among the Shulis, and among the Bongos is curved. Yet the condition of the fields is often very good, the yield copious, the variety of crops cultivated great. Often the whole family goes to field-work, the women and children place the grain carefully in the holes, while the men, kneeling, break up the clods and heap dry weeds and twigs for burning. Besides the fields, narrow strips which among the Madis are divided by boundary stones, we find, round the huts, gardens full of melons, gourds, tobacco, flowers. Poisonous bulbs for doctoring arrows are never lacking. The chief crop is naturally corn; the Moru women, when married, always carry in their belts, as a symbol of their work, the knife used for reaping the corn.

We have already, in § 2, spoken of the cattle-breeding of these races. It is carried on by the Shillooks, Latukas, and Morus *pari passu* with agriculture. The Dinkas and Baris, however, are as passionate breeders of cattle as Bechuanas or Masai, and their wealth in cattle was once prodigious. Sheep also are bred, and in former days shepherds in the Shillook country might often be seen taking their flocks in boats from one station on the bank to another, their dogs swimming patiently behind. Goats and sheep are, however, far behind cattle as domestic animals. Neither from Abyssinia nor from Nubia have horses or donkeys found their way to the negro peoples west of the Nile; while on the other hand camels and donkeys were brought to the Latukas from the Akkara district to the east. Of fowls only cocks and hens—but these in perfect swarms among some peoples, as the Shillooks and Bongos—are to be seen around the yards. They are usually eaten only by children and old people. Cannibalism is held in horror.

During the day the cow-dung, carefully collected, has been spread out and dried in the sun. Large provisions of it are distributed symmetrically in little heaps within the paling. When the herds arrive, each heap is set on fire; a pretty thick cloud of smoke soon forms over the village, which is to keep the many stinging flies away from the beasts. The penned animals seem to find it very comfortable. When day comes the fine ashes are similarly collected into heaps, and at evening spread smoothly over the whole place, serving as litter, and as a further protection against flies. Finally cows as well as masters can bury themselves deep, says Heuglin, in the softest, finest bed of ashes. The Shillooks, who sprinkle themselves with them, when powdered all over with grey or reddish ashes—the richer men are reddish, because they use only cow-dung—look, with their slender limbs and quiet movements, just like mummies.

The passion with which herdsmen cling to their herds in Africa has failed no less here in the Nile country than in the distant Zambesi region to do anything but hasten their destined subjugation. Here more than anywhere may be per-

ceived the results of the necessity, early felt by the Nubian slave-traders, for being able to offer the most popular article of barter, namely cattle; one man was plundered in order to obtain the means of dealing with another. The possession of cattle was the curse of the herdsmen. Besides this, in a purely political sense, cattle-lifting offered the most effective handle for subjugation. As Schweinfurth observes: "In this part of Africa cattle-lifting on a large scale has for long formed the real ground for all undertakings demanding a considerable armed force for their execution. Even the philanthropic aims which men like Baker and Gordon inscribed upon the banner of their magnificently planned campaigns of conquest in the cause of culture, left them at their wits' end when confronted with the task of substituting anything else for it. . . . I must express my conviction that the historian of Africa will be unable to avoid marking the stages of these contemporary efforts of civilization with the unjustly shed blood of cattle, a handsbreadth deep."

It is astonishing how little these people have learnt from Egypt and Nubia as regards trades and industries. Only in ironwork do they excel other negroes in any marked degree; and the only conspicuous point of eminence above the level of the African negro seems to lie in the progress made in leather-tanning, not indeed by Dinkas or Baris, but by the Bongos who are nearer to the Azandeh, and who use for the purpose more especially the bark of a sycamore and an acacia. Nowhere in Africa are there better smiths than among the Jurs and Bongos, and nowhere has the use of iron risen to such a height. The Latukas too are clever. Iron here replaces all metals, and the precious metals above all. In the traffic of those parts it approaches most nearly to our coin, whether in the form of hoes, or of round disks, out of which two hoes can be made by bisecting them. It has been said of the Dinkas that they are living just in the iron age, in an age, that is, when iron has the greatest value; and the same is true of the Baris. Of the Shillooks, Schweinfurth says: "Rich men's wives are often so over-loaded with iron that, without exaggeration, I may say that I have seen some who were carrying nearly half a hundredweight of it in rings and trinkets." Copper and brass are held in less esteem. Not till we reach the west part of the Upper Nile district do these metals become more frequent and more popular; especially where, as among the Dors, they enter into trade. This they do in the form of little ingots of about 1 lb. weight, which among the Azandeh and Fertits are even a medium of exchange. The Bongos forge arm-rings and other little adornments of copper, and draw wire of that metal. In the artistic working of iron the Jurs may perhaps be placed on a level with the Madis, and the Bongos above both. The Dinkas, in spite of their wealth in iron, are less acquainted with smith's work. On the other hand, they long ago brought those clever iron-workers, the Jurs, into the relation of a sort of serfs to themselves, making them hand over all their smith's work, just as in later times the Jurs were of service to the Nubians. Connoisseurs have compared their iron articles with the good work of English country blacksmiths. The ore is got in the form of the brown iron-stone which abounds in the Jur and Bongo countries. In the Shuli country much graphite is found in the river-beds, with which the walls of the huts are rubbed inside and out. Salt in a mineral state does not occur anywhere in all this region. A substitute for it is sought in the ashes of certain plants, which are washed, mixed with tobacco, and chewed. Good salt is said to have been

Shuli negroes playing music. (Drawn from nature by Richard Buchta.)

introduced in small quantities into Bongoland by the Arabs of Kordofan and Darfour, but its use is regarded as the height of luxury.

The manufacture of earthenware is mostly the women's business. The cleverest at this are the Shulis, who send their pots as far as the Latuka country. The corpulent tobacco-pipes are often widened at the orifice by the insertion of a pear-shaped gourd in which are placed balls of flax to suck up the tobacco-juice and serve for subsequent chewings. Both the bowls and the stems generally have a bulky character, as though the soothing fumes could not be inhaled fast enough or in sufficient quantity. The tube is often as thick as the arm, and the bowl holds easily a quarter of a pound of tobacco. The workmanship is usually rough, and the separate parts are connected by hide, sewn or tied on. The imitations of human faces on the bowls are on the other hand often not without talent. In almost every hut stand large earthenware vessels for corn, smaller ones for water. Among the Madis a large number of pots and baskets, often unused, form, as in our drawing-rooms, part of the decoration of a hut, and among the southern tribes the *durra*-beer is kept in big pots in a special hut.

Some of the prettiest bits of wood-carving are the little chairs and pillow-stools cut from a single piece of wood. Platters and dishes are also found, made of hard, heavy wood, especially the *dalbergia*. But in this art the Azandeh and Fertits stand higher, so that they export dishes of this kind to the Bongos. Reed beds on six wooden feet occur among the Moru tribe. That a brisk importation of weapons goes on from the westward has already been mentioned; and this trade with races living to the west seems the more remarkable when we consider the far more limited Egyptian, Abyssinian, and Nubian elements in the culture of the Upper Nile peoples.

This traffic also extends to musical instruments. These are more various in the west than in the east. The greatest industry is expended on the manufacture of signal horns for use in war and witchcraft. Among the Madis these are straight in shape, made of wood and covered with lizard-skin or leather, while the Latukas make them horn-shaped, of ivory, with a polished mouthpiece, and most carefully protected by a cover. Signal whistles, too, made of wood and covered with skin or leather, are found among the Latukas. A band of Dembos which Dr. Felkin heard at the house of an Egyptian official in the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, consisted of five men, playing pipes of reed, and two boys who rattled gourds full of beads in time to the music. Wooden drums, large and small, are also in use in the Upper Nile district; one or more alarm drums are hung up in front of a chief's house, or in the shade of the consecrated village tree, and regarded with a certain awe.

We have spoken above of sacred places in the villages of the negroes on the Upper Nile; also of graves, the outward indications of which point to a belief on the part of these peoples also that all relations with the dead are not broken off by death and burial. The Baris bury their dead simply in a sitting posture, and raise mounds over the graves. Among the Madis, on the other hand, regular arrangements of stones are found, recalling the Berber dolmens, as in the cut vol. ii. p. 372. The older observers report human sacrifices at Shillook funerals. A belief in "rain-stones," found also among the Wahuma, is very widespread; rare or curious stones being laid in water to attract the rain.

Life in the family and in the community offers very little novelty among

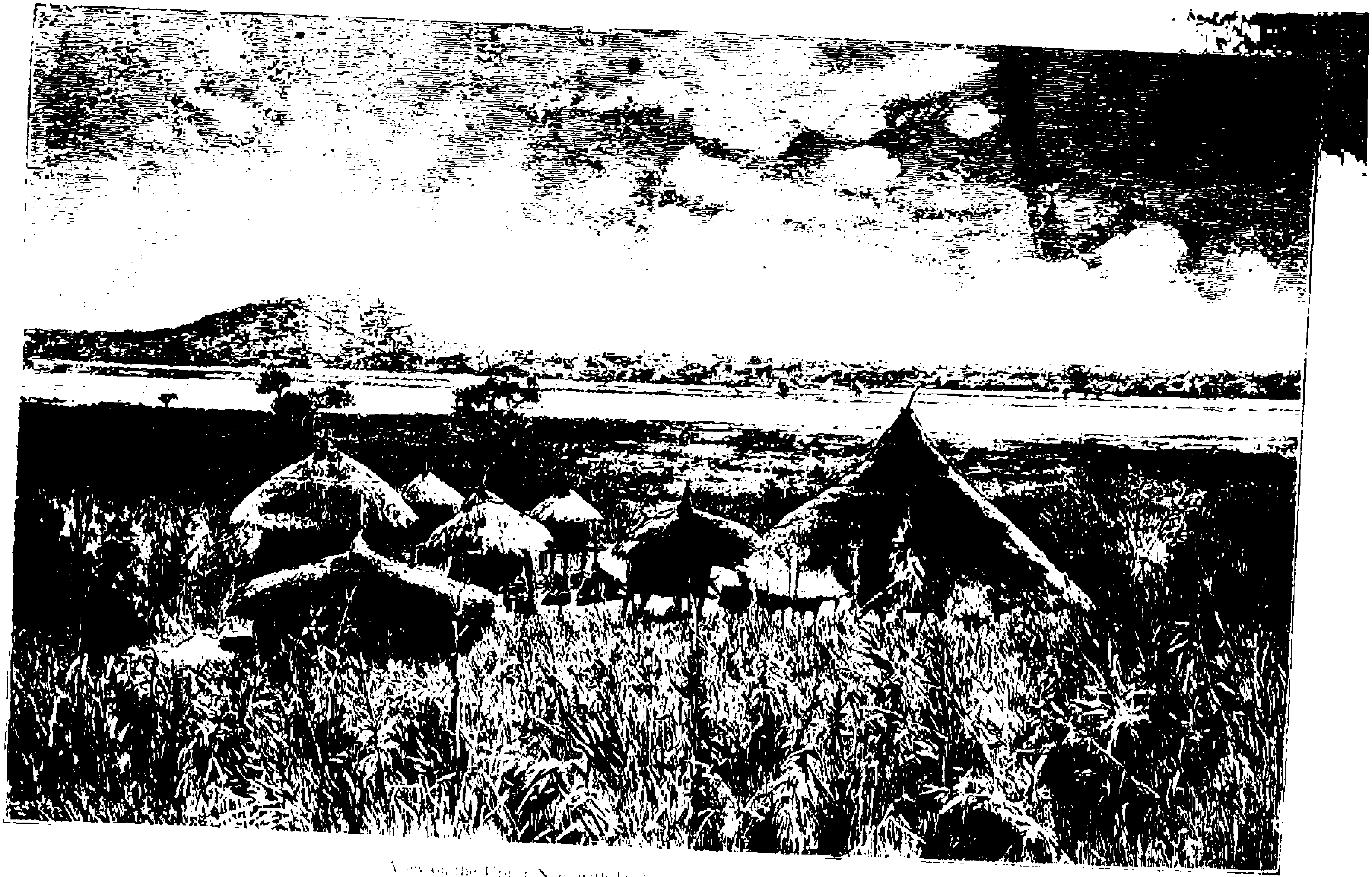
these peoples; it is that of negroes in general, though with tendencies to higher developments, especially in the position of women. Nubian slave-raids have interfered with both family and community so disastrously that it may be regarded as a main proof of their soundness that they have not retrograded into absolute anarchy. Among the Madis every village contains some circles of more intimate friends, the members of which live near together, take their meals in common, assist each other in tilling the land, and thus aid each other mutually in the acquisition of a larger private property, since to bring soil under cultivation leads to the ownership of it. The tribes are broken up into associations, the traditional distinction of which is the number of stones they wear, though these stones have no actual existence. "How many stones dost thou wear?" is the first question when two Madis meet. Similar numbers indicate associateship. Among the Shulis women have, contrary to the general custom, a voice in the selection of their husbands; and they hold a higher position than in the other tribes thereabouts, with the exception of the eastern Madis, the Latukas, the Wagugu, and, above all, the Monbuttus. Among the Shillooks we find traces of inheritance in the collateral line. Endogamy is enjoined in the Moru tribe. A peculiar custom prevails among the Madis and Shulis. In the midst of the houses in a village scattered edifices may be seen, raised above the ground, resembling very large corn-holders, but showing an oval entrance in the front side, and smoothly plastered with clay. A wooden bench usually stands in front to facilitate entrance. In these houses the girls sleep when approaching puberty, and there all the marriageable lads consort at pleasure with them. If a girl becomes with child, her comrade is bound to marry her, and to pay up the usual price of a bride to her father. Burton reports a similar custom among the races dwelling south of the Equator. Whether or not there may be found here a case of greater freedom allowed to the woman or girl who can choose her partner according to taste, in other respects we may note an advantage possessed by women among the Madis, in that they are never beaten, but often called upon for advice. If a Madi gets a present he at once asks for another for his wife. Polygamy is unlimited where the person concerned is in a position to buy wives. Only the housework falls to the women; the tilling of the fields is done by the men and boys. Of the southern Dinkas, Brun-Rollet relates that if a widow marries a

A Bor chief. (Drawn from life by Richard Buchta.)

man who cannot pay for her, any children she may have by him take the name of her deceased husband. Near kinship seems to form hardly any impediment to a marriage which property, the main consideration, renders desirable. The old Dinka princess who governed the wilderness of swamp islands known as the Meshra, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, Schweinfurth's "Old Schol," is a good illustration of this family relationship. She had married the son of her first husband, who had no property, while she could show a wealth fabulous for those parts, in cattle, rings, chains, etc. The consort had only the joint usufruct; the wife held fast to the property.

Large families are the rule, and the relations of parents and children, even among an oppressed and broken-up tribe like the Jurs, are so beautifully maintained that, were Schweinfurth not above all suspicion of embellishment, his picture of the village and family life of those people might seem like an idyll in the style of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre or Forster. Felkin, besides, has sketched a favourable picture of wedlock among the Madis, where at times all the members of a family assemble, down to the great-children, while the head, the patriarch, commemorates those who are dead, and inculcates family duties upon the living. Every Jur family is richly blessed with children. The Moru tribe, among whom Felkin gives four as the average number, look after the virtue of their girls and punish adultery.

The life of the community and of the tribe suffers even more than that of the family from the oppression in which Nubian slave-traders, Egyptian officials, and the Mahdi's people have successively taken a hand. When the Nubians raided, the Bongos were pushed or flung among the Dinkas, their land laid waste, their tribe broken up. The Jurs especially had resigned all settled ownership of the soil; they tilled the ground here to-day, there to-morrow, according as a place suited them and offered shelter. Hence they laid out their plantations in spots secure from forays, commonly clearings in the dense forest. They kept up only small fields and gardens near their dwellings. The Shillooks, once the largest nation in these lands, according to Kaufmann's estimate still numbering half a million in 1861, lost ground every year, retreated southwards, and forfeited their capital and their sacred groves. The Dinkas are called by Schweinfurth a people completely without chiefs or frontiers. The Nubas have been pulverised by the Mahdists whom they at first ventured to oppose. Madis, Shulis, and their kinsfolk betray a certain democratic strain in their great personal independence. The priests, the regulation of ordeals, and the judges are at least as influential as the chiefs, who accordingly unite as many as possible of those functions in themselves. When we hear that a Madi ruler, like Tak Farre whom Felkin visited, commands 5000 persons beside his own tribe, we are astonished at the magnitude of this state. But he commands only in time of war, and allies himself with his neighbours only when danger threatens, and for the extirpation of dangerous animals. The chief of the Obbo tribe, the most northern Shulis, is an old man, a famous witch-doctor and rain-maker, in high honour also among all the contiguous tribes as a potent wizard. He carries a flute made of an antelope horn, which is credited with the power of making rain. The old chief Katehiba has 116 children living, and all his villages are governed by sons of his. When he is levying tributes in any district he always rides upon the back of a man, with some servants accompanying him. On these occasions one of his wives has to



View on the Upper Nile, with Dinka huts. (After Richard Buchta.)

carry a jug of beer, to refresh rider and bearer. In places where the tribute is not forthcoming he bewitches his subjects' goats and fowls, or threatens to keep back the rain.

§ 10. THE RACES OF INTERIOR AFRICA

Increase of culture towards the interior—Advance of Europeans—Boundaries and relationships—The Monbuttu type—Part played by the Congo—Ethnographical works—Strong and weak races—Internal migration—Azandeh and Monbuttus—Momfús, Bongos, and others—Peoples of the Congo—Kassai peoples—Tattooing and painting; mutilations; ornament; bark-cloth—Weapons: bows, throwing-knives, axes, shields—Houses and architecture; villages, agriculture, food, hunting—Navigation and fishery—Traders—Amphibious races—Smiths and other trades—Slavery and man-hunting; cannibalism; political disintegration.

THE first impression made by the races of "Innermost" Africa, opened up—and hardly that—only within the last few years, may be summed up as follows: No essential physical difference from other negroes, even though over wide districts we find lighter colour and forms of nobler build, and in others people of low stature like Bushmen; but peculiarities, not inconsiderable, in ethnographical relations and in language. Predominance of agriculture, here and there dense population, and scattered distribution of dwarfish hunting-peoples, are found throughout the wide space between the Zambesi and the Nile watershed. Cannibalism is widespread. Iron and wood-work, and hut-building, show cleverness. In the huts a quadrilateral plan takes the place of the round. Wherever travellers have penetrated from the outer parts of Africa to its heart, they have above all received a clear impression of having come within the domain of a higher culture. Schweinfurth got this from the Azandeh, the Bongos, and yet more from the Monbuttus, just as did subsequently travellers on the Congo when they reached the Bateke, or Buchner when he touched the northern limit of the Lunda empire, or Wissmann on penetrating into the Kassai territory. They could all say with the last-named: "We recognised with pleasure that here, where as yet not even the knowledge of the white man's existence had penetrated, we had found a people whose culture was far higher than that of all negro tribes of which we had so far heard or read." On the Kassai, in the "carefully wrought bows, the arrows tastefully adorned with feathers, the engraved heads of the spears taller than a man, which gleamed like mirrors, the artistically forged daggers hanging sheathless on the right side at the back of the string which encircles the hips," Wolf sees the evidences of a higher stage of culture in Innermost Africa, which, uninfluenced by trade, has not yet lost its originality. The spears and knives inlaid with brass, symbols of rank rather than weapons, such as Lukengo carried, are peculiar to this district, near as it is to Katungo, the land of copper. Werner found a similar finish, especially in the ironwork, among the people on the Aruwimi, just before the beginning of the Arab devastations. "In all their performances they display a higher culture than any other Congo tribe." Further south François allots similar praise to the Ngolos. The practical and elegant execution of the iron weapons is always especially striking, as may be seen in our plate of knives, etc., from the Upper Congo; at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, they were put on a level with the productions of the Sheffield factories. This is, however,

only one sign of the artistic dexterity which expresses itself in many ways. Thus over a tract nearly 700 miles wide, between 5° north and 5° south, we meet with several peoples of conspicuous material civilization all of whom undoubtedly before the Arab invasion were in a state of political concentration, for which we have certain guarantees in the case of the Monbuttus and Bakuba. The name of "the real heart of Africa," assigned by Stanley in his book on the Congo to this wide, level, well-watered and well-grown stage between the coast-barrier and the mountain chain, has also an ethnographic ground in the fact that we are here equally remote from the European influences of the west, the Arab of the east coast, and certainly equally far from the once dreamed-of primordial negro civilization.

Not until the discovery of the Congo route in 1876 and 1877, and the consequent explorations of the Germans in the southern part of the Congo basin, and of the French and Belgians in the northern, were lines of traffic laid down amid these peoples. These were unhappily only too soon followed by the Arabs, who first began at that time to make their forward push to west and north from Nyangwe. At that time, too, European influence had not yet penetrated very far in from the west coast, and that only along a narrow strip, in a district which had long been flourishing tranquilly. Stanley was highly pleased when he at last heard from the chief of Rubunga, above Stanley Falls, the name which the river bears among Europeans and in its lower course, "Ikutu ya Kongo." There too, four old Portuguese muskets, the first which he had seen in the hands of natives since leaving Nyangwe, indicated to him the limit of European influence. When ten years afterwards Wissmann's expedition found, near the point where the Kwango flows into the Kasai, European cloth, and the first flint-locks they had seen since leaving the Baluba, they had again reached the great boundary which had been left four degrees away to the eastward. The chigoe, imported from the coast, was also found even above Stanley Pool. But they had also passed beyond the region of the highest development of the arts and accomplishments belonging properly to the natives. To-day one can no longer speak of this region as a whole. It has already been contracted on all sides, and its mighty streams are on the way to become so many arteries of traffic. A kind of natural compulsion presses the owners of firearms into those districts, where the bearers of bows, as well as the unorganised spearmen, are easy to overcome. Kalamba, the Baluba chief, prohibited the old weapons, and had them destroyed in order to force his subjects to put themselves in possession of firearms as quickly as possible. In 1874 Lenz wrote of the Okande country: "Guns and powder have made faster progress than travellers here in Africa, and I could almost believe that a man travelling north-east from Okande would find tribes possessing firearms all the way to the Nile district." Eighteen years later this had been fulfilled, for Dybowski found percussion-guns, said to be imported from Wadai, among the Waddas on the Upper Ubangi.

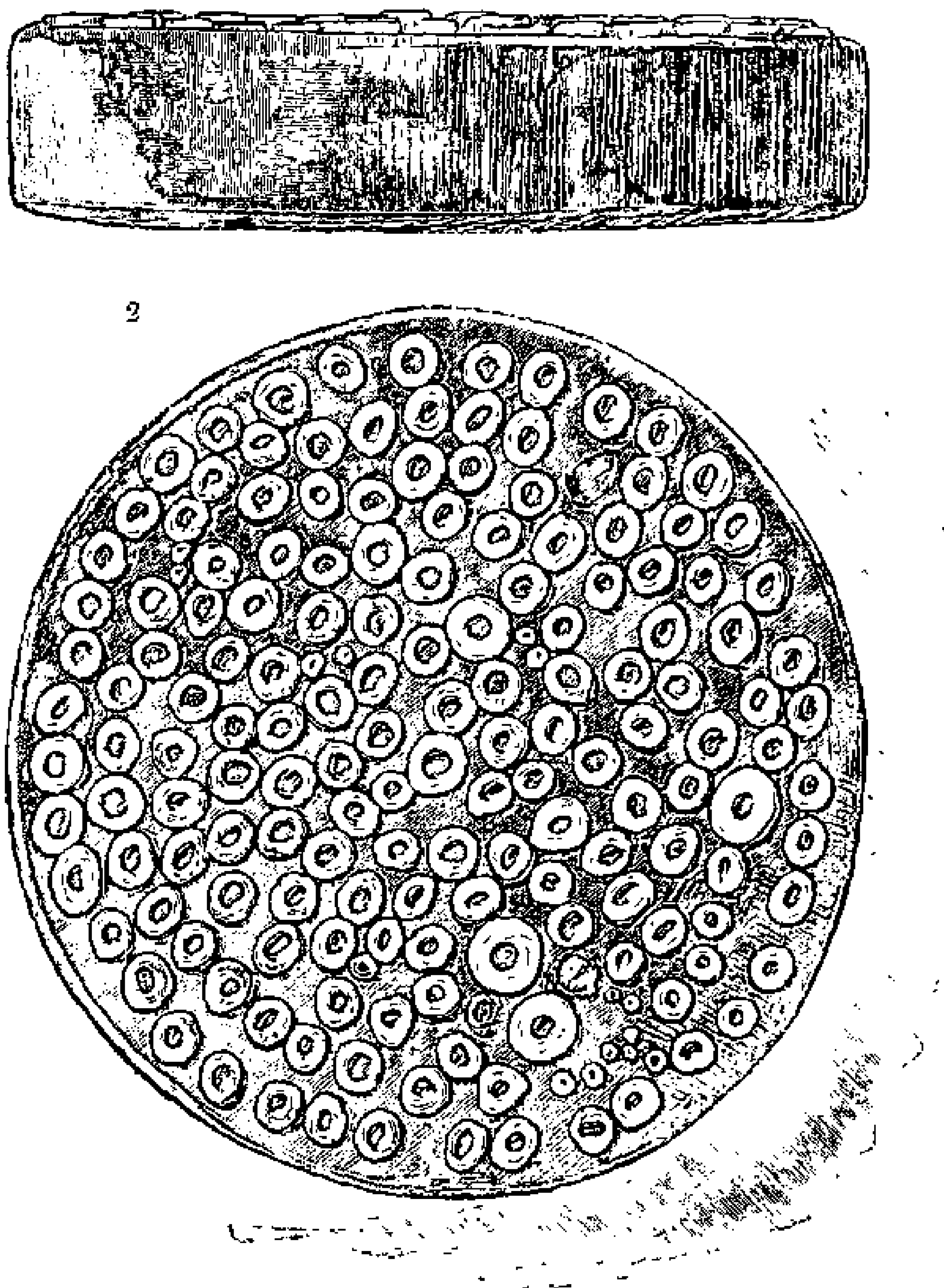
If we look at the great features of race-distribution in the interior of Africa, we first find in the north-east a group linguistically distinct; Monbuttus, Azandeh, Abarmbo, Madis, Maigo-Mundus, Krejes, and Golos, which F. Müller has classed together as the equatorial family of languages. It must have reached farther westwards into the Ubangi district than we now are aware of. Junker heard the Azandeh language among the Bandija, to whom the Sakaras on the

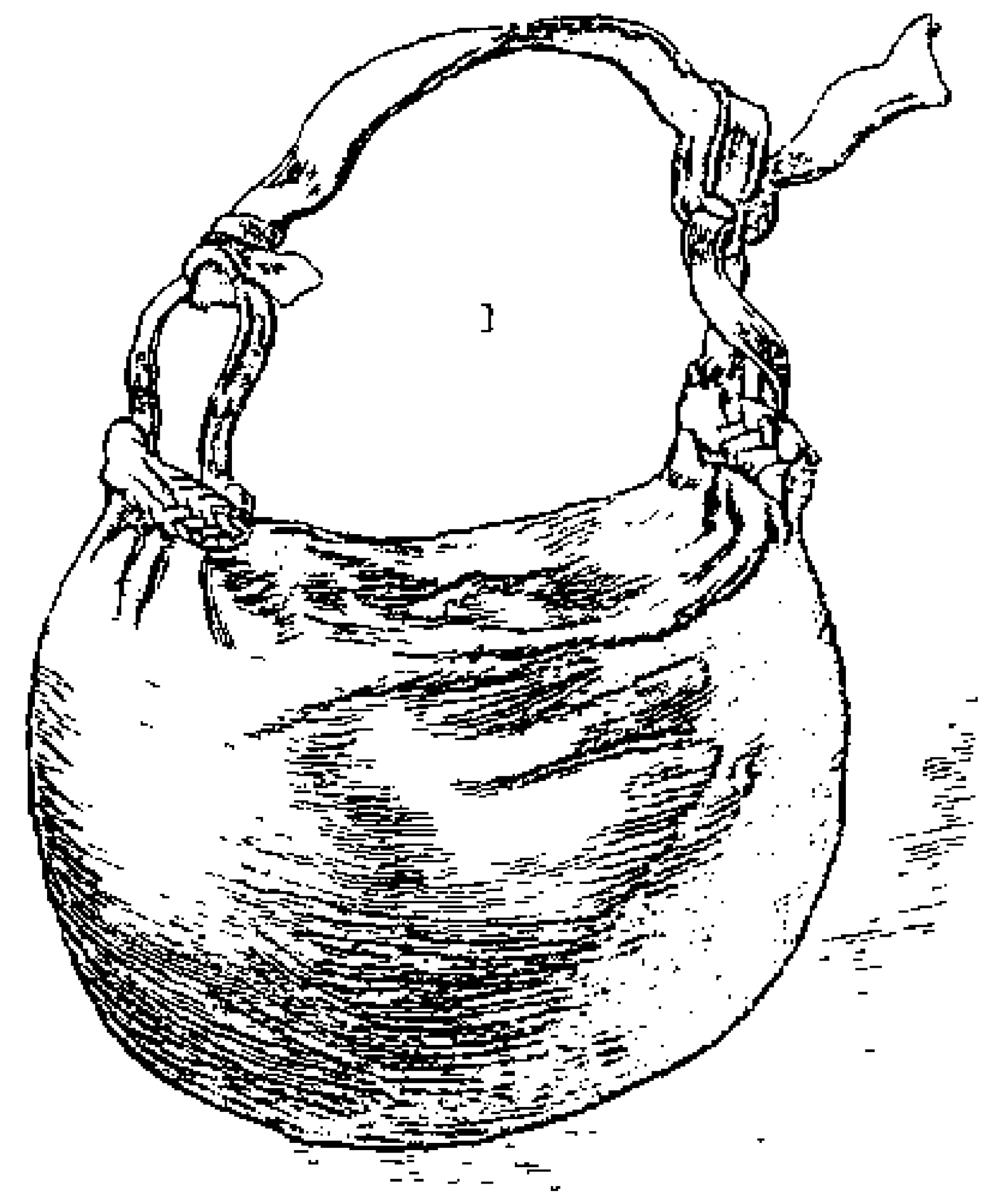
Mbomu are akin. To these, on the south-east, the Upper Nile tribes join on, scattered fragments of which, mingled with members of the Wahuma family who have emigrated westward, extend beyond the Equator. Those who dwell to the west and south of this group belong in language to the Bantu family, but are by race and culture split into several deeply fissured groups, the scattered small hunting-races of which we have already had under our notice. European influences from the west, Soudanese from the north, have had their effect here. Apart from them and probably long before them, great ethnographical distinctions grew up, based on natural conditions, large internal migrations, and the contrast, always operative in Africa, between races developing themselves tranquilly, and others whether of a warlike restless character or suffering oppression.

A Zandeh. (*Drawn from life by R. Buchta.*)

A very large part of the interior of Africa is forest country; dark green oases in the more open yellow prairies. The tropical primeval forest extends from the western slope of the East African Highlands to the mouth of the Ubangi; and from the Nile watershed to Nyangwe and as far as 5° south. We meet with outliers and advanced posts of it on the west coast, as in the Cameroons district; but the forest is interrupted by smaller clearings and larger open tracts. No feature of the scenery in the interior of Africa is of such significance. Forest and prairie have their own special cultures; but their severing effect extends far beyond that. Wide tracts of the forest are completely uninhabited, while elsewhere it shelters the little dwarf races. In the Cameroons even the great dividing line between the Bantu and Soudan languages runs for the most part along the boundary of forest and prairie. By the conditions of their life and dwelling the forest dwellers have become a peculiar people, showing many points of agreement. Stuhlmann speaks of "a primeval forest type of negro," which is very clearly marked, for instance, in the difference between the darker, less clothed, forest Wavira and their neighbours in the grass country. The racial distinction between the forest negro and the forest dwarf does not exclude a far-reaching ethnographical similarity. Further, these groups have not remained unmixed, and from the mixture may descend semi-dwarf and semi-light forest negroes, like the Momfus. When the forest negro and prairie-negro meet, deep differences, which the transition stage of the

peoples, like the Wakia or Wambuba, who live in both regions cannot obliterate, show themselves. The forest negroes are more scantily clothed, but more copiously ornamented; lip-perforations, and iron finery in the form of neck-rings, are especially frequent; tattooing is less common. Their huts are round, and stand always in groups, when possible, on elevated clearings. In the moist forest bananas and maize flourish the whole year round, so that they have no granaries and few stores. Leaving the forest, one feels oneself at once among the *eleusine* fields of the grass-land. The short bow, usually with string of rattan, poisoned arrows in a wicker quiver, leather corselet, skin belt, shields of reed, serve for defence and attack. There are no cattle, but goats often exist in large numbers, and many tribes fatten dogs for food. Cannibalism is practised in varying degrees, but we must

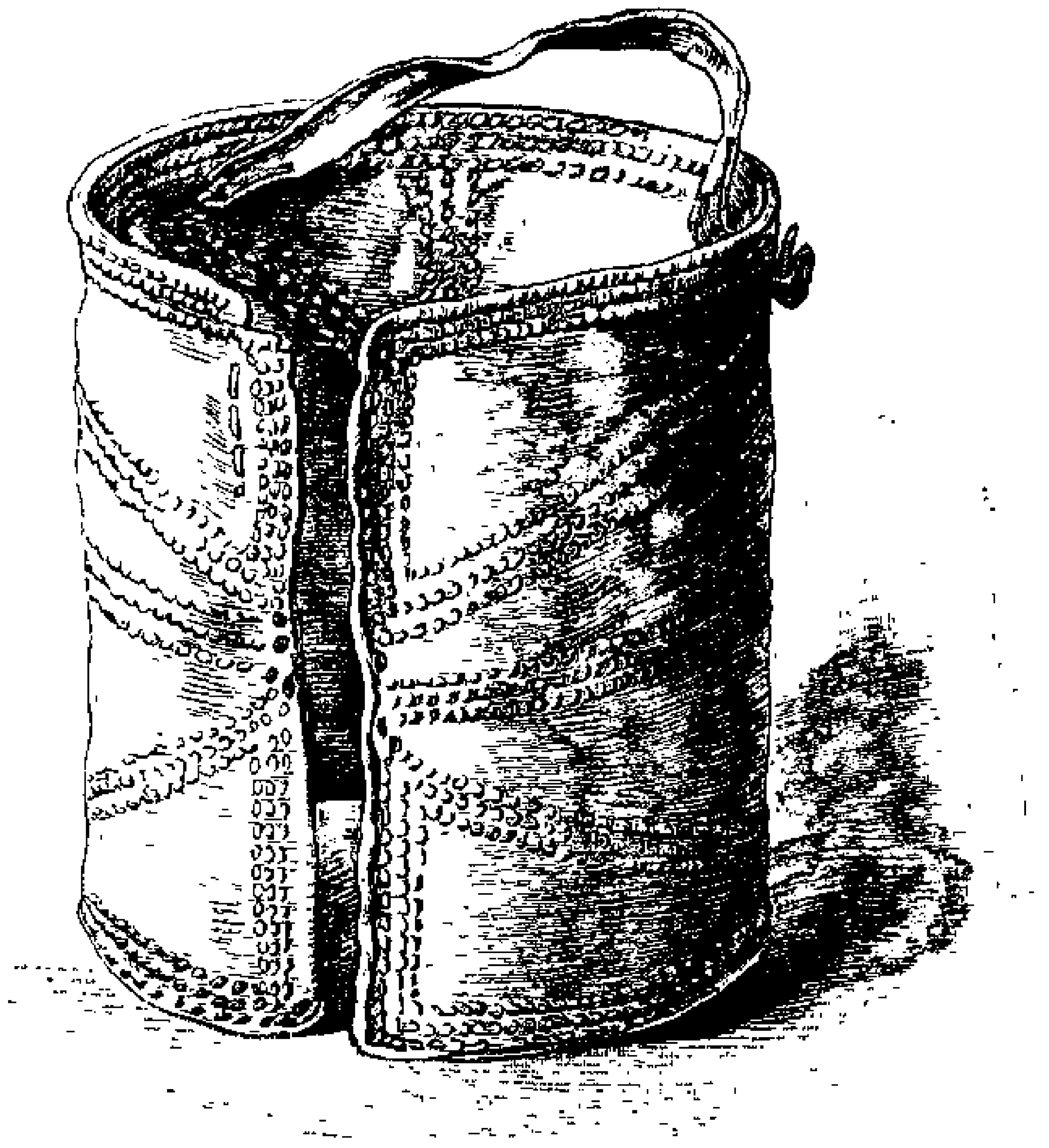




Wavira articles: 1, leather pad to protect the hand from the bow-string, one-third real size; 2, wooden lip-plug, set with shell-beads. Both are also used by other forest negroes—four-fifths real size. (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

receive with caution the statement that it is altogether absent among some of these tribes, such as the Manyema. Circumcision is more widespread among the forest negroes than among their neighbours to the east and west; the forest Wavira practise it, while their eastern branches in the grass country disdain it. There are, however, exceptions, the dwarfs especially only practise it partially. In like manner the custom of filing the teeth to a point is widespread, but among Manyema, Wakussa, and others, it is limited to a gap between the upper middle incisors. The larger state-organisations also cease at the edge of the forest, and every village is an independent world. How far the sultry damp air of the forest affects the people physically cannot yet be said with certainty. Goitres seem to occur with special frequency among the forest-negroes. In any case the European draws breath when he again comes upon the open grass country.

If we attempt to delimit these races, the Congo basin undoubtedly forms a boundary to the eastward. No doubt this, as lying nearest to the older district of Arab influence, was earliest obliterated; yet we shall enter this district with the Manyema, and follow the watershed of the Nile and Congo in a north-westerly direction along the edge of the highlands of the great lakes, while to the south-east we have to stop at the Lualaba. In the Congo basin a boundary is formed by approximately the 18th parallel of east longitude, in which the river crosses the Equator. Within this, to longitude 30° east, dwell races with whose ethnographical type we first became acquainted from Stuhlmann's accounts of the Monbuttus and Azandeh. Offshoots from them extend along the stream as far as Stanley Pool, but north of the Congo reach even further to the west; before the Ubangi makes its great bend to the south, in about latitude 4° north, there are peoples dwelling in lands rich in pasture, with fine herds of cattle, in rectangular houses surrounded by fields of maize and bananas. They shave their hair all but a bunch at the back, do not tattoo their faces, wear at most a ring in the nose, and are generally deficient in ornament.



Wavira corselet of double buffalo-hide, used also by other forest negroes—one-fifth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

Even this interior district has not remained untouched by the southward pressure of the Hamite and Nilotic peoples. Immigrations have taken place from the parts about Lake Albert, owing to which a curious transitional state of things has come into existence between the Upper Nile and the lakes in which it rises, which finds its expression in the Lur and Lendú tribes. Lurs, next of kin to the Shulis and Shillooks, migrated two generations ago from Boki's country at the north end of Lake Albert, and intruded themselves gradually by families to the south-west, remaining, however, in touch with their home lying a degree away to the east. Customs like the knocking out of the lower incisors, aprons made of wire rings, iron head-ornaments, the baskets, round above, square below, which the Wavira wear on their head-band, by this means found their way into the Upper Congo region. In yet greater masses, indeed in several waves, Wahuma penetrated southward and westward, and extended their dominion, their cattle-breeding, their customs, as far as Urundi and Ruanda. Conversely Wavitu intruded from the west into Undussuma and the neighbouring territories driving the Lendú Walegga into the mountains. Then Wanyoro came from the east and subdued the country. But apart from this Wavira seem even to have blended

with Waganda, laying aside therewith circumcision, lip-perforation, and other customs.

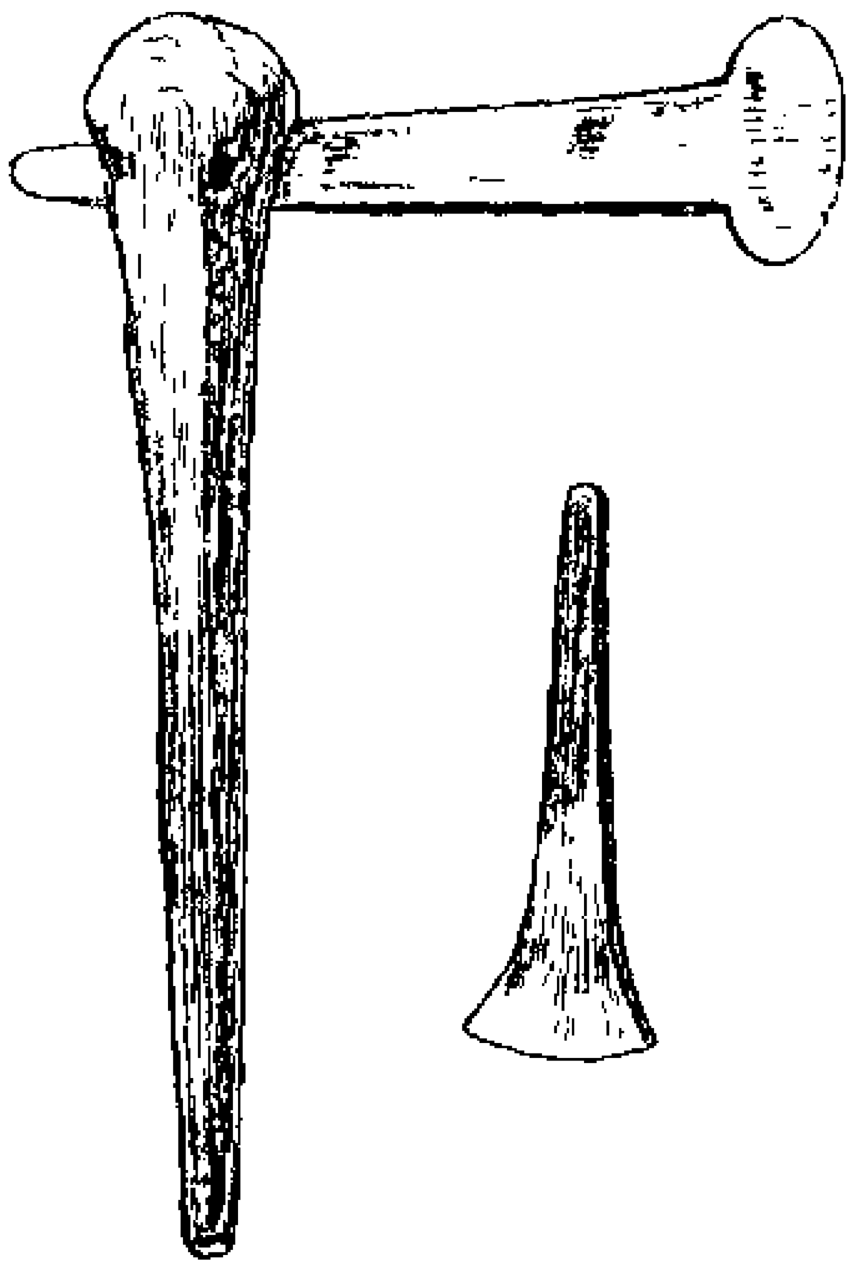
Formerly, when the westward extension of the characteristics belonging to the lighter races on the Upper Nile was assumed, people could only point to the occurrence of isolated correspondences, like the throwing-knives of the Fans on the west coast, the quadrangular ground plan of the huts, or, in the Cameroons district and along the whole line from the coast to the Lualaba, to physical resemblances which had already made Barth believe in an eastern origin for the Fellatahs, and Schweinfurth assume a Berber-Negroid admixture for the Monbuttus. They chiefly recalled the Musgus of southern Bornu. Like them they mutilate their bodies but little, and with them they share the construction of houses and granaries, the style of their weapons, and their mode of burying. Now, however, river-names like Nevoa and Novelle also indicate the spread of the Monbuttus on the Aruwimi, and Stuhlmann believed he had found them on the Linde river.

Wadumbo wooden mask—one-fifth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

Among the peoples of the watershed between the Ubangi and the Shari are found throwing-knives, wicker-work shields, lutes with curved necks, and many other articles used by the Monbuttus and Azandeh; and a nearer acquaintance with the Equatorial Congo races brings to light a host of small points of agreement, like the Bangala and Dualla custom of plucking out eyelashes and eyebrows, with others as important as the drum-language, which reaches from the Nile to the Cameroons; the custom by which the women, when mourning for the dead, cast away all their clothes, and cover their nakedness only with a bough; or even recalls Van Gele's remark, reminding us of the excellent Azandeh soldiers, that the Ba-ati country was a specially good recruiting-ground.

Originally these marks certainly extended to many points of the West African coast south of the Niger. Here and there in the old reports remarkable statements are met with. The little bows, bound with lizard skin, carried by the Anziques who in the sixteenth century appeared on the Lower Congo, are found to this day in the forests of the Upper Congo region. The mode of dressing the hair used by the Ishongo women when Du Chaillu was there was almost exactly the same as Schweinfurth found among the Monbuttu men. So too the shields of both peoples are essentially the same. European influence, however, long operative, has formed a more or less wide fringe on the west coast, which has

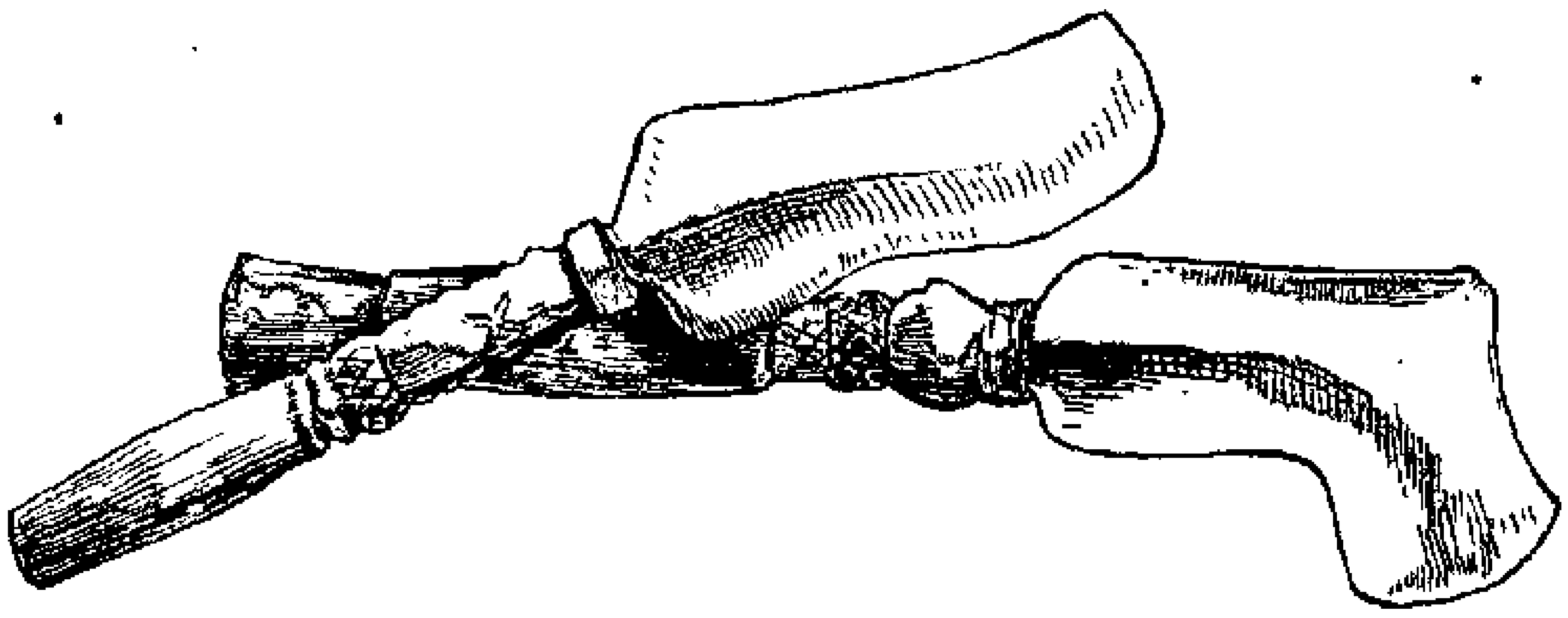
become more and more distinct from the peculiar fashions of the interior. In general the connection between the eastern and western wings has been driven back by the pressure which the Soudanese from the Benue and the Nile have exercised, but it makes its way through at intervals in the direction of South Bornu and South Baghirmi as far as 10° N., and the Dar Banda of Nachtigal resemble Azandeh. Not till recent years was it checked, also from the north, by the advance of the Wadai people, whom Crampel met with in 1891 in latitude 7° N.



Wadumba axe and chisel. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

In this region, the inhabitants of which may receive the distinguishing designation of the "Monbuttu type," there projects from the south-west and round to south, a broad band of other races, the "Lunda type." It comes to an end generally about 5° S. It is backward in artistic capacity, and by a number of features connected with weapons, building, etc., points rather to South and East Africa. In these indications, which have only a provisional value, we confine ourselves within the limits of the Congo basin, although the types extend beyond it. Not all the dwellers on the Congo and Aruwimi belong to the Monbuttu type, but a brisk trade disseminates the products of its artistic talent.

The mighty stream and its great tributaries play in the lives of the people a part commensurate with their size. This network of water divides the land as it were into islands, like those of the ocean, full of life and movement on the coast, while their interior, full of forests, is thinly inhabited, the home of small, poor, dependent tribes. The large villages or groups of villages all lie at the water's edge, or even stand on posts in the water. Pile-dwellings are found on the northern and southern tributaries of the Congo; the Sanga is barred by them till only a free way of 40 feet or so is left. The intercourse by water is very important, and has a deep influence on the lives of the people. The old movement towards the river-banks, as well as towards the sea, was only strengthened by the appearances of the white men and their goods. Hodister was a witness of the settlement in the Papuri district of some 5000 Bussukapos, who had migrated down stream. In ethnographical no less than in political respects there is no exclusiveness or homogeneity about this region. Junker says in one place, speaking of the conglomerate of races in the Makaraka territory: "Such a checkered tangle of fragments of various nationalities, which, up to the time when the first ivory and slave-traders came into the country, threatened to destroy each other by mutual



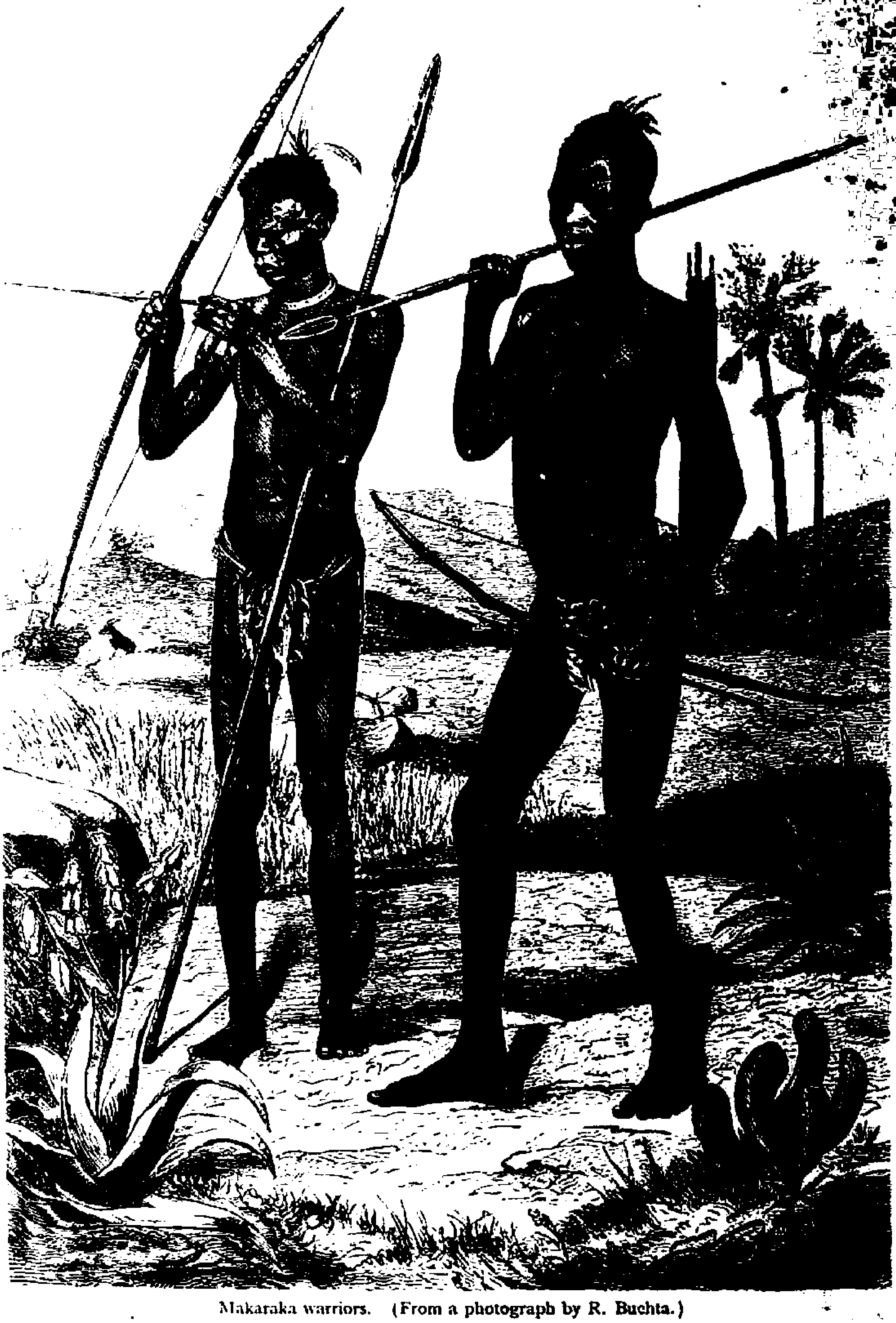
Wambuba bill-hooks, used also by the dwarfs—one-fourth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

friction, but made it on the other hand easier for the Mussulman intruders to get a firm footing and reduce the natives to subservience," could hardly be found, on so relatively confined a territory, elsewhere in Africa. But the interior, in its western parts, can show an exactly similar confusion. The Liggi, Fajelu, Abukaya, Abaka, Mundu, Moru, and Kakuak tribes form *enclaves* in this way. Nor indeed is this disintegration an historical circumstance, something that once happened. It indicates the line in which progress will always be made, be it even to the point of disappearance. As trade advanced the effect of the foundation of centres for the deposit and exchange of ivory and slaves, and the gradually ever-peaceful tone resulting therefrom, would be to abolish by degrees the boundaries between territories, and cause races to permeate each other more and more. Later on colonies of nearly all the tribes mentioned were started in the neighbourhood of the government stations. Even Baris and Nyambaras have in years of famine attached themselves to the returning caravans of porters in Lado or Nyambara, or have been transplanted by officials with a view to colonisation, and thus the mosaic of races has become even more variegated.

The like phenomenon, which we meet with in the whole extent of the Congo country, from the first called forth widely different judgments as to its inhabitants. Beside the little people who deserve the name of dwarfs as much as any, there are in the Congo basin weak, lean, insignificant-looking people, very dissimilar to the lighter-coloured, high-spirited race. All the pile-dwellers are badly housed and fed; they neither hunt nor till the ground, and eat only roots and fish. They are the same on the Mongala as on the Chuapa. Like them are the fishers who inhabit the swampy Rianza country between the Congo and the Lomami. The small bearded Bakoa on Stanley Pool came nearer to the Batua. To this class belong for example the people who live on the Lower Mongala; and in contrast to them we have those bronze statues on the upper river above Monyambuli, who with their lighter-coloured skins, their thinner lips, aquiline noses, and free carriage, give us the impression of being "in the immediate presence of a new type." That is, as regards bodily build and manner, the type of the Azandeh. We may also here mention the remarkably numerous albino-like Monbuttus seen by Schweinfurth.

The fact of such a blending of various races is common in negro Africa; but historical reports of great racial movements point directly to this very region, and promise to supply a key to it. When a Portuguese embassy came in 1490 to the king of the Lower Congo country, an alarming report spread from the interior of the approach of a large warlike people, designated as Mundequetes, said to live on the lake where the Congo takes its rise. Thereupon Mani-Kongo had himself baptized with thousands of his subjects, marched against the wanderers, and beat them. On this occasion he caused Portuguese, escorted by natives, to go into the interior, and they are said to have discovered the lakes in the Upper Congo regions. Beside "Mun-

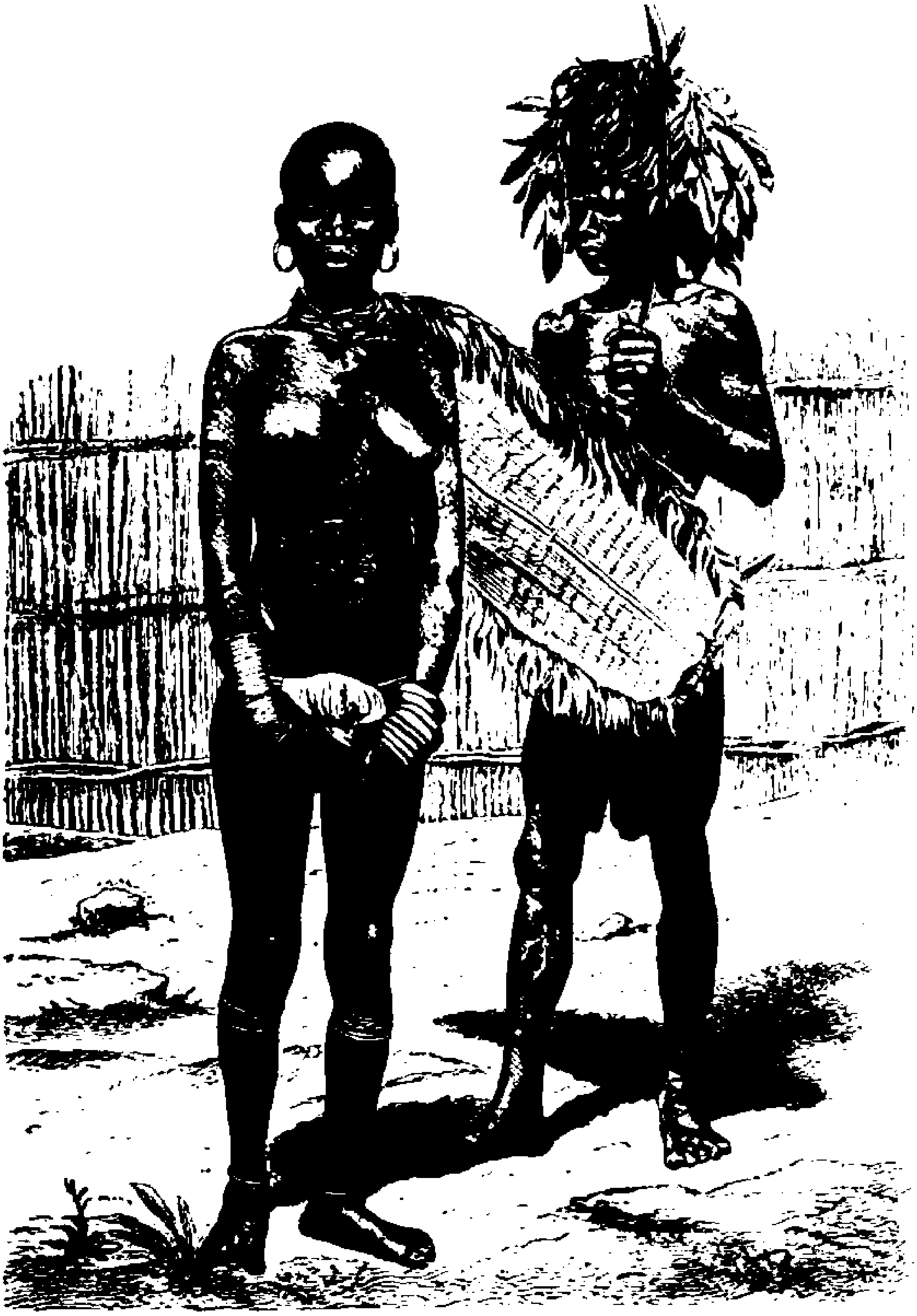
Walegga arrow, with "feathers" of leather. (Stuhlmann Collection.)



Makaraka warriors. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

dequetes," the name "Jaggas" is also assigned to these enemies, the same word as the south-eastern Kaffirs use for soldiers or bodies of young men. According to the descriptions of the time they are cannibals, they offer children in sacrifice,

they embalm their dead, they bury surviving wives with their husbands, they file their teeth to a point. Like the Zulus and Matabele of our own time they adopt into their own ranks the young men of a conquered tribe, and thus always reinvigorate themselves. They do not appear to have ever shown themselves



Makaraka man and woman. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

afterwards on the Congo; other peoples from the interior advanced instead. This was not, however, the last of the movements which have caused races to fall in with each other here, and permeate each other in strangely fragmentary distribution. Literally everywhere, with the exception of the deeper forests, which belong to the dwarf hunting-peoples, we come upon traces of similar, in part much more peaceable, dislocation.

Everywhere there is the same contrast between races who were formerly in possession and new-comers. On the Equatorial Congo we hear of Mobekas; once they lived here, and have now been driven somewhere else by some powerful race

of immigrants. "The whole land," says Coquilhat, "tells of fighting and dislodgment. I have visited five or six deserted districts, and the story always was that Mobekas once lived here, and had been turned out. The people must have offered a long resistance, and often changed their place of abode, before letting themselves be driven into the Mongalla basin." The Bangala came here recently. According to their own tradition perhaps a century ago they left the country to the west between the Ubangi and the Congo, driven out by inundation or war, and came in scattered bodies to their present abodes. On the Congo, in about 1° north, they divided, one party going towards the Equator in the direction of the Mongalla,[1] another in that of Mokomila, while a third crossed the river and settled about the mouth of the Lulongo. The former immigrants, the Mobekas, were then forced up stream as far as the Mongalla. Later they are said to have allowed agriculturists from the north to settle on their ground. Almost simultaneously with the Bangala came the Ngombes from the north-east, and were in part received willingly by the Mobekas in their new settlements. The Bandija, on the other hand, were formerly settled further to the west, where the Sakaras invaded their abodes on the Mbomu.

In the extreme east of this region a precisely similar story is told of the Makaraka and their kinsmen the Bombes. Both of these migrated from the far west forty years ago as tribes of the man-eating Azandeh, moved eastwards from districts lying to the north of the Welle, and after raids carried as far as the Nyambara district, now live peaceably among their neighbours. The comparatively limited space which, in spite of their position in that country, they still occupy, also speaks for their recent immigration. Their distribution, just like their history, resembles that of the Bangala; and history here means history of migrations. Thus the Abangba intruded from the north into the territory of the Monbuttus, and the Abarmbo followed the Azandeh coming from the north and west, into their territory. Just so the Monbuttus profess to remember that they came from the north-west, and lived beyond the Kibali before they advanced southward and eastward, and struck upon the Azandeh coming from the west. In the forest country the legends of a southern and western origin are strikingly frequent; and Stuhlmann assumes for those parts a great and continuous flow of humanity from the south. These transpositions are still proceeding under our eyes. That part of the Shillooks whom we have learnt to know as the Jurs have intruded themselves among the Bongos; while among the Bongos themselves the slave-trade has made such clearances that twenty years ago Schweinfurth wrote: "In all Mussulman lands one may still at this time light upon many Bongos among the domestic slaves of the upper classes." On the other hand, while the Arabs were devastating the districts about the Rohl, the Azandeh received an accession of strength through the immigration of fugitives from the Mittu and other tribes; and towards the end of the 'seventies their chief Mbio succeeded in raising himself to considerable power. But soon the Egyptians who ruled the country recognised, in the Azandeh, soldiers of such excellence that a good many of them migrated to the barracks on the Nile, and so new colonies of light negroes have there come into existence.

In the country about the sources of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and on the watershed

[[1] The geography is somewhat obscure, for the Mongalla, flowing from the north-east, joins the Congo in latitude 2° north.]

ORNAMENTS, ETC., OF THE NEGROES ON THE NILE

(1-3) Necklaces and (4-8) head-dresses, Latuka, Lango, and Shuli [illegible] signalling horn. (11, 12) Bari women's aprons. [illegible]

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NYAM-NYAM WARRIORS.

(From nature by Richard Buchta.)

dividing this from the streams which flow southward and westward to the Congo, between 4° and 6° south latitude, dwells a light-coloured race, the Zandehs or Azandeh, called by the Nubians Nyam-Nyams. They must have stood in relations of kinship rather with the light races of East Africa than with their own dark-coloured neighbours. Immediately before the time when they were visited by the first Europeans they had spread northwards, subjugating or driving out the negro tribes with whom they came in contact, and surrounding themselves with a ring of kindred peoples, but more strongly blended with the negro, such as Krejes and Bongos. The Azandeh proper dwell, sometimes denser, sometimes more scattered, over a space of 5° of latitude, from the Makaraka to Bagbinne, that remote point reached by Junker on the Welle, and across that river to the south.

Both the men and the women of this group are powerful, but not so tall as the surrounding tribes. The greatest height measured by Schweinfurth among the Nyam-Nyams was 5 feet 10½ inches, whereas Felkin gives 5 feet 9 inches as the average for the Bongos. The frequency of round paunches forms a striking contrast to the slim Dinkas. The hair grows strongly; plaits and pigtails, which sometimes hang far down over the shoulders and reach even to the navel, cover the broad round head. The size and wide opening of the almond-shaped, slightly slanting eyes, set far apart and shaded by thick sharply-turned eyebrows, imparts to the countenance an expression of wildness, decision, and frankness. The full lips strengthen the massive outline of the whole frame. The tint of the skin is light, rather ruddy than bronzed. Junker's description of the Azandeh chief Ndoruma should be read: "Sharp energetic features, large lively eyes, very prominent cheek-bones, tall figure, quiet dignified demeanour, combined with discretion and sound judgment." An aristocratic race, ruling in almost every place where they settle, they adopted before their neighbours, together with the dress of the Nubian Arabs, their methods of ruling and fleecing the ruled, and in the time of Egyptian supremacy offered the material of fine soldiers.

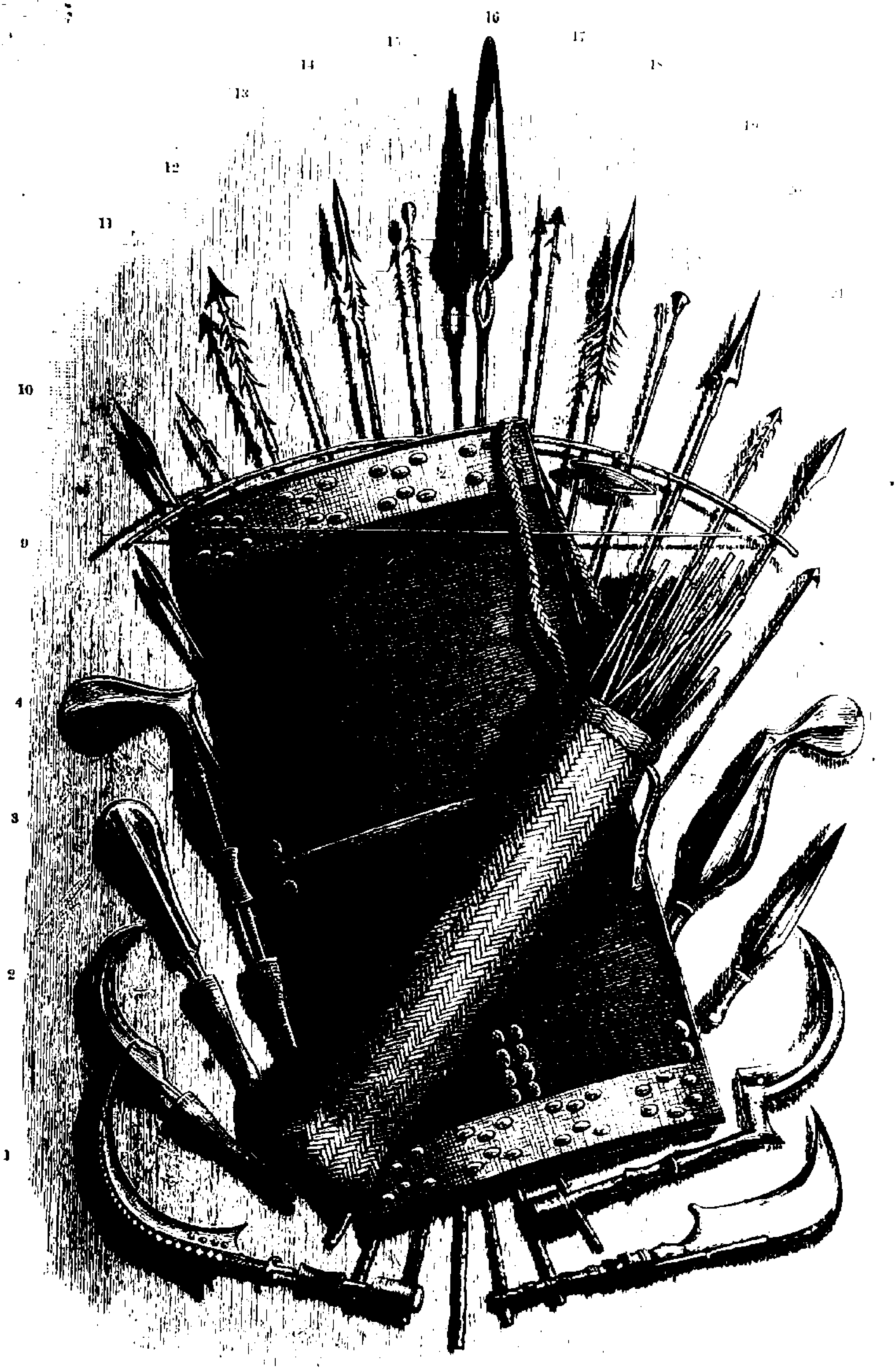
A brother-stock to the Azandeh are the Bandija, who dwell further to the west between the Mbomu and the Mbili. Physically and in their language they show little difference, but ethnographically they betray a certain impoverishment, inasmuch as they do not take equal care of ornament and weapons, and carry smaller shields. A yet wider variation, together with not important dialectic differences, is shown by those Azandeh tribes who, as Makaraka, dwell further to the east, towards the Nile, whither they are said to have made their way from the south-west four generations back. Tradition speaks of four tribes; the Idios and Bongbes or Bombehs have maintained themselves. Idio is the name the Makaraka give themselves, and the Western Azandeh also give them this name. Unlike the Azandeh proper, they are capable agriculturists, cultivating only the edible arum, *colocasia*, and the manioc brought with them from the west. In the creditable work which they have done as soldiers for the Egyptian government they have shown that they kept their strong Azandeh character, and have also retained most of the outward characteristics of their origin, but have unluckily become even more disintegrated than the genuine Azandeh of the south.

The Monbuttus (as Schweinfurth, their discoverer for the purposes of science, writes the name), a race dwelling in a larger mass immediately south of the Welle, and scattered as far as the Nepoko, are a somewhat more negro-like variety of the light races of the eastern Congo basin, who are represented among them

by isolated individuals almost wholly yellowish in colour. Schweinfurth describes their tint as that of ground coffee. They also possess a less developed muscular frame than the Azandeh, but have a stronger growth of beard. All observers have noticed the similarity of the features to the Semitic type. Their character is more that of negroes, wherefore the Azandeh look down on them. Junker finds cause to blame their fickle, pushing, headstrong natures.

The general superiority to the negro stocks is, if possible, even more sharply accentuated in the Monbuttus than in the Azandeh, especially as regards their artistic execution (as the plate of their weapons shows), and the higher position of women. Of their proficiency in the manufacture of artistic utensils of wood, wicker, earthenware, and iron, we have already given evidence. Their huts, with pointed roofs, are not only larger and more handsomely built, but are also kept cleaner than those of their neighbours. In natural disposition for art they are perhaps surpassed by the Azandeh; but the impulse towards the beautifying of existence is even more developed among them. "How far their sense for symmetry extends," says Emin Pasha, "is shown by the way in which each log in the piles of wood stored up within their huts against the wet season is previously cut to exactly the same length, and moreover the cut surfaces, which are perfectly smooth, are adorned with all manner of colours." In regard to family life, we may recall a trait for which the same authority vouches, as noticed on his journey in 1882 into the Rohl Mudirich. The wife of Gambari, a Monbuttu noble who had been carried into slavery by the Danaglas, made at that time the long journey from Monbuttuland to Lado, in order to beg her husband's release. Hearing on the way that he was in Emin's suite, and at liberty, she went in haste through Azandehland to Busi, in order to thank the governor-general. They were astonished at her independent demeanour, which, however, was only in accordance with the higher position held by the Monbuttu women. Monbuttuland has been as much riven by the decomposing influence of the Nubians and Arabs as has the neighbouring country of the Azandeh. Not only had the mysterious ancient empire of this race fallen to pieces before any strangers from north and east came into the country, but even the state of things which Schweinfurth described in genial pictures exists no longer. Munsa's glory and greatness has vanished with that of his royal colleagues among whom the sovereignty of the land was divided. When about the end of 1880 Junker visited the spot where the king's palace had stood, "a sea of grass was waving on the flanks of the gently sloping hill." Munsa himself fell by the bullet of a Bazingir, as the Nubians, originally soldiers in the Egyptian service, are called. The collapse is permanent, it is the old negro history in its tragic monotony.

A great part of the peoples in the north-eastern Congo district show points of resemblance to the Monbuttus; and more thorough investigation would probably prove their distribution to the westward, even to the southern part of the Central Soudan, and to the southward. The political position can make no change in this, for among the bitterest foes of the Monbuttus were once the Abangba, or Bambas, who are near of kin to them. Under their famous chief Gambari, they laboured to extirpate the Monbuttu dynasties. They are a people skilled in many arts, whose love of order and carefulness are conspicuous in their building and the laying out of their villages. Kinsmen of the Monbuttus too are the Maigos, who live in the angle between the Nepoko and the Oba in colonies among



Monbuttu weapons: 1-8, missile weapons; 9-23, lances and arrows; 24 [illegible] 26, bow. (After Schweinfurth.)

[illegible] PUBLIC LIBRARY.

the Momfus. The Abahua about the outflow of the Bomokandi separate the East and West Azandeh south of the Welle-Makua. Junker thinks it possible that the name may be a collective designation for various tribes. Their high plaited head-coverings, their handsome spears and throwing knives, recall the Monbuttus, and they understand weaving. Stanley heard the name on the Aruwimi as that of the people from whom the artistic iron weapons were obtained. Branching far away in another direction are the Babukur of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Western Makaraka district; their own name is Manyanga. With the Mundús of the Makaraka country they form the northern mother of this group of races, as the Babua according to all presumption go furthest to the south. Part of the Bongos give the name Mundú to the Azandeh, another to the small nation who call themselves Babukur.

The Mabode, a large people with numerous sub-tribes, extend southward even beyond the Nepoko. Like the southern Momfus they are interspersed with Abangba, who form the governing race and class. Another Monbuttu stock, the Majos, are also settled among them. Physically they stand nearer to the Momfus than to the Monbuttus, by whom they have been repressed and subjugated. They too have something special to show in their finely-plaited fillets, their armlets of sheet-iron prettily engraved, their large woven mats, such as Junker never saw the like of elsewhere. Besides this they prepare salt from their swamp-grass, of better quality and in larger quantity than their neighbours, and do an extensive barter-trade with it. Numerous Wochua, as mentioned vol. ii. p. 308, lead a nomad existence in the forests of the Mabode district, studiously and almost nervously avoiding the Monbuttu territory. They belong to the darker, crisper-haired, more genuine negro stock, whose special characteristic is noted by Junker as the short head, and who live among the light stocks for the most part oppressed, domineered over, and plundered. They are indeed not without artistic capacity, though it cannot be said to flourish. Formerly they were rich in herds, but for that very reason were early visited by the Nubians and Arabs, to whom, broken up as they were, they fell easy victims. As far as the Momfus they have a special predilection for varied and ponderous iron ornament. A comparison of languages may seem to show a deeper difference between them and their lords; the Momfus appear to belong linguistically to the Nile races. In respect both of them and of the Wochua, the surmise of intermixture with the dwarf races, who are their neighbours, and in some measure share their fortunes, is in many cases certainly not unfounded.

The Momfus inhabit the undulating country on the Upper Bomokandi as far north as the Yubbo, the southern tributary of the Kibali, southward probably to Stanley's primeval forest. Their darker colour and smaller size make it easy to distinguish them from their masters. An unusually disintegrated, disunited race, they have, in the north, fallen wholly into the power of a Monbuttu colony, a sharply-defined *enclave* on the Upper Bomokandi. Formerly the Monbuttus acquired influence here under Munsa, and were followed by smaller colonies of Abangba. Towards the Nepoko the Momfus are more independent, and in their turn domineer over Mabode tribes. Now they lead a timid and submissive life far from the roads, and have withdrawn into the hills, where their huts lie concealed among the chaos of rocks. Their peculiar heavy knives[1] with broad slightly

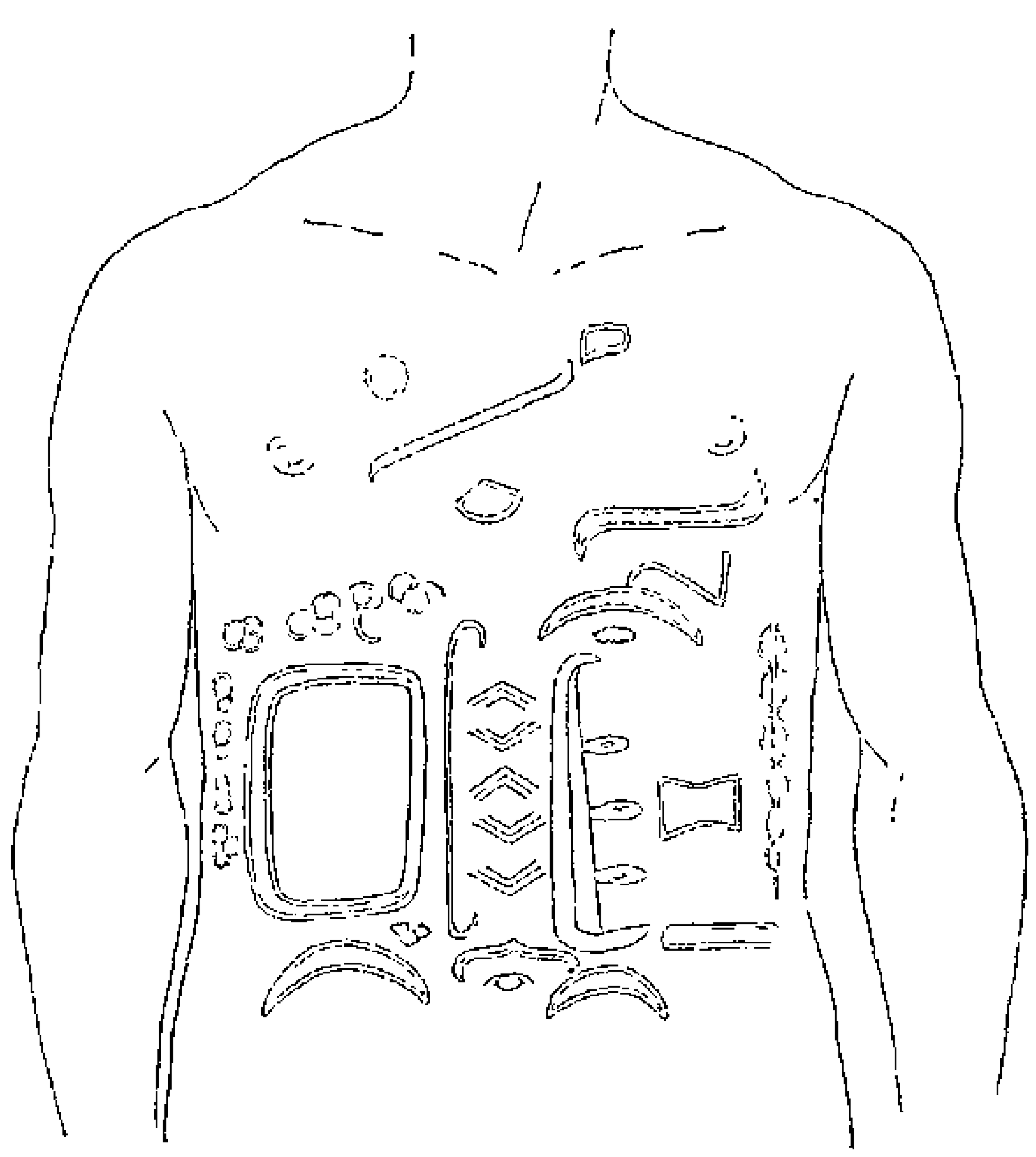
[1] Junker says that they often appear in museums as "Akka" arrowheads.

curved blades, their short spears propelled from the hollow of the hand as from a throwing stick, their arrowheads of various patterns and finely wrought, their wicker shields kite-shaped, show how independently they once evolved themselves in proximity to the Monbuttus. The Akahle are, according to Junker, the only people who are not split up, and of whom no colonies are to be met with outside their own country. Far inferior to their lords the Azandeh, they live in little huts, keep their corn in small quantities in nest-like receptacles on high trees, are even worse cannibals than the Azandeh, but do not offer human sacrifices. The Kalikas, a middle member of this group, are connected by the Lubaris on the east with their kinsfolk the Madis of the Bahr-el-Jebel; the Loggos and Abukaya also belong to the group. To these subject tribes belong also the Krejes, who call themselves Adja; they extend westward to Darfour. Though profiting by the nearness of the Soudan, so that like the Fors they grow cotton and weave *damur*-cloth, and trade with it, they are still genuine negroes. The "red-brown people" of the Bongos are in many respects more negro-like than the Azandeh, as indeed might be expected from their geographical situation. Thus their customs show a remarkable mixture. Mutilation of the face reaches its highest point with the Bongo women. Beside the lip-plug, they wear copper rings in the nasal septum, straws in the alae, copper rivets in the corners of the mouth, and numerous rings in the ears. There are women in the country, says Schweinfurth, who have more than a hundred holes about their persons. Deformations of this kind, the foreign origin of which may often be recognised, seem to have concentrated themselves just among these people. Thus the northern Bongos have adopted from the Jurs and Dinkas on their frontiers the custom of knocking out the lower incisors; they share the disfigurement of the lower lip with the tribes to the west; while even in their scanty clothing they differ from the Azandeh, with whom they have so much else in common. In the south, where their places of abode march with that people, they wear pigtails and plaits, while in the north they cut their hair short in the Dinka fashion.

Above Stanley Pool men and things change on the Congo. In place of the weakly, ugly Bakongo and their kinsfolk, appear the powerful negroes "like bronze statues," looking masterfully upon the world with expressive countenances. The same series of tribes which began with the Baluba on the right bank of the Kassai, crops up on the Congo in the Batcke; and on the Ubangi, when we have left the Baati territory, somewhere about 3° north, the language suddenly changes, ivory articles, mortars, and horns appear, and with them a breed of men who can be traced across the watershed away to the Upper Nile. If we cast a glance at the most important races of the Congo valley, we find, as the older inhabitants of the country southward from Stanley Pool, the Wambundu, on the south bank of the Congo from the Inkissi river to the Mangele hills. Capital agriculturists, even dispensing manioc bread, *chicuanga*, to their neighbours, enterprising traders in ivory, they stand in point of language nearer to the Bakongo than to the immigrant trading-people called Batcke. With these begins a Central African series. Coming from the Alima district, they have intruded themselves between that people and the Pool, while, together with the Wabari from the north bank, they in similar fashion keep the Bakala from it. These Wabari are like the Bayansi, who in their turn stand nearer to the Bateke. Just in the same way, further to the east, these latter, by their river-settlements and

trade-roads, exclude the Wamfuno or Wamfuninga from the Congo, Kassai, and Kwango.

On the Middle Congo the Bateke form a large group of races from the region of the sources of the Ogowe in the north, along the north bank of the Congo to the Alima. Further east from Stanley Pool they are settled as far as the Lower Kassai, and colonies of them are found even beyond Bolobo. On the left bank of the Congo Kinshasha and Kintamo are among their settlements, but here they appear only as scattered colonists. Yet their influence and their blood can be traced much further. Thus the Balali near Linzolo on the north bank of the Congo are pointed out as a cross between Bateke and Bakongo. Elsewhere in the Bateke territory lying further up the river we find scattered colonies of the Bayansi. Above Chumbiri, Bayansi live on the left bank, while Bateke predominate on the right. The Bateke are marked off from the Bakongo who live further down the river, by their tall powerful forms, with long attractive countenances. Intelligence, artistic dexterity, cleanliness, and a quiet serious demeanour, full of charm, recall the far remote inhabitants of the north-east Congo basin. Their neck-rings of engraved brass, their light knives, the handles bound with brass wire, their pretty mat-cloths, testify to the high level of their industries.

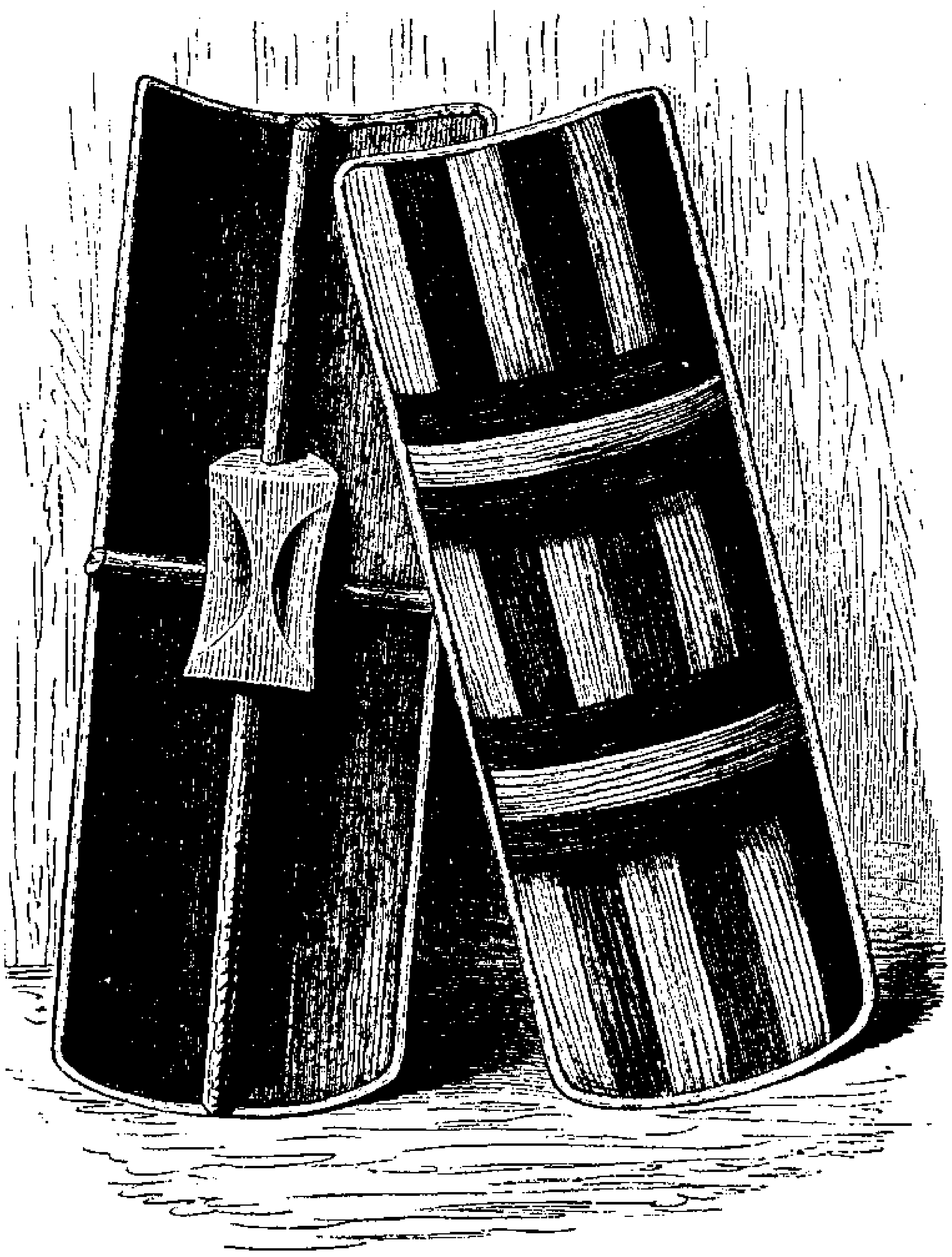


Tattooing on a negro, probably from the forest country of Yaombe. The Fiotes call this incised tattooing "Samba." (Taken on the Longo coast by Dr. Pechuel Loesche.)

The Bololos are a people of the interior on the great southern tributaries Chuapa and Lulongo, and away to the Lomami. They appear in the Bakuti tribe near the Equator, on the Congo. In spite of the great extent to which they are permeated with Bayansi, they are physically inferior to them, being smaller, slenderer, darker. They have also less self-respect, for they were ready to enter the service of the white men sooner than their stronger neighbours.

The Bangala—a name which according to Coquilhat means people of the little river—are most densely settled on the Middle Congo between Bokomera and Mongala. They are good-looking and powerful. Special points in their dress and tattooing are referred to on pp. 49 and 67. Their manners and customs are very like those of the Bayansi, but they stand somewhat lower. In warlike spirit and power they have retrograded. Their cannibalism is an undoubted fact, well known even in details. They have wicker shields, and sickle-shaped knives; they are clever at throwing the spear, use peculiar wooden bells, understand rowing well, and are cunning fishermen. We have seen how comparatively short a time the Bangala have been in their present abodes; the Mobekas, who now are settled on the Middle Mangala, are said to have been there before

them. Within the territories of the Bangala dwell the Marunja, a trading-people, called by the others "Ngombe," or bush-people; whose ivory trade extends as far as Upoto and Yambinga. Of those dwelling further on we have little intelligence till we come to the Mabode and their associates. Stanley, who was the first to visit them, found everywhere peoples settled only on the Congo and the lower course of its tributaries, whose calling tied them to the water, and who consequently had no extension inland. Thus the Wenias, a fishing-people on the islands near Stanley Falls, do a brisk trade in smoked fish. They have certainly been living in this region for several generations, and have long been in the habit of spending a great part of their days and even of their nights in their canoes. Hence they are of herculean build in the chest and arms, stunted in the legs. Mention will be made later on of their inadequate clothing and their ornament. Their weapons are spear and knife. They live almost entirely by their fishery and trade. Being strong and useful, they are better treated by the Arabs than are the other peoples of the Congo. The Bayansi, on the Middle Congo from the mouth of the Kassai to the Ubangi, are poorer; they trade more by boat than on land, and get the food by fishing and hunting. Their colour is light brown, and they are handsome and well grown. They dress their hair in plaits like the Bangala; tattooing is not universal; their weapons are spear and knife. As third in the league we find the trading people of the Wabuma on the Congo. They bring dried fish from the Lower Kassai, and the productions of their pottery—simple and pretty vessels of white earthenware.



Ituka shields, from the Middle Congo. (After Stanley.)

Of the tribes dwelling further up the river we have little certain knowledge. Names like Bakutu, Upoto, Baringa, at present tell us little; but they are all included in the general Azandeh type. They own no cattle, but have sheep, goats, and poultry. One tribe has perhaps a predilection for manioc, but all grow bananas. The clothing of all alike consists of bark-cloth. The head ornament is everywhere similar, although one tribe is cleverer than another in constructing it. Almost all practise circumcision, and are said to eat the flesh of their enemies. Their weapons are the broad spear, as sharp as a knife, the two-edged pointed dagger, the curious missile-knife with two and four blades, the curved sword, the little bow with short arrows. Alike too, are carved stools, benches and settles,

earrings, necklaces, clasps for arm and leg, the great war-drums and smaller drums, the war-horns, and the smiths' and carpenters' tools. Lastly, we must note, as a further and deeper-reaching point of agreement, the generally lighter colour of skin, which can hardly be connected, as Stanley thinks, with the fact that these tribes live in the most wooded parts of Africa; for it equally distinguishes the Azandeh in the north and the Baluba in the south from the darker negroes who dwell around them, both of which peoples live in timbered grass-lands. Curiously enough, in the northern districts, bordering on the Soudan, we find more of darker and weaker breeds, who also, as a result of contact with the superior Moorish culture and of the devastating man-hunts, are ethnographically poorer. Barth's Marghins and Musgus, Crampel's Waddas, stand lower than their untouched southern neighbours.

In any case, however, most of the characteristics here adduced are equally those of the real forest negroes; only among them they appear in a limited and reduced form. As we descend from the high ground, between the forest-tribes and the peoples of the East African highlands, who are dominated by Wahuma or Watusi, we meet with Bantu tribes, who stand near to those of the forest, but have at the same time undergone eastern influences. The most widespread are the Wakonjo on the north-west shore of Tanganyika, as far as Lakes Albert and Albert Edward. A narrow apron of bark cloth attached to the waist string, shell beads, rings in both lips, pointed teeth, small bows with rattan strings, arrows fastened with leaves, huts with grass roofs coming low down, show a combination of the special features of the highland and forest tribes. Among them dwell peoples who show the forest characteristics especially in their conical huts with perpendicular walls; notably the Wavuma. Northward, toward the Ituri, dwarfs and dwarf-like people appear. There, amid the forest Wavumba, Stuhlmann found the Wambuba, Walesse, and Wahoko, who speak quite a different language from the surrounding Bantus, are stated to have wandered hither from the west four generations back, and are nearer to the small hunting-stocks. The typical forest people are the Wavira of the Upper Ituri, described on p. 47, who spread in branches, showing some variation, along the upper course of the Congo, from Nyangwe to Stanley Falls. They are dark-brown powerful folk, disguising the colour of their skin by smearing with grease and the powder of a red wood; wearing rings, disks, and plugs in the upper lips, brass wire and plugs in the ear-lobes. Other adornments are beads of iron and shell, chains of iron rings worn round the shoulders, cowry shells stitched on leather. Scar-tattooing is sparsely performed on the breast and belly. Circumcision seems to occur among the western tribes, but to be lacking in the east. Little bows with rattan strings, arrows (leaf-feathered) in bag-like quivers, a leathern pad to protect the wrist from the bow-string, often a cuirass of buffalo-hide, forms part of their equipment. They live in conical huts, grow bananas, work little in iron; iron goods are obtained from the Wadumbo. According to their own tradition they came to their present abode from the south-west, only two generations ago; whence Stuhlmann believes in their tribal kinship with the Bakuba.

The Walegga and the Lendús (who call themselves Drugu), on the grass plateaus west of Lake Albert, are a single race, differing from all their neighbours in language. Their habit of boring the lips, their small bows and arrows, their aprons of bark-cloth, their conical huts, recall the forest-dwellers most of all in the

west, where they come in contact with them. In the other direction their cattle-breeding attaches them to the Lurs, their neighbours on the east; and they have more iron than the forest tribes. Thus they give the impression of a forest people who have taken, in a limited measure, to cattle-breeding.

The Manyema, owing to their warlike qualities, have become a powerful race in the south and east of the Congo basin, and as far as the lakes. Other forest peoples have attached themselves to them, who have by hasty observers been designated as Manyema; especially the Wakussu, who were originally settled between the Upper Congo and the Lomami, and formed ethnographically the transition from the Monbuttus to the Kassai peoples, just as did the Warua and Waguha to the nearer Manyema. The Wakussu on the Lower Lualaba, northward from Nyangwe to the Lomami, brown people with broad, expressive countenances, and of stalwart growth, armed with bows and wooden shields, and clad in aprons of palm-fibre, are no doubt Bantus in language, but in industries approach the Azandeh. Stuhlmann calls their weapons, inlaid with copper, "some of the prettiest that are to be seen in Africa." Peculiarities of their language, their dancing-masks, their frequent representations of the human figure, may even point to closer relations with the Fans, and other peoples inland of the Cameroons.

Baluba boy from the Kassai district, a companion of Dr. Ludwig Wolf. (From a photograph by Captain Kling.)

The Baluba are composed of a great group of peoples extending from the frontier—botanical and zoological also—formed by the Kassai, as far as Lake Tanganyika, and from the borders of Lunda to the northern Bateke and Bakuba. They are the dominant race in the south of the Congo basin, occupying an almost uninterrupted territory. They possess in common both language and "a character of mutual affinity" which not even the manifold crossings of the western Baluba has been able to obliterate. The West Baluba are generally described as ugly, uninteresting, weakly folk; the women, however, are often well grown and powerful. Their picturesque tattooing is a specially prominent characteristic. As we go eastward, the villages become larger and more regular, the huts better, the entire ethnographical store of possessions more copious.

The western Baluba or Bashilange assert that they came to where they now are from the south-east, under pressure from their southern neighbours. Though the Bashilange like to call themselves Baluba, this is properly only the name of the race who invaded their country as conquerors, and who rule them. Wissmann regards them as a cross between Batua and Baluba; Wolf designates them Baluba simply. Here on the Kassai, by means of the *Riamba* cult—that is, the worship, in place of fetishism, of the hemp leaf, and hemp-smoking as the most universal preservative and charm, but especially as the symbol of peace and friendship—and

also by a league with the Kiokos, Kalamba-Mukenge succeeded in [illegible] empire out of small independent tribes; though its cohesion is [illegible] Immediately to the north, indeed, separated by the Kussula stream, [illegible] a region of independent Baluba, who call themselves Chipulumba, are [illegible] to no great chief, and shut themselves off from all intercourse. [illegible] sell any of their members as slaves. The success of Wissmann's [illegible] materially decided by their participation in a campaign which Kalamba, [illegible] chief, undertook in order to bring a doubtful vassal into obedience. [illegible] tribute, by preference in slave women, is the sign of dependence; [illegible] equivalent to a declaration of independence.

Tradition, as well as similarity of political institutions, makes it hardly possible

Knives—1, 2, Bashilange; 3, Bassimalunga, with sheath of elephant hide; 4, Bassange; 5, Wakussu; 6, Lupungu; 7, Fan, from the Gaboon—about one-tenth real size. (Berlin Museum, Wissmann and Gierow Collection.)

to doubt that the foundation of states in the Baluba district was an enterprise emanating from Lunda. At the same time, in recent decades a remarkably wide-spread race, and one ever pushing forward towards the north and west, has invested itself with the function of founding states. We refer to the Kiokos, also called Kioques and Kibokwes. Buchner in his day spoke of powerful Kioko chiefs in the Lunda empire, and we have already had occasion (vol. ii. p. 555) to mention their share in the political vicissitudes of Lunda. North and south of the Baluba dwell the Bakete, a race like the Bakuba, said to have been broken up by the Baluba in their advance from the south-east. Over their northern members Lukengo claims sovereignty, as his "slaves." The two portions of them, seated in different tracts on the banks of the Kassai, are separated by a space of 150 to 200 miles, occupied exclusively by Baluba.

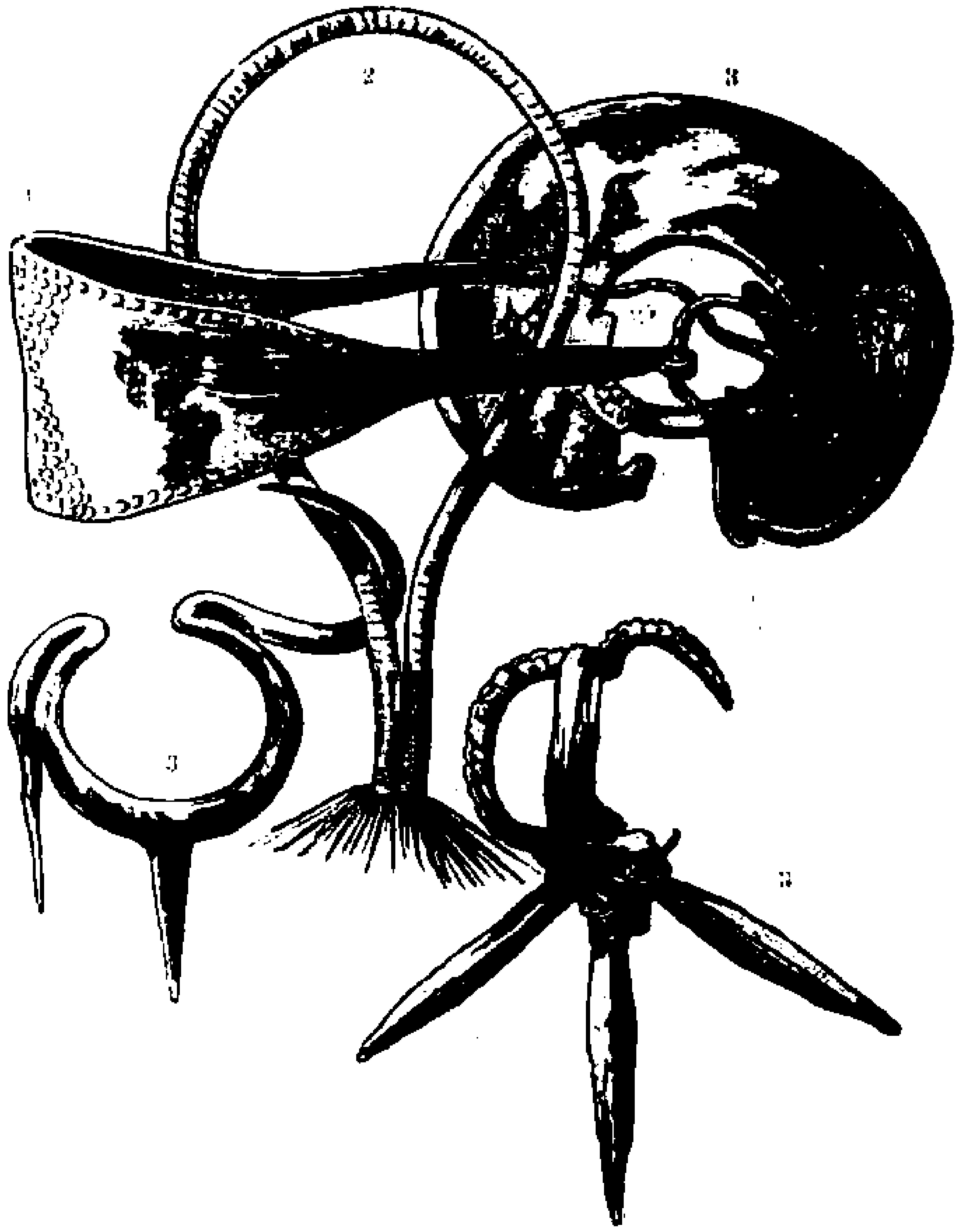
The Bakuba live further up the Kassai, having as their western frontier the Lulua, and in its lower part the Kassai itself; but independent Baluba settlements are found on the left bank of the Lulua. The nucleus of their political power is Lukengo's kingdom, according to L. Wolf, 12,000 square miles in area, between 4° and 5° 10′ S., and 21° 10′ and 22° 20′ E.[1] It is well cultivated and thickly

[1] [*Sic*: but it is not easy to reconcile the area with the boundaries stated.]

peopled. Some Bakete are, however, included in this; for Wolf passed the boundary dividing these two peoples between the villages of Muanika and Mundongo in about 5° 5′ S. In contrast to the Baluba, the Bakuba are described as powerful, broad-shouldered people, above middle height; their carefully-wrought bows and arrows, their spears, taller than a man, with chased heads, their artistic knives, worn without a sheath attached to the waist-string on the right side, testify to a delight in weapons and capacity for art. Their pretty little houses of palm timber are distributed village-wise along straight roads. Wolf was so struck by the difference between them and the Baluba that he reckons a new "series of races" to begin with them in a northerly direction. The Bakuba say that they immigrated from the north-east, and thus ran against the Baluba coming from the south-east. At any rate the boundary between two great race migrations has to be drawn here. "Lukengo," the name of the Bakuba sovereign, is appropriated also by lesser chiefs; but the genuine Lukengo is named by independent Bakuba with some trepidation. The Bena-Bassonge are designated as the people forming the nucleus of the Bakuba. According to tradition they were the founders of Lukengo's empire, and he draws his best warriors from them. Generations ago, when the land was yet hidden by primeval forest, they dwelt on the left bank of the Lulua as a small tribe under their chief Lukengo, together with another Bakuba tribe, the Bikenge. By cunning Lukengo made himself their master, in which he received such valuable help from a Bikenge woman that when he was victorious he ordained: That none but Lukengo and his relations might choose their wives at will from the Bakuba women; all other Bakuba must supply their harems from slave women only. The position of women among the Bakuba is more influential than among the Baluba, while the distinction between them and the slave women is on the other hand more abrupt.

Divisions of the great group of peoples called Baluba extend from the Kassai to Lake Tanganyika, and southward to Lunda, crystallised into different states. The Bakutu or Bassongomino settled on the Kassai appear first, the type of a Central African conquering race, in 3° S. As savages, even as cannibals, their evil reputation extends far. Even on the Upper Chuapa, François heard talk of them, while he could learn nothing of the Baluba and their great chief Kachich. Later, on the Bussera, he heard that they lived twenty days further to the south, in the interior, and were expert archers. Information from the southward extended only as far as their territory; all beyond was *terra incognita*. As to themselves the reports were far from precise. They have intruded themselves like a wedge among more peaceful peoples, have cut off weak neighbours from all intercourse, and let them fall into poverty—as for instance the Badinga. The Bangodi have been compelled to seek their markets to the east and south instead of to the west and north. Wissmann got to know the Bakutu as a highly warlike people, really rejoicing in the fray. The signals of the alarm-drums, and the war cry *Nyama! Nyama!*—"meat! meat!"—resounded all along his route. It was the summons to battle against the intruders who had ventured to violate the frontier. Their tribal mark, teeth filed to a point, has earned them the name "Bassongomino"—*mino*, according to Wolf, signifying "teeth." Malicious countenances, inspiring distrust, impudent demeanour, careful treatment of bows, arrows, and knives, in contrast to the dirt of their houses, complete the picture of this predatory race of innermost Africa.

One of the most active trading peoples of the Kassai region [illegible] so long as the ferry at Kikassa was in their hands. They [illegible] owing to the extension of the Kiokos. Even before that they [illegible] from the Kwango by the Southern Bangala. Wolf came across [illegible] village at Kassange I. (so-called to distinguish it from Kassange [illegible] Kassai[1]. They showed themselves specially obliging toward the [illegible] the west, having themselves come from that quarter. As trading [illegible] have gone down [illegible] they are lazy; their [illegible] is negligent, and [illegible] selves pass for [illegible] treacherous, and [illegible] to be cannibals. [illegible] bana told Hans [illegible] the Tupende also [illegible] of the junction of [illegible] and the Lushiko, [illegible] their great chief, [illegible] sided at Lovuo. [illegible] to indicate their [illegible] frontier in the [illegible] in Malocka he fou[illegible] population of Tupende and Lunda people, but [illegible] he reached Mpaffu, [illegible] people. Malocka [illegible] between Lovuo and [illegible] about 6° 20′ S., M[illegible] what further to the [illegible]



1. Iron forehead ornament of the Lurs—one-third real size (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum); 2. Neck ring, worn by forest tribes, of bast and wild-boar bristles (after Stuhlmann); 3. Latuka fighting rings (Emin Pasha's Collection, Vienna Museum).

As an external pheno-menon, the great perfection and copiousness of tattooing among some of these peoples is noticeable.[2] With the Ba-shilange, or dwellers on the Middle Congo, it goes "from the roots of the hair to the knees." It is most frequently executed about the age of maturity, repeatedly serves as a tribal mark, and certainly is in many cases carried further only from delight in ornament. Junker relates how Azandeh men go on always gradually tattooing their favourite wives more and more as a token of affection. The custom fluctuates, as may be conceived. Circumcision appears to occur just where tattooing is most highly developed—for example, among the Monbuttus and west of them; but is not found among the Azandeh or among the less tattooed negroes to the north.

[1] "Tubindi," says Wissmann, is the name given by the Kiokos to their neighbours in the north. It is no specific name, but denotes merely an inferior race.

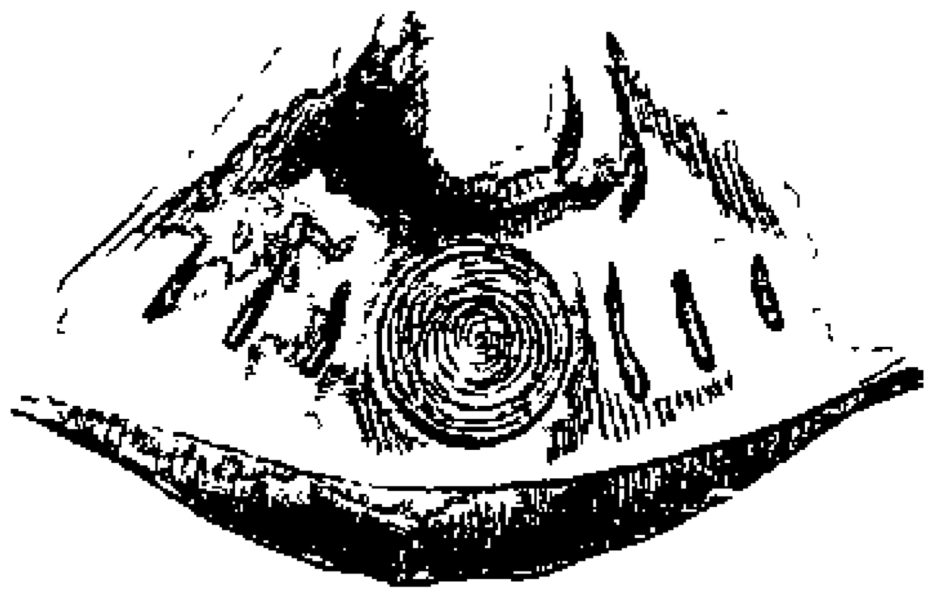
[2] [The term "tattooing" is here and elsewhere used to denote any permanent disfigurement of the skin for purposes of personal embellishment. It must be understood that African tattooing is a different process from the punctured tattooing in vogue among Polynesians, and consists in inflicting incised wounds in such a way as to leave permanent raised scars, whether in regular patterns or not.]

When Wissmann came to Lubuku, the Bashilange had given up tattooing for some time, but unusually pretty designs were still frequently to be seen, the southern limit, of which was touched by Buchner in the north of the Lunda Empire. In the Congo basin the most widespread form is "scar-tattooing," often better to be described as "tumour-tattooing," produced by cutting and cautery. The "pea-scars" all over the face, but especially on the ridge of the nose (the

Stools.—1, Baluba; 2, 3, 4, Benatuasamba; 5, Cup with handle, from the Sankuru. (Wissmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

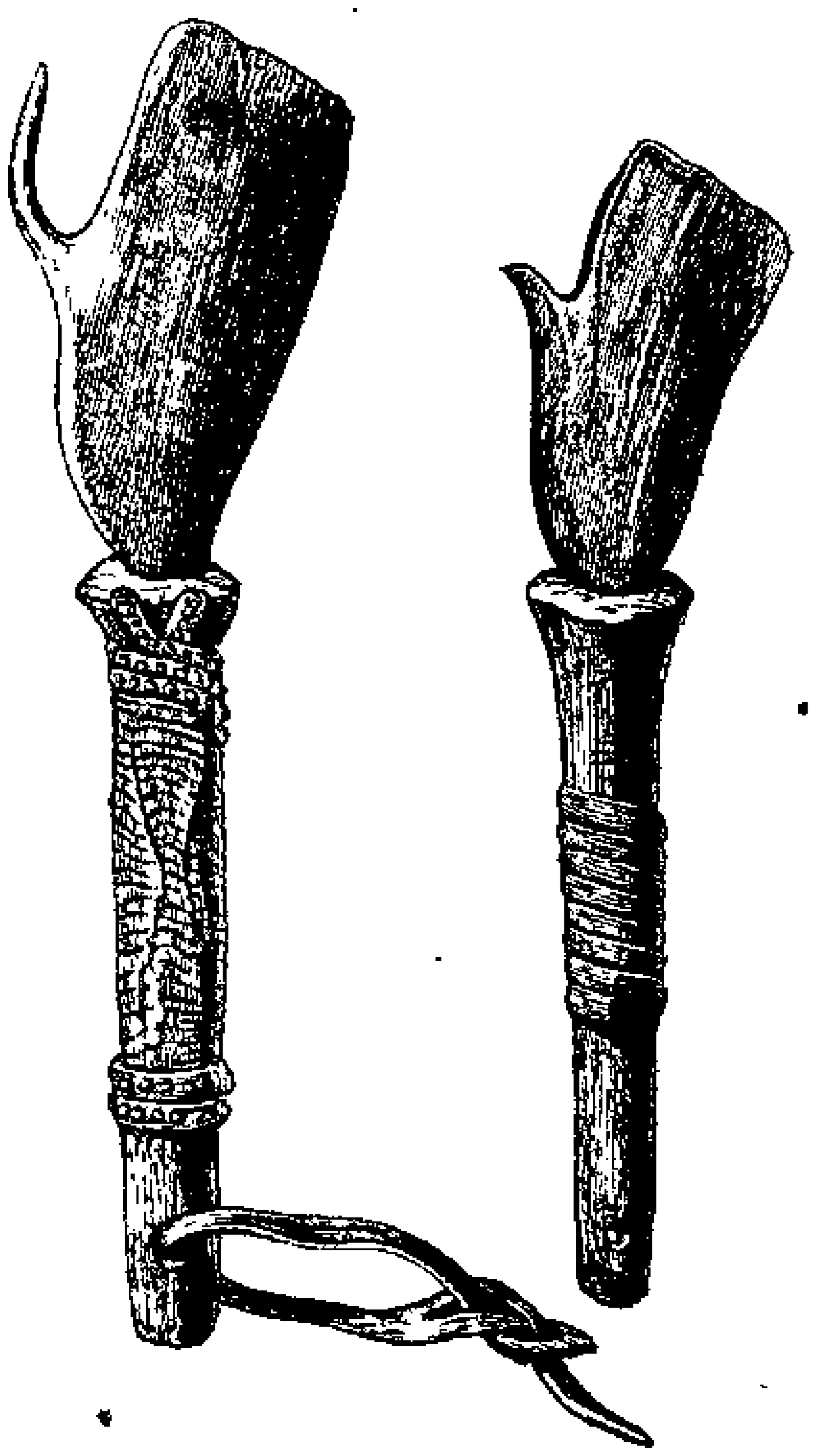
"button-scar" of the old descriptions), and continued thence on to the forehead, occur from the Lower Congo as far as Upoto. The weaker linear incisions on the cheeks appear among the Bateke and on the Mongala. Further north we find tattooing on the shaven head, while the face remains free. The Bangala, who are some of the most disfigured, combine both kinds. They wear three pustule-like signs, like vaccination marks, between the ear and the temple, in the middle of the forehead a vertical line of the same, a slash from temple to temple, and finally a vertical median scar on the breast. The Ngombes, on the contrary, raise all their scars in the manner of peas, and put them in curved lines round the eyes, chin, or cheekbones. On the Mobela dwell people who show on their backs a

double row of tattooing from the hips to the shoulder-blades. That is the transition to body tattooing, such as occurs in manifold shapes among the Monbuttu and their neighbours, and fortunately, as a rule, leaves the face free. As a tribal mark the Azandeh have three or four squares, like cupping-scars, on chin, temples, and cheeks; also an X-shaped figure below the cavity of the chest. Artistic tattooings of the whole trunk also occur as an exception among them. Individual groups, like the Embeli, are distinguished by tattooing at the root of the nose.



Lip-perforation of a Wahoko slave-woman. She originally had seven holes, and afterwards was turned into a Wavira woman by the insertion of a wooden disk. (After Stuhlmann.)

Body painting reaches its height among the Monbuttu women, who in this respect are equalled only by some Carib tribes of South America. Their whole body is painted in divers figures, executed with all conceivable variety of pattern, in the black juice of the *blippo, Randia malleifera*. Stars and Maltese crosses, bees and flowers, everything is taken for a pattern. At one time the whole body is striped like a zebra, at another, covered with irregular spots like a leopard skin. The patterns last about two days, after which they are carefully wiped off and replaced by something new. The Azandeh do not achieve such regular patterns as are achieved by this artistic people of inner Africa. The men anoint the whole body with a mixture of red-wood powder and grease. This habit runs through the whole Congo basin to the country at the back of the Cameroons, where Weissenborn speaks of it as a difficulty in the way of ascertaining the true colour of the body. The red-wood powder is one of the most saleable commodities from the Welle to the Cameroons. Painting of the body—or only the breast and arms—white, yellow, and red, occurs on the Congo even among the Bateke.



Throwing-irons used by the Lurs who live south of the Makaraka. (Berlin Museum.)

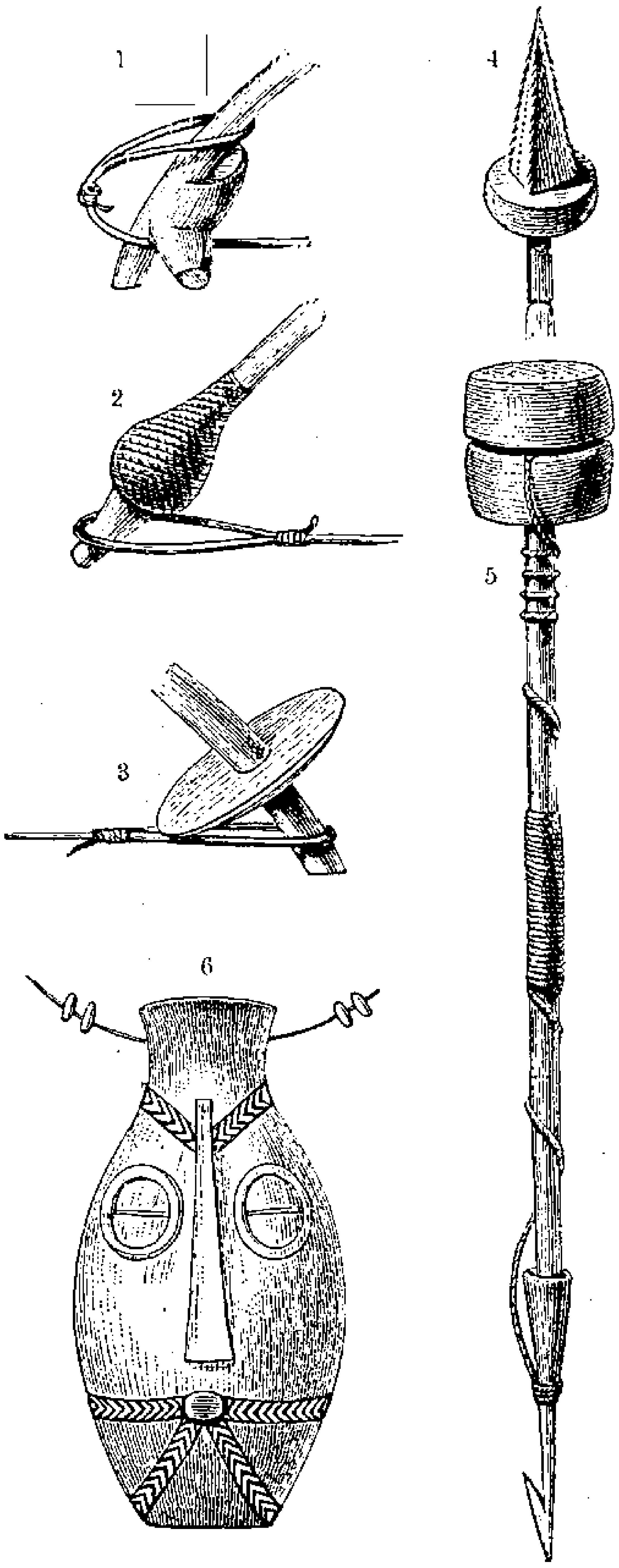
Brass rings, up to 28 lbs. in weight, says Baumann, serve the Bayansi for ornament. The poor women, round whose necks they are welded, place bunches of grass beneath them, that their shoulders may not be rubbed raw. These rings are often prettily designed. The rings of hematite, larger than the arm, leg, or neck-rings of the present day, which are found in the ground in the Monbuttu country—curiously enough only in one spot, the Tena mountain south of Gambari's village,—can only have been articles of exchange, or offerings. On the Congo above Upoto, strings of beads or plaited bands are found as frontlets. Shell beads made from river shells are found in Central Africa, resembling Polynesian work. They take the place of the beads made of polished ostrich-shell which are common in East and South Africa, and are of similar construction.

The modes of hair-dressing among these races are extraordinarily numerous, in many cases surpassing in grotesqueness anything else to be found in Africa. The Azandeh used once to wear a sort of big full-bottomed wigs, and even Junker saw elderly people in such. Schweinfurth depicts for us a fashion in hair among the Monbuttus, which indeed occurs in other parts of Africa, by which the head is surrounded with a regular saint's halo.[1] The hair, in plaits, is spread out round the whole head and fastened to a hoop embellished with cowry shells. Although the *coiffures* show much caprice, they mark national differences nearly as much as tattooing. Peoples so nearly akin as the Azandeh and the Bandija are distinguished by the fact that the women of the latter shave the back of the head, and those of the former do not. The Bateke on the Congo wear their hair gathered together at the back, where a great pad of hair is fastened, slanting upwards and backwards, such as is also characteristic of the Monbuttus. The Marunja add a pad at each side of the head. Hair-dressing in the Monbuttu style, carried to an extreme, that is the hair rising obliquely from the back of the head and often terminating in artificial locks, which hang far down, occurs on the Middle Ubangi in about 19° east. The Bayansi may be known by the tresses which fall in numbers over their shoulders, while among the Bangala they project forward in the manner of horns. The Ngombes black their hair with charcoal powder, and make it into lumps as big as a walnut and bigger. On the other hand those active aquatic people the Wagenya simply shave their hair into a circle from below. The light people on the Upper Mongala have a special way of shaving the whole front of the head in a triangle, and making large scars on this and on the forehead. The natural hair is insufficient for the fantastical modes of dressing, and that of those who fall in battle is used; or else a supply is bought in the market. On the top of these wonderful structures the Monbuttus and Azandeh wear brimless straw-hats, with four-sided crowns, adorned with red parrot feathers, or with those of eagles and falcons. The women decorate their hair with combs, porcupine quills, and ivory hairpins, the most popular present to guests. On the Congo head-coverings occur, in some cases of curious shape, as the cylinders worn by the Bangala, made of lemurs' and monkeys' skin; and the iron brow-ornament of the Lurs recalls their kinsmen on the Nile. Persons of rank wear immoderately long finger-nails; Monbuttu dandies may be seen with them grown to a length of several inches.

Mutilations of the teeth are very common. The habit of filing them to a point, which here again has without any reason been connected with cannibalism, extends from the Azandeh and the southern Bongos to the Bassongomino on the Kassai. It is also a peculiarity of the Bateke on the Alima, and reaches the west coast in an Equatorial offshoot, the Fans or Pahuins. Knocking out the lower teeth turns up among a whole list of dwellers on the Congo, and the majority of the very various tribes on the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Other mutilations occur over the whole region. The Monbuttus see in circumcision a mark of superiority to other negro races; but we cannot yet say accurately how far it extends to the westward. Perforations of the ears, often in several holes, in order to insert ornaments of beads and fine wire, is very usual. Among the Monbuttus the holes are found, but without the pendants; and the wooden plug set with cowries at both ends which the Wavira wear in their ears, is in the Lunda Empire an amulet hung by

[1] [A good instance from Lunda will be found on p. 449 of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*.]

a string from the neck. With the Wagenya it is customary to bore the upper lip and stick in the teeth of animals, while all forest tribes do the same with the nasal septum. The Wavira put large wooden disks in the upper lip. The lip-plug of the Bongo women has been introduced from abroad; only in the district round the station of Biselli they wear in their lower lips wooden plugs an inch and a half across and an inch thick. The Azandeh chiefs used formerly to despise the wearing of articles of ornament, in this as in other externals coming near to the Nubians and other Soudanese.



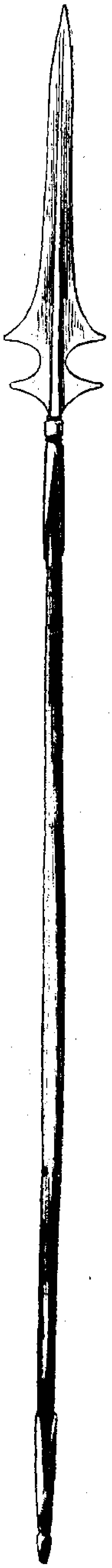
Weapons, harpoon, and amulet from Manyema: 1, 2, 3, mode of stringing the bow, Baluba style; 4, arrow-head; 5, harpoon; 6, amulet. (After Cameron.)

The skulls of persons from Yalundi on the Equatorial Congo looked to Baumann so unnaturally curved behind and flattened in the forehead that he assumed artificial distortion to have taken place. Undoubtedly Monbuttus of the higher class give the head an elongated form by binding it in early life, which suits their exaggerated style of hair-dressing and head-ornament.

The greater part of the district with which we are here dealing falls within the region of palm-fibre fabrics and bark-cloth. The latter is also strongly represented in the east, skin clothing encroaches but little in the east and north. The Monbuttus, to whom weaving is quite unknown, use the bark of a fig-tree (*Urostigma kotschyana*), the naturally gray tint of which is converted to a red brown by dyeing with a certain wood. The same material furnishes clothing in Manyema almost exclusively. The Bongo men draw a smallish piece of bark cloth between the legs and spread it out over a belt which holds all together. Curiously enough the women do not use this material, or at any rate only to the smallest possible extent; they cover their nakedness, inadequately, by means of a string round the hips having a banana-leaf or a bit of bark-cloth as large as the hand hanging from it. Every morning a Bongo lady gets her costume fresh from the forest. A spray of leaves or a bunch of grass is fastened to the loin string before and behind. Very often, however, a whisk is also used, made from the bast of the *Sanseviera*, which waves to some length behind, looking like a black horse tail. All the rest of the body remains uncovered in both sexes; a feather-ornament on the head is worn only on festivals. Obviously in this respect, as in so many others, the Bongos form the point of junction for the manners and customs of their neighbours. The contrast with the Azandeh is most striking, since these people, even before they began to imitate the Arab dress, were more fully clothed. The lower and middle

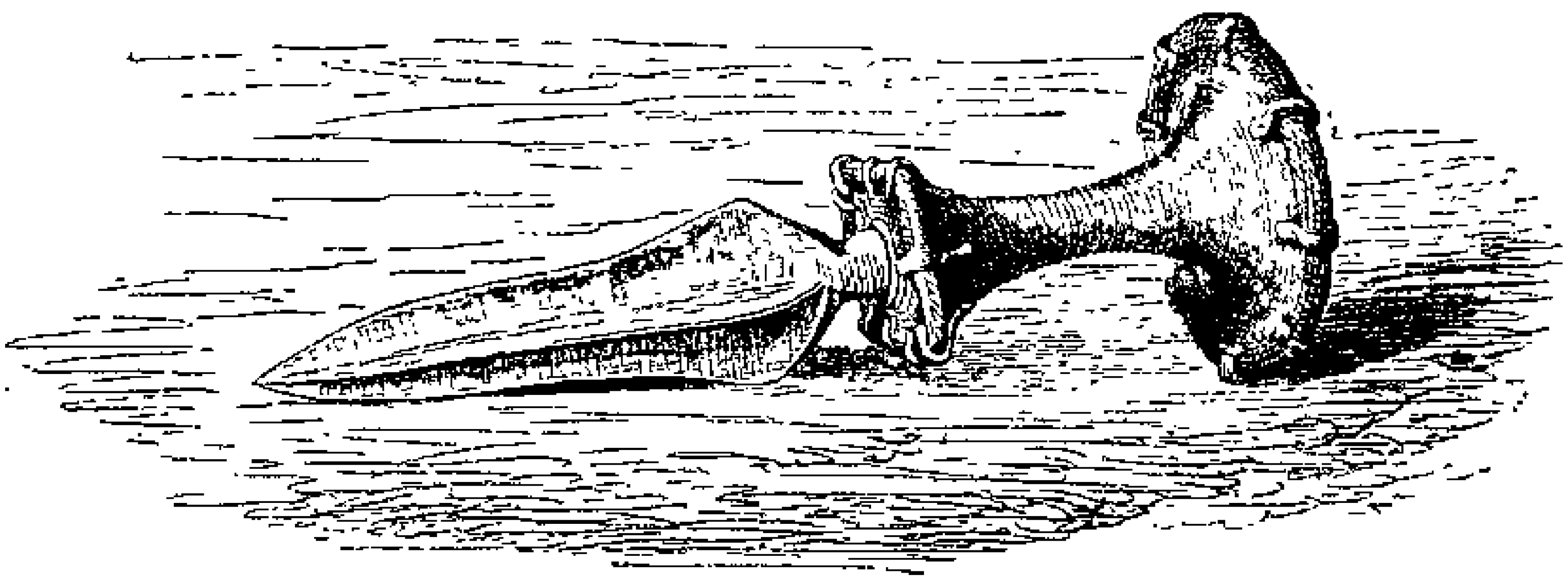
parts of the Congo basin comprise the largest region of palm-fibre fabrics in Africa, woven in handsome patterns from the long fibres of young palm-shoots. An example is figured in the plate "Artistic Productions of the Southern Congo Races." The Bakuba women embroider geometrical patterns upon this cloth with black, yellow, or red-brown thread, which then is shaved like velvet. Nevertheless their dress is not richer or more complete. On the Equatorial Congo, as for example among the Wagenya, the men wear a skirt of banana-fibres, the women a few sprays or leaves. The rich and proud Bangala are not a bit more clothed; and their wives wear only skirts of fibre. In war-time alone do the men cover themselves with more stuffs, and paint their bodies red more thickly than usual. The cloths stored up in a chief's house often fulfil no purpose until the owner is dead and wound in endless sheets of them, or bedded upon them in his grave. Towards Upoto, and beyond it, quite naked people, even women, may also be met with on the Congo; but they are less demoralised than their better-clad neighbours further down stream. Going westward, the more complete clothing of the Bakongo appears first among the Bateke. Aprons of iron beads, reminding us of the Upper Nile, or of iron rings fastened like mail-shirts upon vegetable fabrics, occur among the Moguallas on the Upper Congo, between the Rubi (or Itimbiri) and the Aruwimi.

Throughout the whole of this wide territory warlike peoples dwell. No single expedition has got through unshot at, or unopposed. It may be said that the whole Lomami, so far as any one has travelled along it, has fighting people dwelling about it, and almost the same is true of the Kassai. Everywhere one comes upon little populations of redoubted river-pirates, like those whom Van Gele found on the Ubangi. In some cases kidnapping is practised by these people merely to get meat. Their weapons are conspicuous for excellence, quantity, and beauty. When Nachtigal reached the camp of the fugitive Baghirmi king Aboo Sekkim, where an army of quite 15,000 men, consisting chiefly of heathen auxiliaries from the south, was assembled, he found that the indispensable weapon was the *throwing-iron*, of which many carried several specimens, as many as five in some cases, in sheaths of hide. Spears were not represented in such numbers, although all possessed them, and still less general were the daggers, the manufacture of which has not yet reached so high a pitch of perfection among those tribes as it has further south. One of the most marvellous weapons was brought by those divisions of the Gaberis, who in time of war take up their abode in lofty trees. These were hard projectiles about half a yard long, of strong reed, pointed at one end like a pen, and weighted at the other with a spindle-shaped lump of clay. Some Buas wore a hollow cylinder of ivory on the forearm to parry with. A similar opulence prevails among the Monbuttus, who carry, besides spear, shield, and bow, knives of the greatest variety, dagger-like or



Wakonjo spear—about one-tenth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

curved into the shape of a sickle, but have not the genuine Azandeh throwing-knife. The weapon-trade was lively even before the introduction of firearms. The Azandeh supplied the Bongos with throwing-knives, daggers, and short single-edged swords. On the whole, in the prairie countries bow and arrow recede before the spear, which seems to predominate in all places where a more powerful military organisation has made its way, as in Lukengo's country. Among the eastern Lendus pikes occur, especially heavy, and with ends thickened to a club shape. These are thrust into huts, to kill concealed foes. Baumann says that the Bangala are amazingly expert in throwing the spear; while in the forest the bow predominates, and that in the small form which is often associated with poisoned arrows. The Krejes, however, still carry spears. The spear-blade is in most cases of the form shown in the last cut, with three curving edges; while the arrowheads are preferred broad and flattened, to inflict wider wounds. Both kinds of weapon have blood-channels and barbs. Arrow-shafts are made from reeds, and feathered with bits of banana-leaf or genet's skin. The string consists of a thin strip of rattan, and a small piece of wood or cushion of hide protects the thumb from the rebound of it.



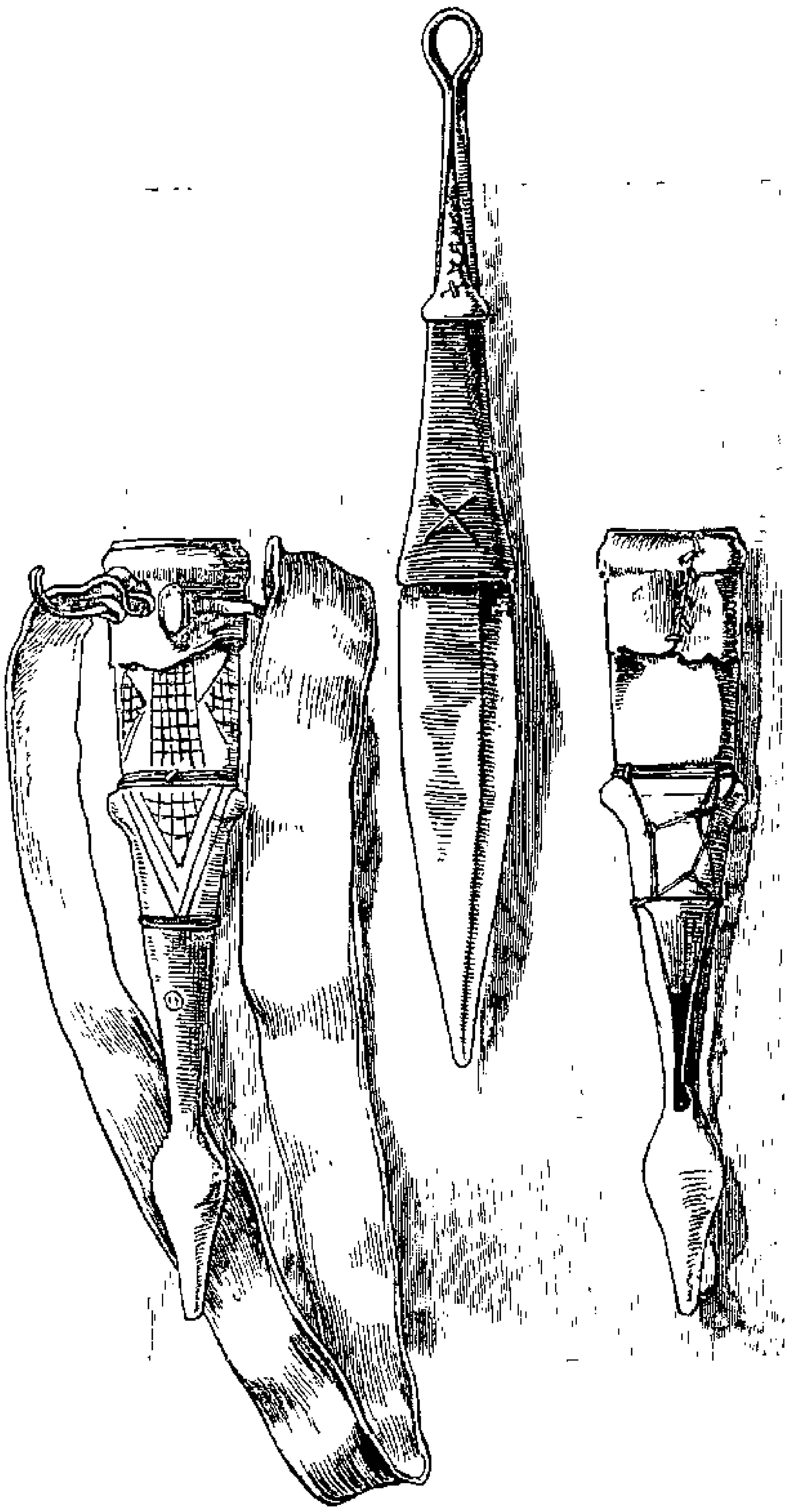
Iron dagger, used by the Makaraka. (Christy Collection.)

Among the Monbuttus this wooden guard is hollow, and contains poison into which the arrows are dipped. The bow is either short, with sharply bent ends, bound with rattan or strips of monkey-skin, and furnished with a string of rattan or twisted vegetable fibre; or else it is longer, of comparatively slight curvature, grooved on the under side, and fitted with a button of plaited work at each end for the attachment of the string, as shown in the cuts on p. 70, and vol. ii. p. 253. The former shape, with which poisoned arrows are especially apt to appear, is almost universal in the forest—occurs on the Congo even among the Bateke; while the latter is most frequent on the Kassai, and attains its finest development among the Bassongomino in their fluted bows of palm-wood 5 feet and more in length. On the Congo the Yankows and Bakumu have similar bows. We have seen bows from the Kwango and Sankuru in which the rattan string is held firm by wooden balls.

Throwing-knives are among the notable properties of the races of the Monbuttu type north of the Congo. South of it they are authenticated only in a narrow strip between the Kwango and the Kassai, and there by one observer only. In the north, on the other hand, we can trace them as far as the Soudan, and from the Bongos and Azandeh through the Ubangi tribes nearly to the west coast. These very peculiar weapons are 15 to 20 inches long, have a belt bound with string, and consist of a piece of iron with one or more arms or knives, ground sharp, projecting at an angle from the fore part of the short blade. The weapon is flung horizontally, so as to turn over and over in its flight, but in many cases can be of use only for ornament or menace. They are most copiously developed among the Monbuttus.

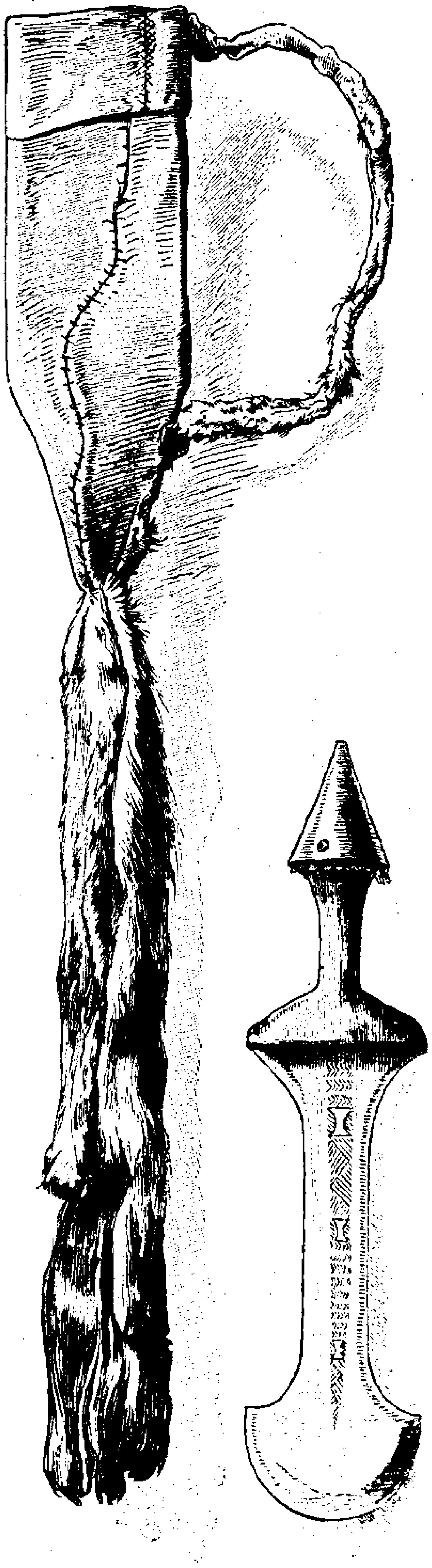
Knives, mask, and mat from the Upper Congo.—Knives: 1, Bataki; 2, from the Mal[illegible] 4, from the Lomami; 5, Bayansi; 6, Bafoto; 7, common on the Upper Congo; [illegible] copper; 9, Lupungu; 10, Bangala; 11, Beneki—one-seventh and one-eighth real [illegible] —one-tenth real size. 13, Mat from the Upper Congo—one-tenth real [illegible] 1-7 and 10 [illegible] lection; 8, 9, 11-13 from Wissmann Collection in Berlin Museum.)

In the south, axes are the more popular tool, forming a third with bow and spear, but often only as an ornamental weapon. The idea of power is often associated with them. Kalamba would not be happy till he had got Chilungomeso's redoubtable battle-axe. At Mona Tenda's, where spear and club are the chief weapons, François speaks of a specially beautiful axe. Next to the bow, little axes are the principal weapon with the Western Baluba. Further to the east, knives prevail. They are carried at the hip, in a wooden sheath or naked; their broad shape and curved edges recall the simpler forms of throwing-knife. The Bateke too are regular knife wearers, and broad, "flounder-shaped" knives occur among the Bassongomino. About the mouth of the Kwango spear-blades fitted with a handle serve as knives. Other peculiar weapons are the iron daggers of the Azandeh, which occur in precisely similar form among the Tuaregs. Pike-shafts are often handsomely carved, and are found of open work, serving for ornamental weapons, as with the Marau of the Welle; the smaller missile spears used by the Azandeh being on the contrary as simple as any Zulu assegais. Spearmen carry shields throughout the district; these, however, are seldom of leather as in the east and west, among the Nile races and the Fans, but of wood or wicker. Only among the tribes in the south parts of Baghirmi do leather shields occur as well. The Buas used sometimes to wear sleeveless jackets of hide, corselets rather than clothing, with the hair turned outwards, their rectangular flat shields of buffalo-hide, also with the hair outwards, being proportionately less finished. Among the other tribes most carried shields 6 feet high, but narrow, oval in shape and slightly convex, made of basket-work or buffalo hide, on account of their narrowness more useful for parrying than for covering the person. We give illustrations (on p. 76, and vol. i. p. 105) of Azandeh wicker shields in their simpler and more finished forms. Schweinfurth attaches importance to the *cross* design as evidence of the contact of the Azandeh with the west coast, where it is also found worked into the woven shields of the



Lur dagger, worn hung round the neck—one-fourth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection, Berlin Museum.)

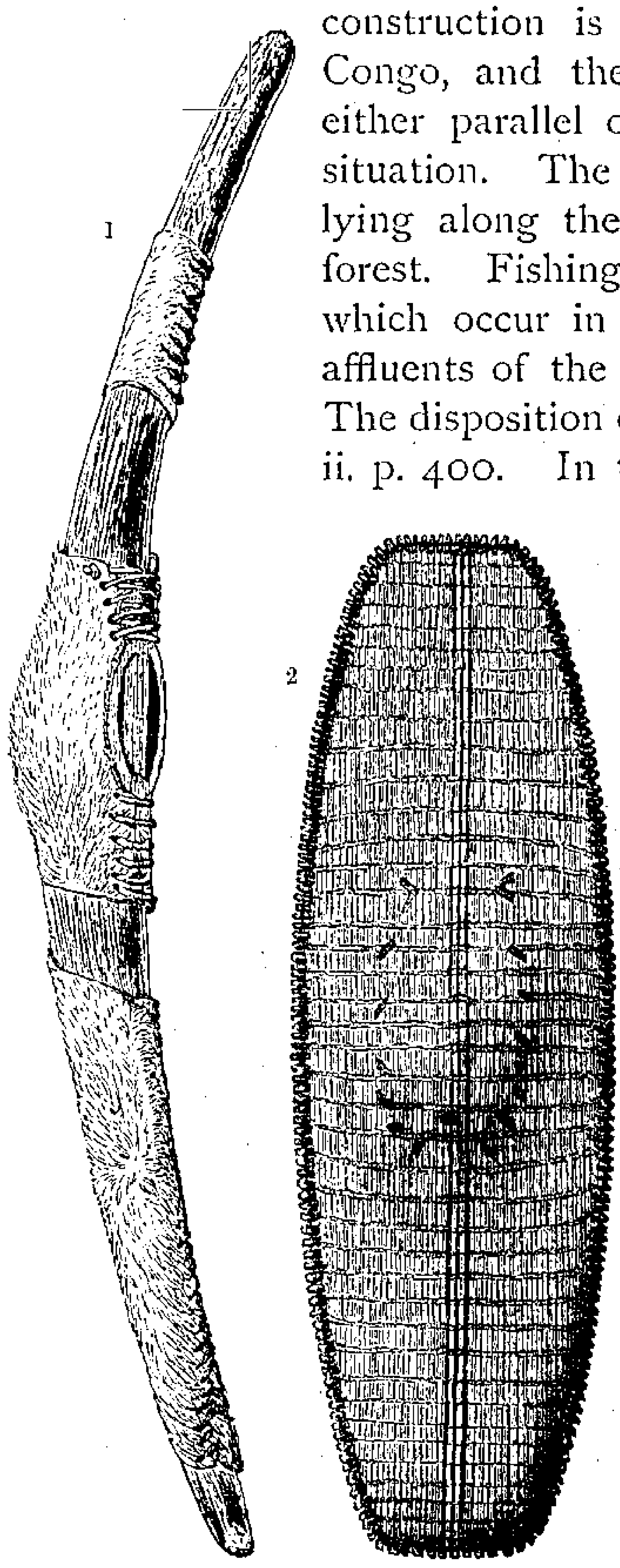
Ishogos. We are, however, inclined to believe that the cross must have resulted spontaneously in the search after geometrical ornament. The Bateke shields, woven of bast, are somewhat broader, while those of the Bangala are quite like the Azandeh. Among the Monbuttus and the Northern Congo races special attention is paid to the shields; they are cut with the axe out of the thickest stems, so as to form flat rectangular planks of some breadth, about as high as a man. Across the middle of them, on the outside, runs a rib, to give strength. They are further rendered firm by parallel bands of rattan running across at both ends (see the cut on p. 78). Any split or crack is at once closed by clamps of iron or copper. All shields are coloured black, and often, for ornament's sake, hung with the tails of river-hogs. A trapezium-shaped piece of reed matting hung to a string passing round the neck is worn by the Wassongora as a protection to the back.



Wakussu knife, hilt and sheath ornamented with copper—about one-fifth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

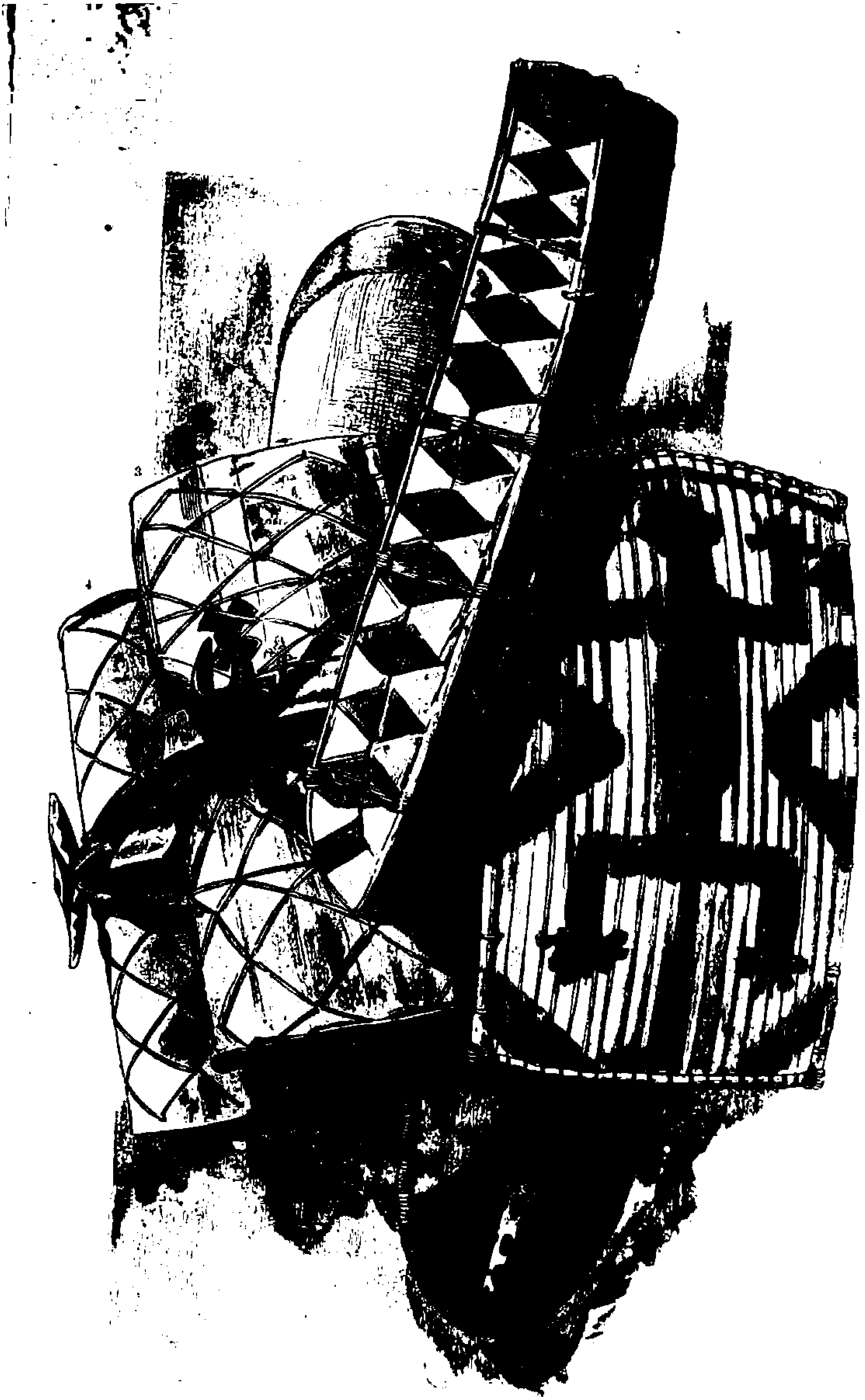
In the first Manyema villages we begin to find houses quadrangular in plan, and therewith a new style. Of a village on the eastern frontier of this country, called Riba-Riba, Stanley writes :—"The conical style of huts is exchanged for the square hut with more gradually sloping roof, wattled and sometimes neatly plastered with mud." The distance between these huts, more resembling our own houses, and the style of building elsewhere in Africa, is made the more noticeable by the extreme conical form which we find in Uhombo up to the frontier of Manyema. With the new style a new arrangement of the village makes its appearance. Instead of being grouped in a ring round a centre, we find the low, four-sided huts running in fairly straight lines along one or more regular streets 30 to 45 yards wide. In the view of the Ashira village, vol. ii. p. 403, this is well shown. At one end of this street, or on both sides of it, stands the house serving for council meetings or for social gossip, commanding a view of the village street. The small entrances to the village, often hard to find, lie between the houses of the longitudinal streets. The walls of the houses are of mud, and a terrace of the same often forms the foundation; the back wall is turned towards the wind, the roof often coming down to the ground for shelter, while the half that projects towards the front, rests upon wooden posts. Where the verandah is absent, little shelters are found, composed of a roof on

four posts, to pass the day in. A curious variation arises from the union of the houses in one row, as among the Balesse, where hut stands so close to hut, along a road 65 to 130 yards in length, that the villages seem to consist of two buildings with sloping roofs, the front walls some 9 feet high, facing each other; while the back walls, about half that height, look towards the forest or the clearing. This construction is found also on the northern tributaries of the Congo, and the street, consisting of two "long-houses," runs either parallel or perpendicular to the stream, according to the situation. The Bateke take care to have the back of a village lying along the stream covered by a dense bulwark of pathless forest. Fishing peoples and fugitives live in houses on piles, which occur in plenty on both the northern and the southern affluents of the Congo, such as the Chuapa and the Mongala. The disposition of them seems to correspond to that described vol. ii. p. 400. In the cottonwood trees of the Middle Ubangi, Van Gele found lookout places fitted up, recalling the tree-dwellings in the south of Baghirmi. The edge of the grass country is the limit of the round huts of the east. But even on the further side of 25° E., in the Bakutu district, we hear of an enclosure with 210 conical huts, and two quadrangular sheds, serving as assembly house and smithy, which would point to a mixture of styles. The Lendus too, dwell in conical huts, and among the Monbuttus such occur among the prevailing four-sided ones. The limit towards the west lies in the territory of the Bakongo, who build square huts on the east, round on the west. In the south we find the quadrangular plan among the Bakuba, passing over to the round in Lunda. The large halls, or *ubanga*, of the greater chiefs, are striking; half palaces, half assembly-houses, they attain a length of over 40 yards. Blocks of wood, carved into the shapes of men and animals, and painted black and white, on a red ground, are kept in them. Munsa's hall was 160 feet in length, nearly 50 in height. Baluba chiefs again, have palaces consisting of one hall, which serves as a drawing-room, 130 feet long. But the size alone of these buildings is monumental, not their duration. A few years after Schweinfurth had admired Munsa's palace, it had vanished from the face of the earth. "The town must be very old, for here and there a huge shady tree towers above the tops of the palms," says Wissmann, of the Beneki capital. Yet trees grow fast in Africa.



Shields: 1, Mundú; 2, Makaraka—one-tenth real size. (Vienna Museum.)

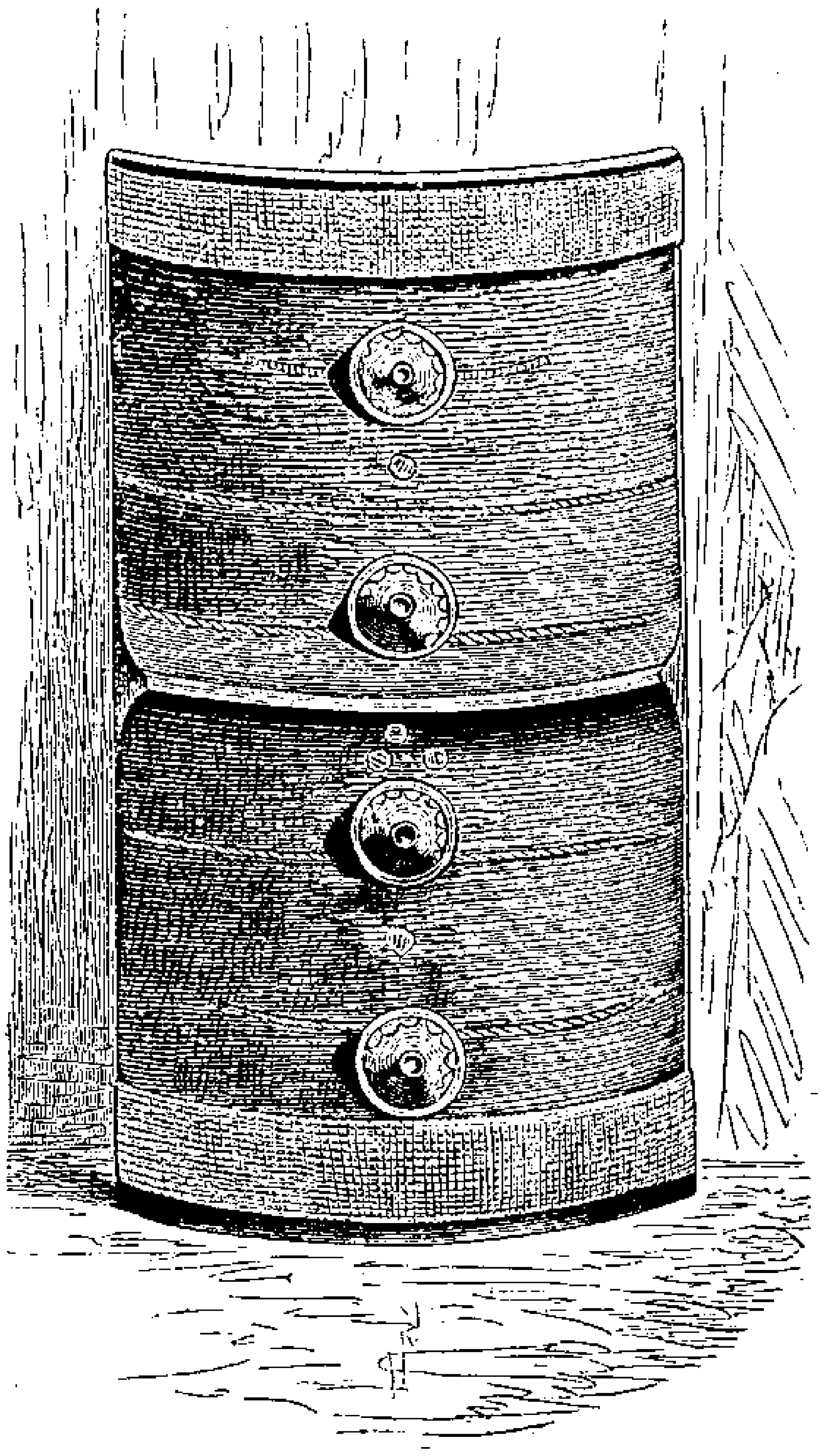
Wherever one advances northward and eastward along the tributaries on the right bank of the Congo, one comes upon huts of circular outline. On the Upper Ubangi from 20° east, and on the Aruwimi from 23° east and further, in the



Central African shields : 1, Eastern Bashilange ; 2, Manyema ; 3, Basinalunga ; [illegible] Poggi Collection ; 2, 3, 4, Wissmann Collection, Berlin) one-twelfth to one [illegible]

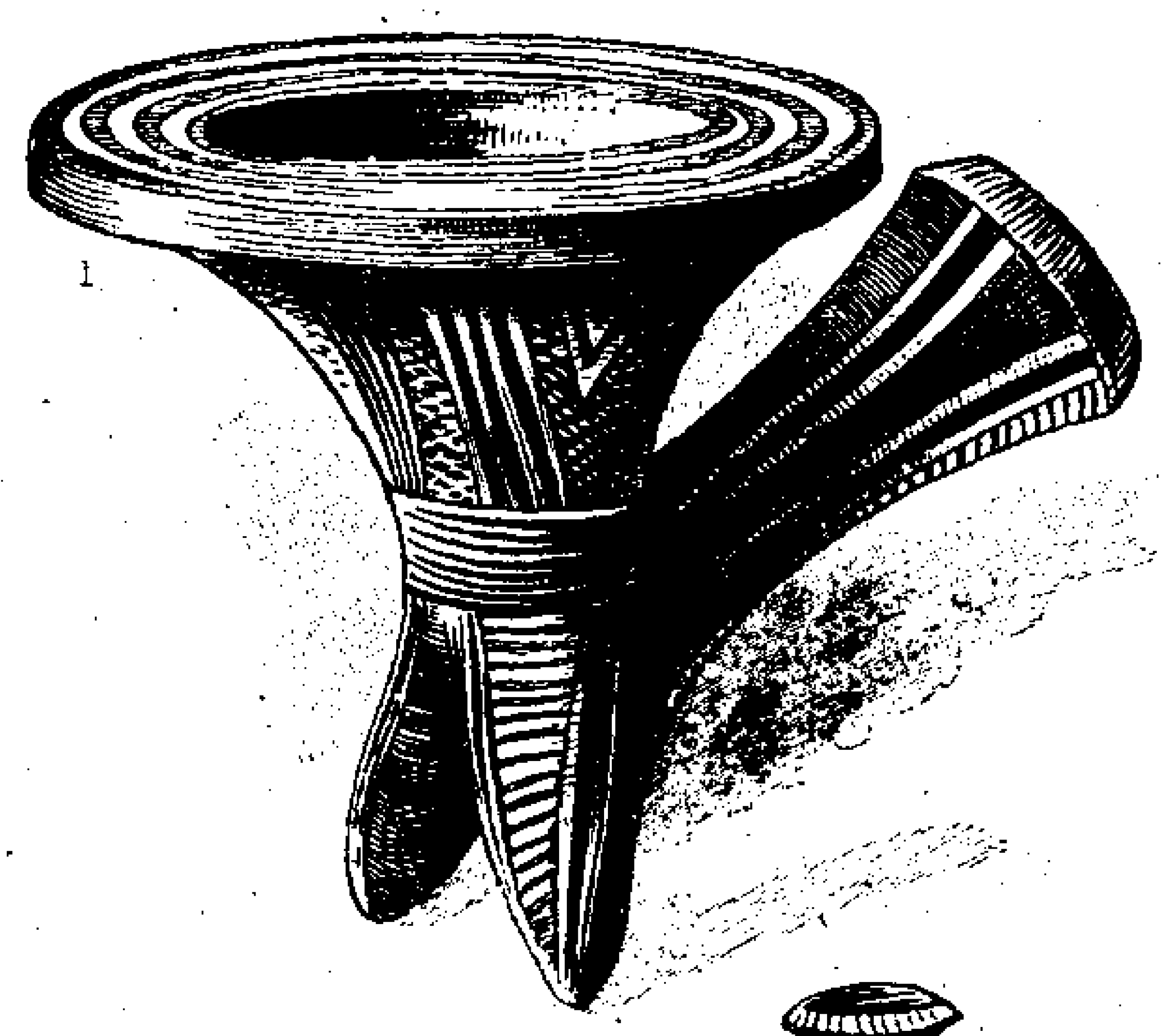
TREVANDRUM PUBLIC LI[illegible]

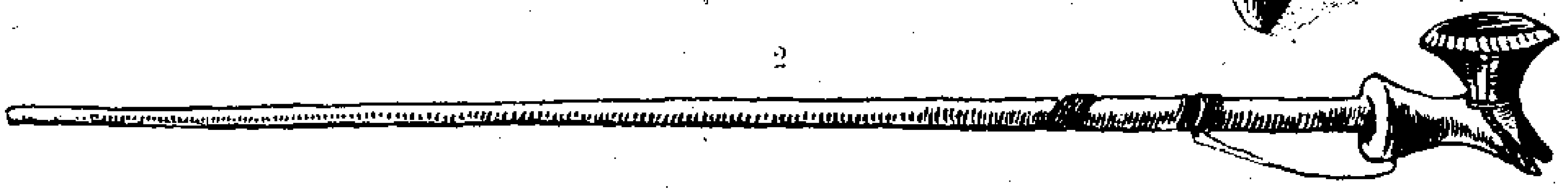
Azandeh territory, the conical style prevails. But these same people aim at a great variety of style, and are among the best architects in Africa. This becomes all the more conspicuous when we compare their constructions with the wretched domiciles of their subjects. Passing southward, through the Makaraka territory, one is surprised to find among the Fajelus huts whose smallness and poverty form a great set-off to the spacious abodes of their northern neighbours. The contrast appears great when we hear Felkin say that next to the Uganda huts, those of the Bongos were the best he came across in Africa. These Bongo huts are flattened at the top, and this characteristic has set a national stamp on the architectural style. In the region of four-sided huts, too, no such differences are apparent, corresponding to the general level of culture. In the Baluba villages, says Wissmann, order, care, and cleanliness are seen at once to be less pronounced, and the same is said of the Bangala. The Bakuba, on the other hand, in hut building as in all else they do, display a higher level, and the Monbuttu villages everywhere are shining examples of cleanliness and kindliness. In fertile, politically secure districts, one village often extends to another, and not on the rivers only. In the prairie country too, eastward from the Sankuru, Wissmann found league-long chains of uninterrupted villages.


Monbuttu shield—one-twentieth real size. (Christy Collection.)

Apart from the hunting and fishing peoples, who buy even the manioc bread which is the most essential article of food among the Congo races, or the less perishable fire-dried and smoked manioc roots, all are more or less agriculturist, indeed agriculturists principally. The breeding of goats, sheep, poultry, and (in the north) a few cattle is a secondary affair. The country is suited to tillage, being among the most fertile, best-watered districts of Africa. What grows in the Nile region is found here also, and more. The soil produces especially *telabun* (*eleusine*), maize, sesame, ground-nuts, gourds of sorts, tobacco, etc. Among the wild growths are bananas, of which the fruit is said to grow a foot long, sweet-potatoes, an oil palm with fruit as large as the ordinary banana. The butter tree, (or *bassia*), is common everywhere. In Monbuttu-land, Emin Pasha marched along a narrow path between unbroken walls of vegetation, wherein domestic plants, bananas run wild, and manioc, shot up to the height of a tree, vied in luxuriance with the true children of the forest. Beside such fertility, a certain poverty or rather monotony of agriculture among many races, in the north, particularly the Azandeh, is the more striking. A smaller kind of grain, *Eleusine coracana*, forms in fact the chief article of cultivation, while sorghum seems altogether lacking in most districts of the Azandeh territory. Maize also is grown

within a limited area, while in many regions to the east, such as Manyema, also in Monbuttu-land, it is the favourite crop. Here the relation of the ruling race in the Soudan to their negro subjects, who are better farmers than their lords, seems to repeat itself. There are people who attach little importance to agriculture, and whose relation to their neighbours is that of large but indolent land-owners to industrious small farmers. The prize for cultivation of the land seems here to be due to the Kalikàs, a tribe of serfs whose country, south of Makaraka-land, in 3° N., impressed Junker as one of the richest countries he had seen in Africa. "Extensive tilled fields, with stalks of durra as tall as a man, between which the natives hid for safety; small patches planted with *lubia*, beans of various kinds, gourds, sweet potatoes, etc.; pasture meadows on the gently sloping hills, cut up in all directions by little watercourses, brooks, deep channels, accompanied here as elsewhere by luxuriantly growing trees, standing up in narrow green lines; little groves, of hardly a dozen trees or so, rising all about out of the tilled fields, their tall stems made closer by thicket and climbing plants; isolated trunks taking the place of our village lime-trees, offering peaceful shady places, such as are frequently to be met with near the little groups of hamlets distributed about this country; while the *deleb* palm and the banana only occur singly, make one at the first glance compare the district,



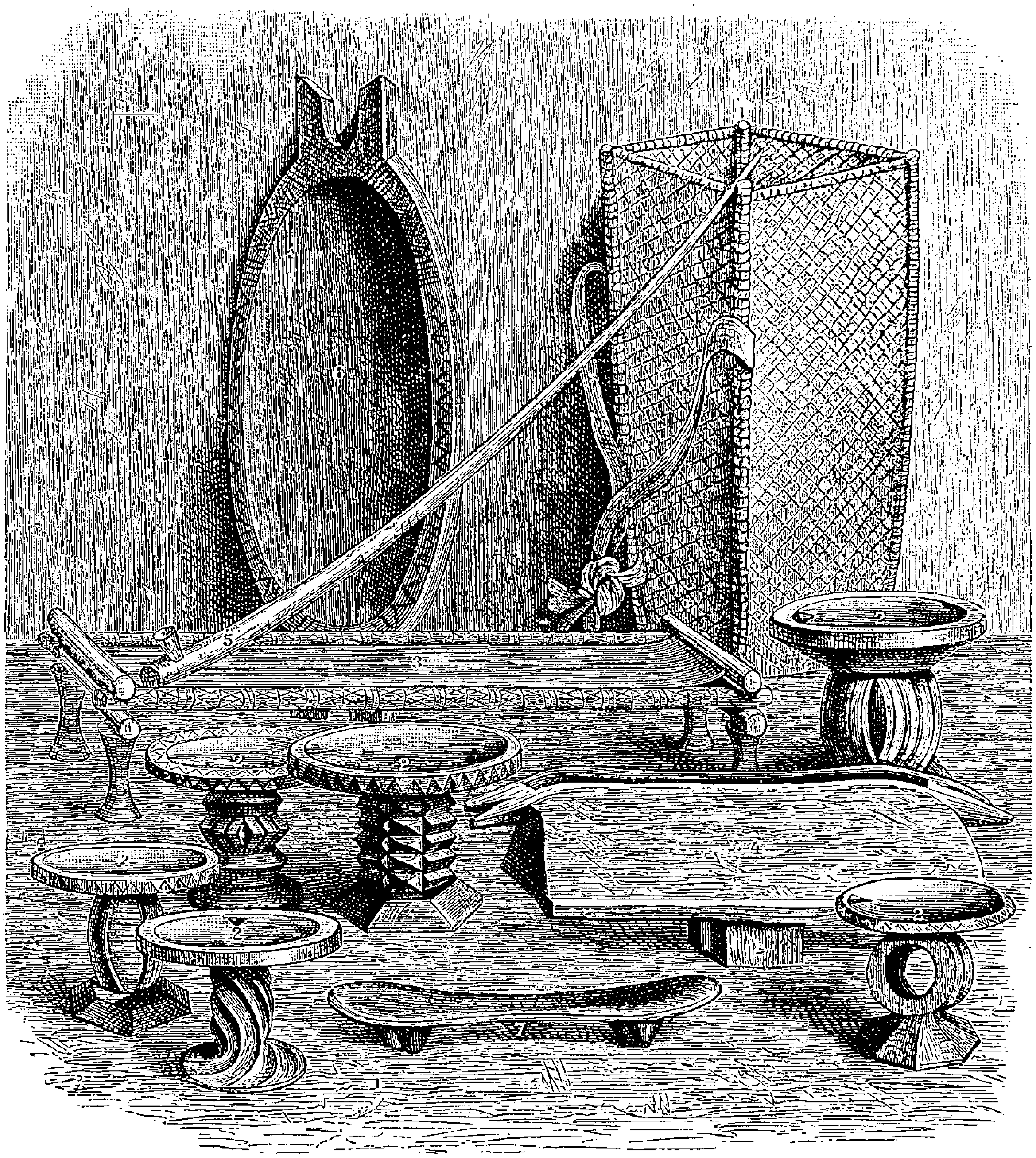


1, Pipe-bowl; 2, pipe of the Baira Wakonjo—2, three-eighths real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

taking all in all, with a cultivated country-side in Europe." In the Congo basin manioc predominates; coming from the east one first meets with the oil-palm among the Monbuttus, and with it bananas.

The inhabitants of the Congo basin are, on the whole, vegetable rather than meat eaters. Their chief food is manioc, in the upper part bananas, with smoked fish in the river, insects in the forest. Their chief drink is palm-wine. Agreeable to the high level of material culture among these people, their modes of preparing food are manifold. Junker praises a porridge made of the milky young grains of maize; besides this they are great drinkers and smokers. Monbuttus despise elephant, lion, and snake; the dwellers upon the Equatorial Congo, on the other hand, eat elephant, hippopotamus, and most other animals, including man—of which more presently; also snakes, iguanas, white ants, and various birds, snails, and insects. Besides these they have, though not in great quantity, goats, sheep, geese, fowls. The salt of the Soudan does not seem to get as far as this, since we hear of the preparation of a substitute from the frequently occurring *Pistia stratiotes* and other marsh plants. We meet with the kola-nut first in Monbuttu-land, and the Azandeh potentates also love to chew it. We have spoken above of the great extent to which wine from palms, bananas, sugar-

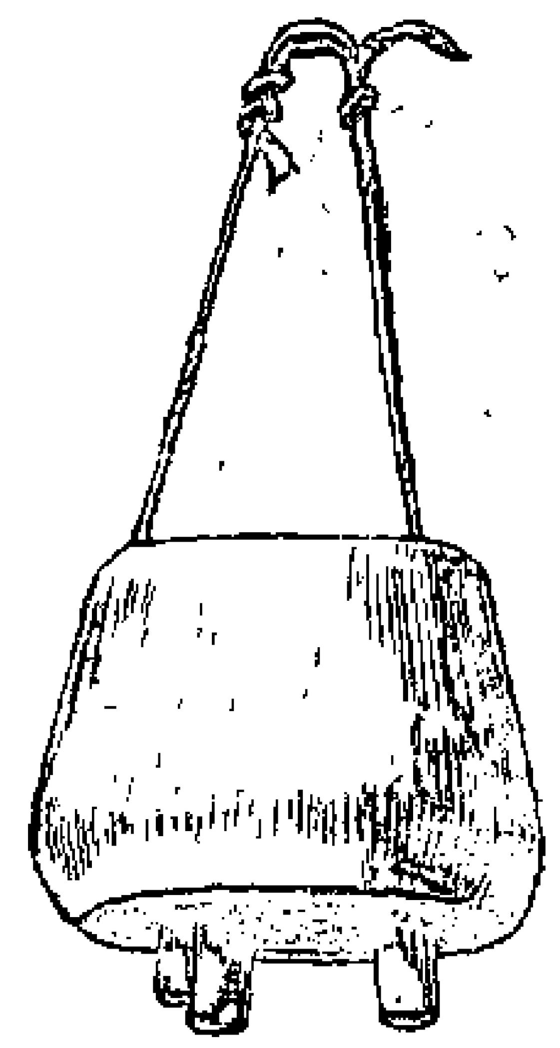
cane, etc., is drunk. Where sorghum, which, spreading from the Soudan, has reached, to the east, Azandeh-land, and to the west, the north of the Cameroons territory, has made its way in from the north, *merissa* appears, with which may be compared the *eleusine*-beer of the Azandeh. The wide diffusion of tobacco-



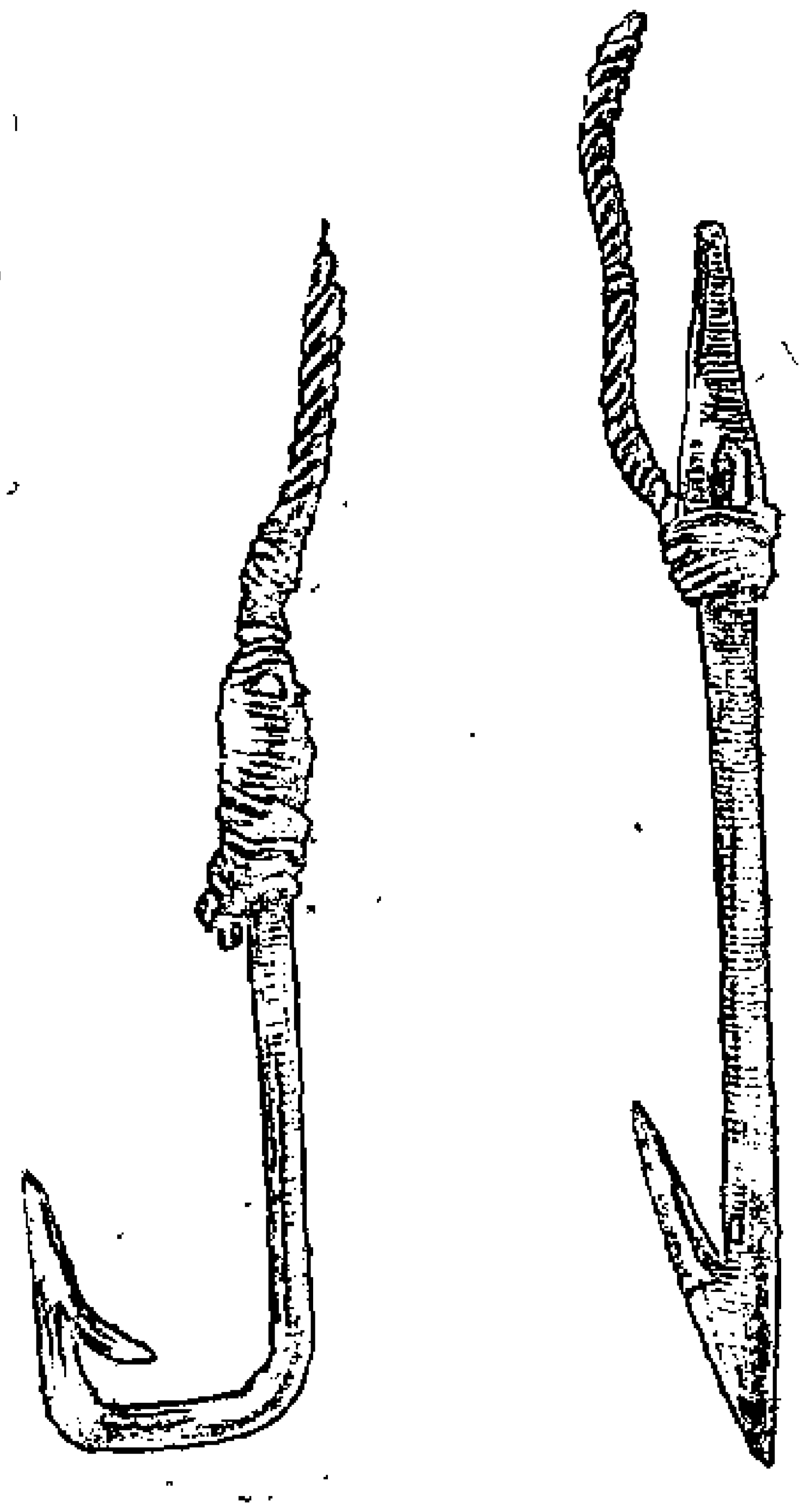
Domestic utensils of the Monbuttu: 1, Shoulder-basket; 2, various stools; 3, bed; 4, drum; 5, pipe; 6, dish; 7, footstool—one-twentieth real size. (After Schweinfurth.)

growing gives the scale of the indulgence in it. The Azandeh are at once the greatest tobacco-planters and greatest smokers in Africa. There is not a hut without a tobacco-patch as close by the house as possible, for fear of thieves. Alone in this region their language has a word of its own for the plant—*gundeh*. They smoke out of short clay pipes without a stem, while the Monbuttu use remarkably long pipes. Chewing is customary among the Bongos. These make up the tobacco, mixed, it is said, with cow-dung, into cakes as hard as stone,

which are laboriously mashed and ground up between stones. This *meshir* is so strong that an unpractised smoker can only take it mixed with mild leaf-tobacco. Only persons of property own large stores of it, the price being high. Right away to the country inland from the Cameroons tobacco leaves are one of the most effective presents and forms of currency. The Congo tribes clearly knew of tobacco long before the arrival of Europeans; they smoke it in *chibouque*-like pipes, as shown on p 79. The practice of eating earth has recently been observed in the Congo basin, on the Lokebo; where the sickly-looking people are said to have hit upon it as a cure for stomach-ache. Poisons are used in the administration of justice, as well as for arrows. The Monbuttus do a flourishing trade in their "oracle-poison," bang. Where millet or maize is used as food, a platform is made in the centre of the village filled with tightly-rammed clay. On this is laid a heavy tree-stem, in which sundry troughs are hollowed out. These trough-like pounding mortars on the Middle Congo stand singly or in pairs in front of the huts. The round sort, made of earthenware, and the wicker corn-bins, disappear here, and give place to long poles having some dozen horizontal cords of liana or other climbing plant fastened an equal distance up and down them. To these cords the corn-cobs hang, tops downwards. But where the kind of maize is grown which Livingstone saw in Manyema, with cobs bent into the shape of a hook, they are merely hung by their own hooks. In innumerable places in the Congo country the remains of the meals of generations are piled up in the form of shell and bone heaps.



Wooden dog-bell of the Lendús — about one-fourth real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

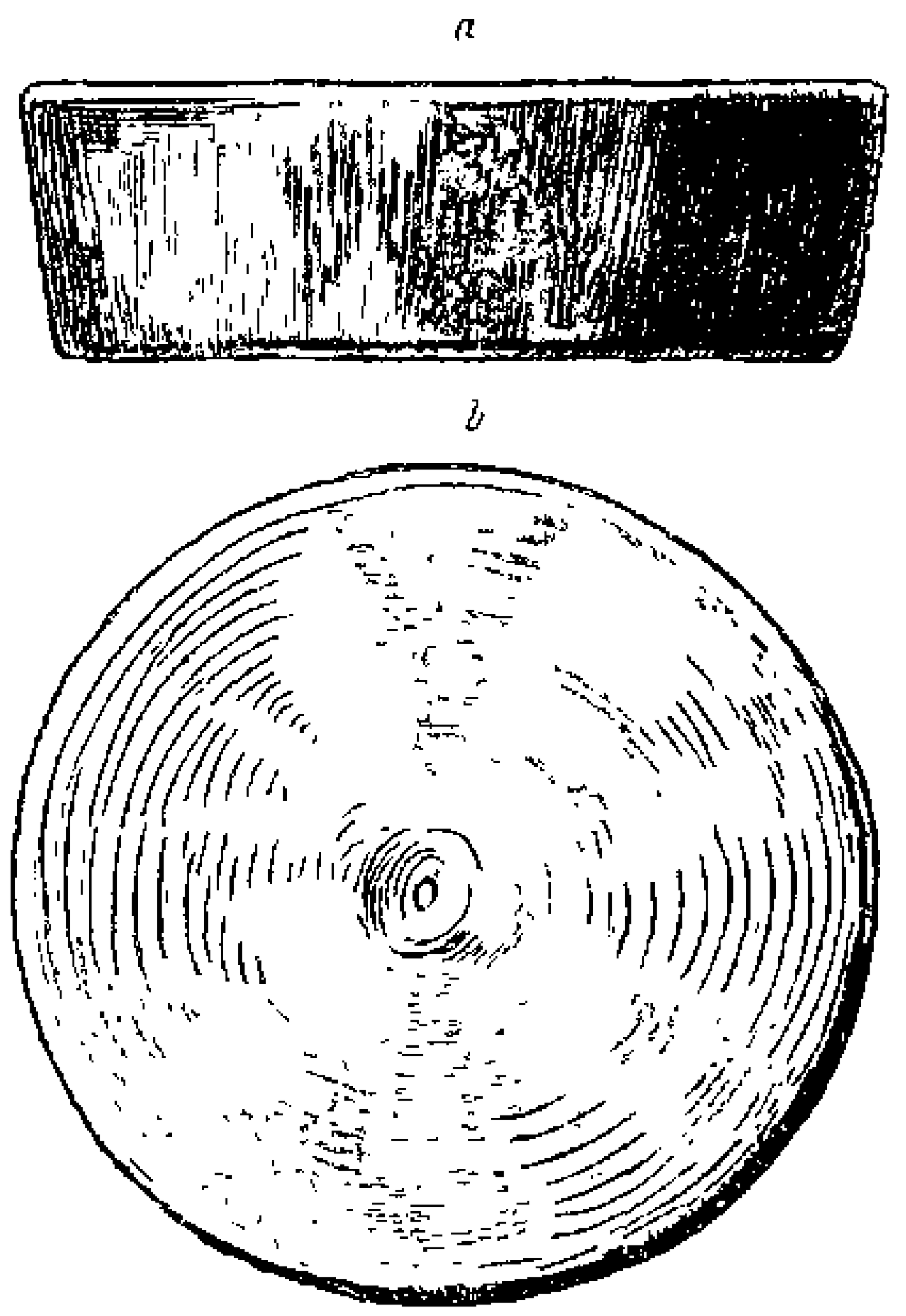


Fish hooks from Lake Albert—two-thirds real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

Among domestic animals the dog and sheep of the Congo are exactly like their kindred in Monbuttu-land, first made known to us by Schweinfurth. The goat, in which two African breeds are represented, is the prevailing domestic animal from the Welle to the Cameroons. Cattle-breeding diminishes suddenly as one goes westward from the Nile; the Jurs are the last considerable breeders, and beside them the Loggos dwelling west of the Kalikas are alone to be mentioned. To the Azandeh, Monbuttus, Abarmbo, and others, cows and goats are mostly known only by hearsay. The Azandeh are, on the other hand, like those "universal eaters," the Bongos, great dog-lovers. Their animals are extraordinarily disposed to make fat, and they are all the more in demand with their masters that dog's flesh constitutes one of their choicest dainties. By some peoples of the Congo basin also, the dog is fattened and eaten; and on the conclusion of a blood friendship they sprinkle themselves with his blood. The absence of herds of cattle was of

great advantage to these races when the Egyptian invasion first began, as an enticing form of plunder was wanting. Dogs and fowls are the only domestic animals that the Monbuttus possess, apart from the occasionally half-tamed river-hog. As breeders of great flocks of sheep and goats, we may specially mention the Mabode in their wide plains.

The chase is often altogether left to the scattered little hunting-races, who barter their spoils to their neighbours for the produce of agriculture and industry. Many tracts of prairie-land are less rich in animals than an average shooting with us, and among the Lendús rat-catching is briskly carried on with traps like eel-baskets. But everywhere there are families of tribes of hunters. One meets canoes, each occupied by a family and a pack of dogs; these are hunters who are well furnished with nets and spears. Certain special peoples are known as elephant hunters, and roam far and wide. Coquilhat reports that Ngombes from Mobunga range across country as far as the Lulongo, to hunt elephants. In the forest the little people are, so to say, professional hunters, but in the open country hunting with nets and traps is one of the occupations of the dominant race. Azandeh men take to this only with a certain zeal. Quite consistently with their position as lords among their dark serfs, they are great hunters, and keep, especially when the grass is burnt after the stake-net hunting is over, large quantities of dried meat. They tame a small beast of prey, perhaps a *rhyzæna*, for hunting purposes. Numerous birds are tamed; among them a red-tailed parrot, *Psittacus erithacus*, which is often trained to talk. A peculiar hunting-weapon is a short harpoon with barbed blade, thrown at wild boar. Fishing is carried on with the utmost perseverance, perhaps nowhere in Africa to such an extent as at Stanley Falls. Angling is left to the children; grown persons set basket-traps—those of the Baati in the Ubangi are so heavy that it takes two canoes lashed together to transport them, and swimming in the water, drive the fish with shouts and drum-beating to the row of stakes. They set these enclosures in the wildest rapids and whirlpools, in some parts so thick that we may speak of a forest of stakes. They fish also at night by torchlight. The Wagenya, who are the keenest race of fishermen, use drum-signalling extensively for this purpose and also to convey intelligence. Dried fish is an article of trade, and is sent from the Lower Kassai and from Stanley Falls to a distance, through the medium of regular trading-peoples.



Wooden lip-disks worn by Wavira women; *a*, side view; *b*, from above—four-fifths real size. (Berlin Museum.)

The dwellers on the Congo and its tributaries are clever canoe builders and boatmen, and were celebrated as such even by the old Portuguese. Stanley found even larger boats on the Congo than on Lake Victoria. A canoe taken from Mwana Tapa was over 80 feet long; and Van Ronslé speaks of others of almost equal length at Stanley Falls. Among the Rubungas, Stanley met with numerous canoes of faultless shape, with very beautiful carvings, propelled by

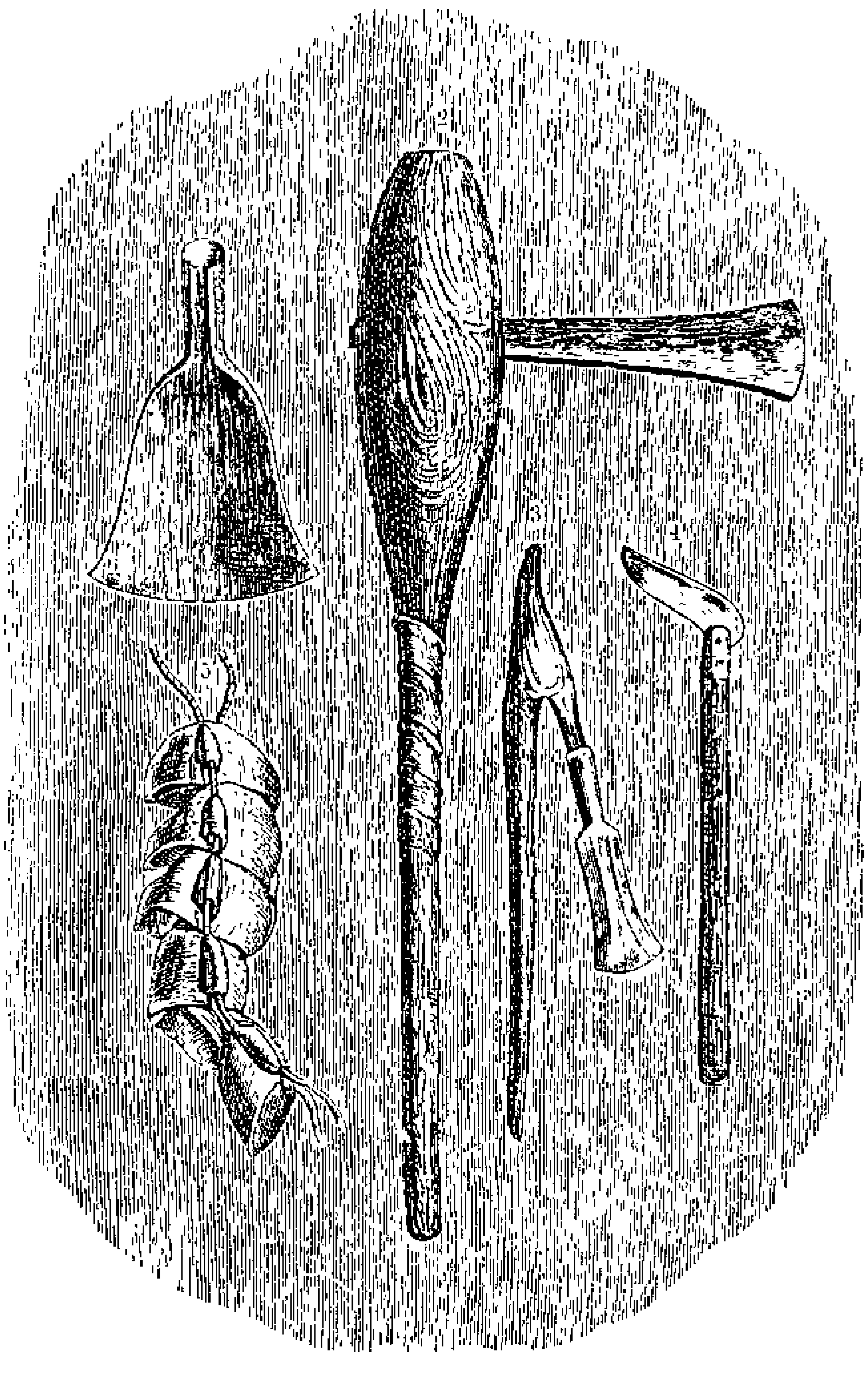
standing upright with paddles two yards long, half the length being made up of the pointed blade. They ply with great boldness close above the rapids, where a moment's relaxation of strength means being cast away. Canoes are a costly possession; the building of them as well as the carving of the paddles is not every man's, nor indeed every people's, affair. The Wagenya, those doughty navigators, get their boats, which are much stronger than those of the

1, Beneki fetish; 2, Bashilange feather ornament; 3, Belt from Ubujwe; 4, Woven cap from the Sankuru 5, Baluba tattooing knife—about one-third real size. (1-4, Wissmann; 5, Wolf Collection.)

Bangala, from the Wamanga on the Lindi. They are, if possible, concealed, where the mouth of a steamlet or any natural inlet affords shelter, in artificial side channels, 10 to 30 feet wide, which also facilitates the capture of fish. They are also kept under water, when they last better. Up the Welle, the Abassango dwelling on the islands are instances of a people well provided with boats; and on the Logon, Barth saw half a hundred boats, 25 to 35 feet in length, with powerful beaks, all dropping down stream at the same time. The Bassama of the Benue have boats with beaks like crocodiles, and paddles, adorned with burnt-in patterns, tied to flexible staves. The Azandeh and Bandija go very

little on the water, while among the Baati on the Mobangi 200 or 300 boatfuls of women and children may be seen every morning going to their work under the guard of a few fighting men. In this well-watered country some people naturally lead amphibious existences; fishermen who live more on the water than on the land, and pirates who go man-stealing many days' journey from their homes.

Among some peoples of our district, articles wrought in iron are numerous and handsome, and show the quality which Junker praises in the Amubenge of the Welle as "a feeling for art-industry"; but far from all of them occupy themselves therewith in a large degree. Naturally in the east, where iron is plentiful, we find admirable smiths. Among them are the Bongos, who used once to manufacture quantities of good ironware; particularly slender rings, worn as ornament to the number of 20 or 30 on one forearm, and barbed spear blades. With them and the Monbuttus, the smelting is managed as by other Central Africans; two earthenware cylinders closed with banana leaves rendered soft serve as bellows. Both in rapidity of work and in the beauty of their productions the Monbuttu smiths are even superior to the Bongos. Coquilhat expressly emphasises the correspondence of the Bangala smithies with those of the Monbuttus as described by Schweinfurth. Ikungu, in the Ngombe country, is famous on the Equatorial Congo as the centre of the iron industry. The ironworkers of the south again, in the Baluba country, have methods quite peculiar to themselves of manufacturing iron ornaments and weapons—twisting, for instance, iron rods when red hot into a screw form. Pretty collars are made in this way. Again, they twist several together and weld them and grind them into axes. Frequent, and very well wrought, are the broad knives of the Baluba. These are pierced, before the final hardening, with hard punches in geometrical patterns, engraved and damascened with copper. From them we can recognise that here, in the most opposite corner of our district, that "training of the eye for regularity and symmetry" which Junker found to be developed among the Monbuttus as among no other negroes, is again at home.

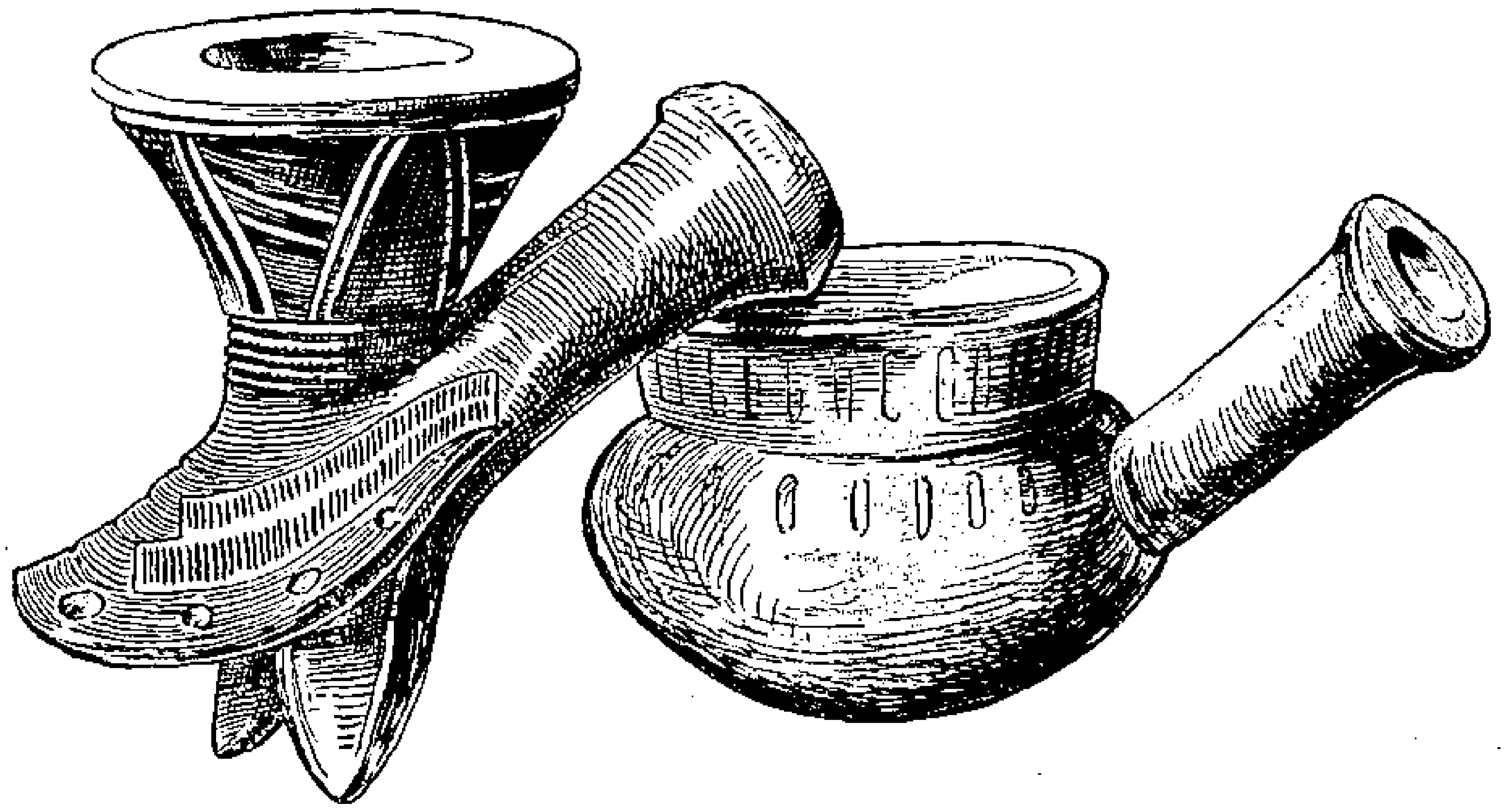


Monbuttu implements: 1, hoe; 2, 3, hatchets; 4, knife for carving; 5, rattle—one-sixth real size. (After Schweinfurth.)

ARTISTIC PRODUCTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN CONGO PEOPLE.

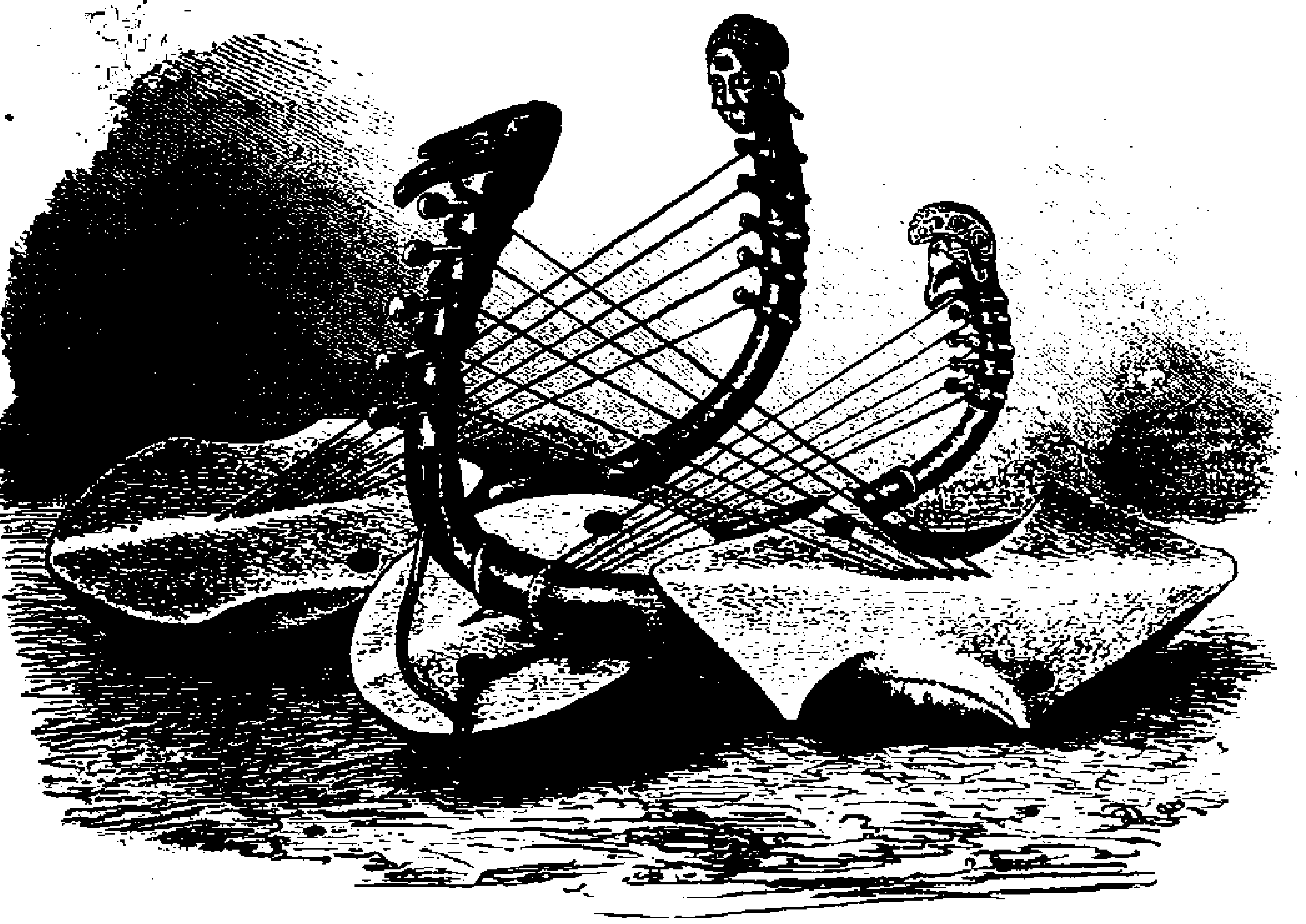
(1) Baluba carved fetish—one-fifth real size. (2-3) Benalusamba cups of carved wood. (4) [illegible] do. (5) Baletela do. (6) Basongomino double cup. (7) Bakuba covered basket. (8) [illegible] (9) Baluba woven mat—one-fourth to one-fifth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Copper and brass, too, play a greater part here than anywhere else in Africa. The former comes in the eastern part from Hofr en Nahas, while in the west Manyanga seems to be the point whence it radiates. Both, in the form of bars, wire, and rings, are among the most current and most valued articles of trade, and pass for money over a large area. Among the Azandeh spears entirely of copper are found, naturally as ornamental weapons. But copper is used for ornament by preference in smaller quantities; and they are fond of damascening it upon iron with much taste. The Baluba coat wooden articles, such as axe handles, with sheet copper beaten very thin, instead of the crocodile skin elsewhere used for the purpose. The Monbuttus draw bars into wire, with which they bind bows, spear shafts, knife handles, and so on. Shields and the little sticks worn in the ear are studded with copper, and the same metal holds together the rings of buffalo hide, and is found on the tongues of belts. The pretty Makaraka daggers also are embellished with woven copper wire on their plate-shaped handles. Here the values of copper and iron may be compared with those of gold and silver respectively. On the Equatorial Congo we find copper and brass used in great quantity, even for musket balls.


Wavamba pipe bowls—rather more than one-half real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

Wood-carving is highly developed. Just as Schweinfurth described it among the Azandeh and Monbuttus, do we find it also south of the Congo. Not only those gigantic canoes, and the shields, drums, stools, dishes, but all smaller productions of what is in its way a highly developed art industry, are made from mighty rubiaceous trees, which the people fell most laboriously with their little hatchets, doing the preliminary shaping with a kind of adze. These finer wood-carvings are done with a peculiar one-edged tool. The variety of their carved dishes is extraordinary; some have ring-shaped handles, others stand upon four feet. Generally speaking, the addition of feet to all their wooden utensils is very universal. Besides the women's round stools, they make benches with four feet for the men, in which the separate parts are neither nailed nor glued, but sewn together with thin strips of Spanish cane. The couch of bamboo poles and cane, like that of the old Egyptians, which moreover may be traced as far as the south of the Wahuma territory, is also noticeable. The Azandeh and Bongos also are expert in wood carving. Emin Pasha even gives them the preference in artistic matters proper. They ornament the feet of their stools with abundant carved work, even imitating the human figure; and carve good spoons from wood. The pretty harps, with necks ending in carved heads of men or animals, which the Azandeh bring to the Bongos, and to their neighbours beyond, show with what taste and refinement they work. Among the Bongos this branch of art attains a high development in the massive human figures with which their villages, gates,

[illegible] decorated. In their villages may frequently be found whole [illegible] carved from wood at the entrance in the palisade or by the huts [illegible] people; soul images, perhaps at the same time monuments of dis- [illegible] personages, or, as in the Lendús' fields, carved sticks to avert the evil [illegible] objects indeed are found as soon as we reach Uguha and Ubujwe, as [illegible] vol. i. p. 46. We find again the same style, the same predilection for [illegible] human beings, coupled with almost greater dexterity, in the south. The [illegible] make wooden cups in very characteristic imitation of human figures and faces; they carve human figures and limbs on knife handles and even on spear shafts, and they put their stools upon supports representing broadened human figures, like medieval corbels.



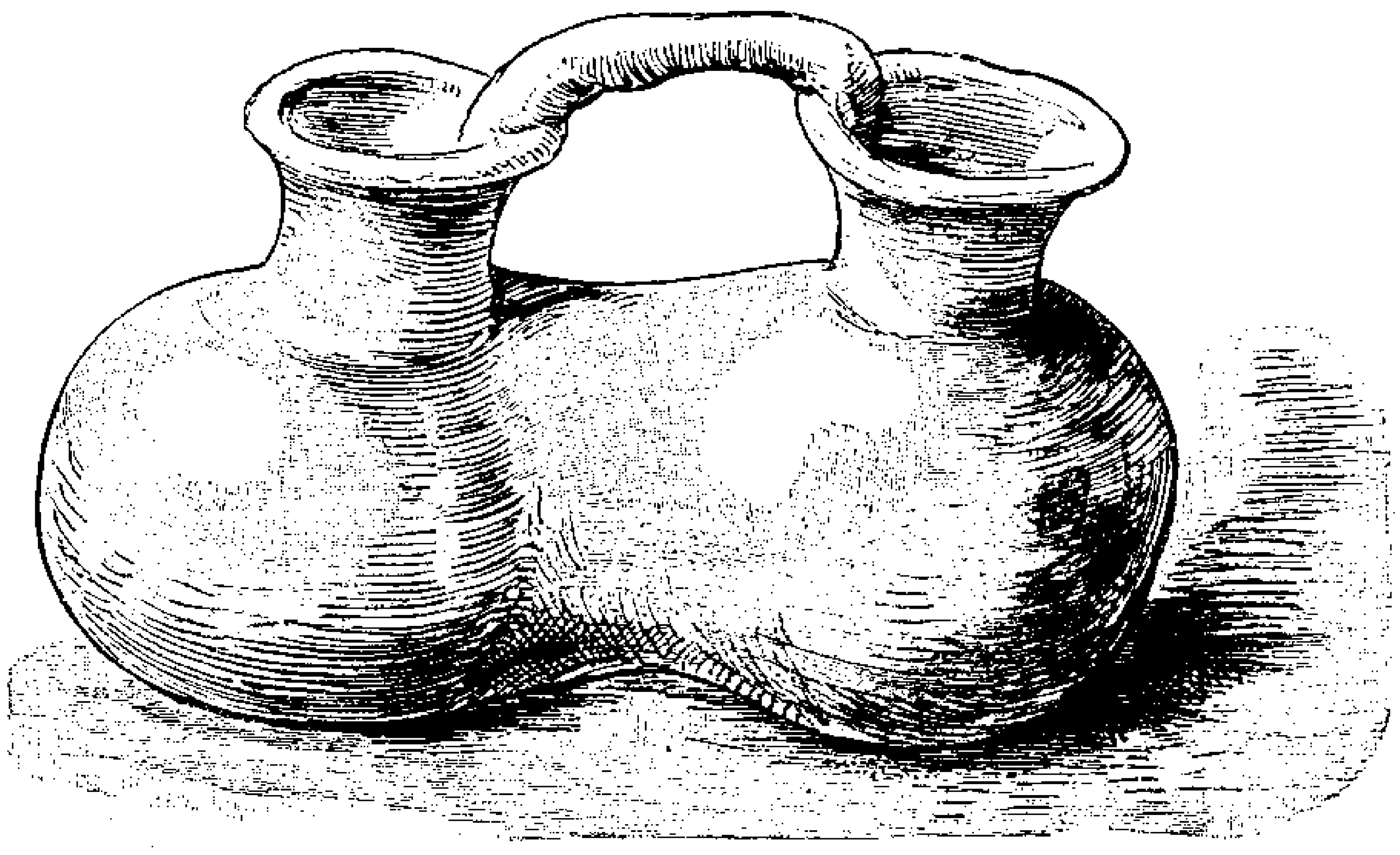
Azandeh harps. (The foremost in the Christy Collection.)

Pottery is, as usual, unevenly distributed. Its achievements are considerable in Manyama, where twenty or thirty earthenware pots, on peculiar frames, hang from the ceiling of the huts; and it attains its highest point in the east, where the Monbuttus manufacture quite the best things in Central Africa. In this way they surpass the Bongos no less than the West African potters working after Moorish patterns. Even though working in a coarse material, and unacquainted with the wheel, they make vessels of admirable symmetry, and of strikingly good taste in the simple ornament. In their best pieces they even make a start in the direction of forming handles, an art unknown elsewhere to African earthenware. Their water-bottles recall Egyptian forms; their oil-flasks are richly adorned. The Azandeh too attain conspicuous success in earthenware. In wicker-work the curious style of the Upper Nile peoples, in which all round dishes, plates, and so on, are shaped square at the base, prevails far into the forest.

Striking and significant is the small use which people dwelling among india-

rubber-yielding plants make of caoutchouc. They employ it occasionally for cement, and to make drumsticks!

Some of the musical instruments are peculiar. While the Monbuttus, strangely enough, have no stringed instruments, even the *marimba* being unknown here, horns and trumpets, on the other hand, which are in use pretty well all over Africa, are plentiful, while the semicircular flat Monbuttu drums, or rather gongs, offer an example of the reproduction of a smaller form on a larger scale in another material, and for another purpose. They are at bottom only the flat bells of the Congo district enlarged, they are narrow, formed from one block of wood, excavated through a narrow chink, and at the narrower end have two handles by which they are held upright while they are beaten with india-rubber cudgels. They are like the *difuma* of Lunda. Hunting-dogs have little wooden bells hung on their necks.

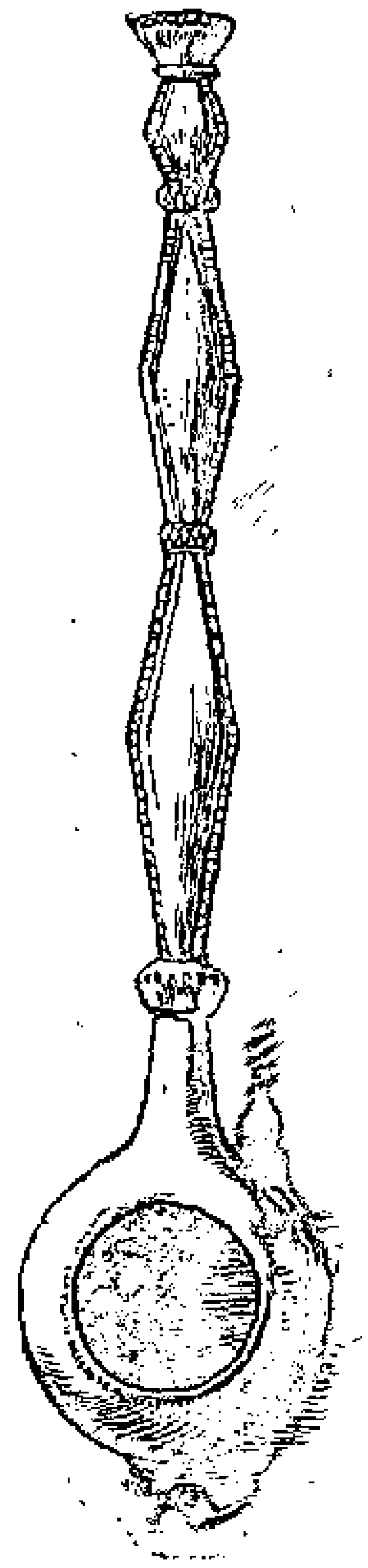


Double jug made by the forest Wakonjo—one-third real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

The whole region is penetrated by native traders, who leave to one another particular districts, so that every larger group of population has its own tradespeople. Nowhere in Africa does the negro vindicate so high a position for trade, alike as regards its efficiency, and its recognition and regulation by the State. Kund notices how, in spite of the brisk traffic in the country behind the Cameroons, he never met them with caravans several hundred strong as on the Upper Congo. Often they consisted of only one family. Trade brings to pass an interesting division of labour, and produces very peculiar political conditions. The Bateke who live on the Upper Congo by Stanley Pool, and are influential as traders, doing business especially in ivory against copper and brass rings—Stanley calls them ivory-brokers—cultivate no land, for their settlements are among the few which lie directly on the river, and are therefore wholly dependent for their sustenance upon the district in which they stay some months every year for the sake of their trade, obtaining their victuals through the medium of the chiefs. To them and to the Mahubari, who like them live entirely by trade, the Mambundu deliver liberally their daily bread, that is prepared manioc or *chicuanga*. Similarly the trading folk called Basanga, who live on islands in the Sanga, pay the chief a tax on their trade, serve him as smiths, build canoes and make paddles, getting his protection in return. There are direct connections extending from the coast to them, and goods are found among them which have come overland from Ogowe. In the Kassai regions the Tupende once held a more influential position, from which they have come down since they lost the Kikassi ferry to the Kiokos.

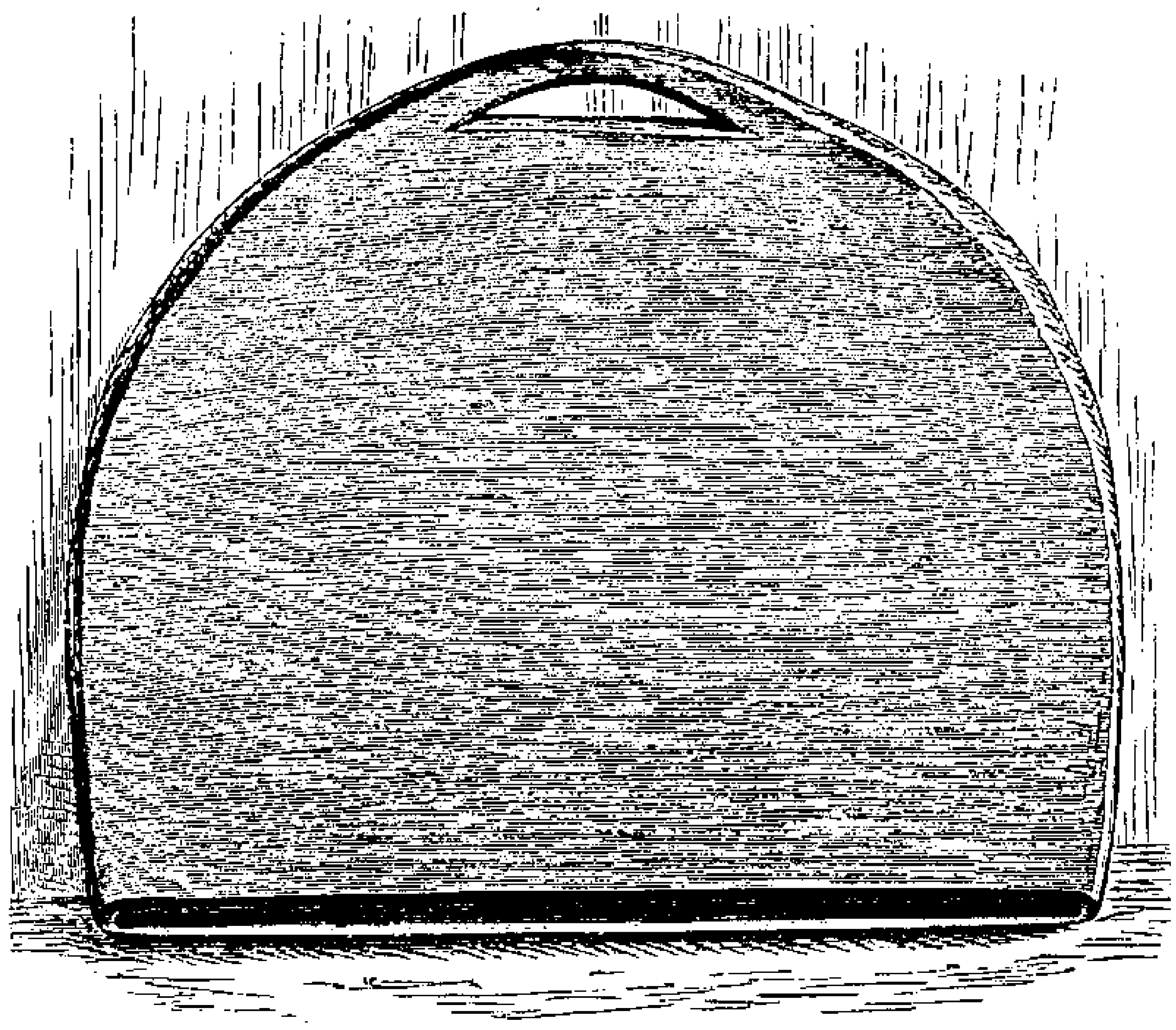
The markets are among the best-known spots in the whole region. They

are looked upon as neutral soil, which no chief can claim, and for the use of which no one may assert any privilege or demand tribute. Many of them are broad spaces of grass lying beneath the shade of mighty trees. To the market on the plain of Mbuga, on the right bank of the Lualaba in Manyema-land, came regularly every morning fifty or sixty great canoes from the other side of the river. Kabao, the ivory market of the Bateke and Bakuba, seems to be one of the most important of the neutral markets in the southern part of the Congo basin. Even strangers may freely visit this place, but none is allowed to enter the country itself. Silva Porto's advance beyond it was stopped by the Bakuba, and that by force of arms. Kabao seems to lie exactly in the frontier district between the two peoples. Similarly a neutral market-place called Kitanda lies upon the frontier between the Baluba and Bakete in a clearing 20 to 40 yards wide in the forest. Chileo is another such place, where the territories of the Baluba, Babindi, and Balunga meet, and a brisk trade between eastern and western tribes is said to go on, in which the chief articles that change hands are women, firearms, powder, ivory, and india-rubber—ten times cheaper than on the coast. Articles of the lively trade on the Congo, which brings the boats of the Bolobo and Ngombe people as far as the Bangala, are smoked fish, a fine red wood powder to which medicinal properties are ascribed and which comes from Ruki; also copper rings from the Ubangi and Irebu, which serve as money. The bars from which they are made come from Manyanga. These rings are exactly like those which circulate inland of the Cameroons and the Oil Rivers. Other media of exchange that may be mentioned are the iron lance-heads in use among the Makaraka, and the goats which from the Middle Congo to Manyema play much the same part as is taken in the east by oxen. For ten goats a man can buy a young girl. A very curious use by the Wavira of the iron hoes which on the Upper Nile are current as money is reported by Stuhlmann. On declaring war they send them to the enemy, and fetch them back when peace is concluded; on both occasions by the hands of women.


Wadumba calabash spoon. (After Stuhlmann.)

The double significance of slaves as a means of power, and as having a money value, makes the slave-trade a matter of the highest importance almost everywhere in the interior of Africa. Only here and there does a people despise it and the man-stealing which is connected with it, having recognised its weakening demoralising effect upon the populations as a whole. Yet even among these negro races slavery is profoundly intertwined with all other institutions, not least with the horrible human sacrifices and cannibalism. What has been said above as to the political results of the African slave-trade of the Africans is true throughout of these races; and for that reason the foreign trade in these most costly of all goods, as for instance on the Upper Nile, where it was introduced by the Nubians, quickly assumed so large and destructive dimensions. Denham has described man-hunts in the Musgu country, and Nachtigal very fully in the regions south of Baghirmi. There is indeed hardly a district on the edge of this innermost Africa where man-catching is not carried on, even though the machinery may not

be always in operation as in the countries south of Darfour, particularly Darfertit, or again in Manyema and the countries bordering on the Wahuma states to the westward. Where Arabs, Soudanese, Portuguese, and the like do not make their way, the negroes themselves catch their fellows, to make money by them. Thus the people of Lunda, in this resembling the Wayao of the east coast, seem to be particularly active agents of the slave-traders. How often may the melancholy picture which Stanley gives from the Middle Congo be repeated. "The exact extent, position, and nature of the village life was unchanged, but the close bristling palisade, and the cones of fowl-huts, and the low ridge-roofed huts just visible above it, all had vanished. . . . We perceived that there had been a late fire. The banana plants looked meagre, their ragged fronds waved mournfully their tatters, as if imploring pity." Only in limited districts did the right view of the matter penetrate, as with the Bashilange who would sell none of their own people, or with the Badinga of the Lower Kassai, who lived in poverty with no copper rings or ivory to protect themselves from invasion by the dangerous trade.


Monbuttu wooden drum. (Christy Collection.)

Cannibalism is spread over the whole wide region, even though — as always — with gaps. The Azandeh, the Monbuttus, the dwellers on the Ubangi and the Mongala, on the Lulongo and the Nghiri, the Ngombes, the Bangala, are among the cannibals. While Baumann had his doubts respecting the Wagenya, Binnie is convinced that they are of the number. It is not without reason that the wildest rumours on the subject circulate throughout the outer region of the central region. The name of "Nyam-Nyam" given to the Azandeh in allusion to this charge, had, says Hornemann, got as far even as Murzuk, by means of Arabs, at the end of the last century; and long before the exploration of the Congo one heard of cannibalism in the inland parts of West Africa. The Lunda people in particular imagine all the country north of them to be inhabited by man-eaters. Often we have only to do with one of the modes of employing portions of the human body for every kind of witchcraft. According to Livingstone it sometimes happens among the Mtamba on the Lualaba that the end of a quarrel between a married couple is the death of the wife, and the eating of her heart by the husband. Human fingers are used as means of sorcery. The skull of the wise chief Moenekuss of Bambarre was preserved by his people in a pot, and brought out at all discussions of public affairs. The quantity of human sacrifices has more to do with the suspicion in question. When the predecessor of the present Mobekâ chief, Makwata, died, three hundred human victims were sent after him. There is a brisk traffic in slaves to meet this requirement, and on particular occasions the

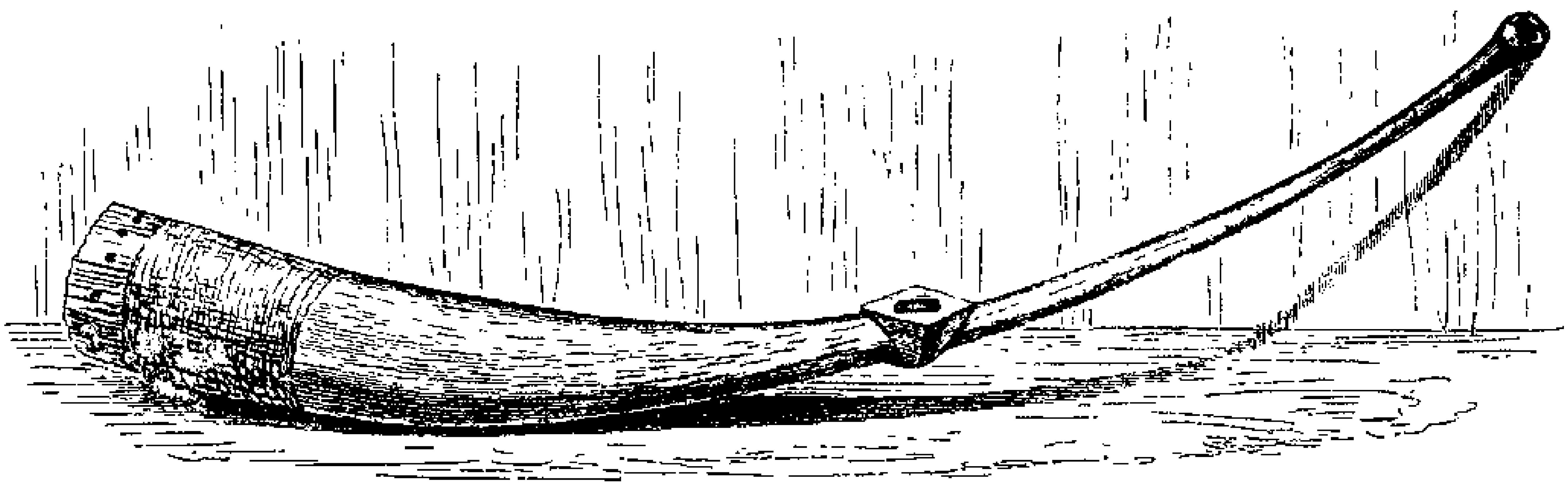
villages outbid each other in the appointment of men to furnish the sacrifice which the chief offers. Van Gele and Coquilhat were witnesses of the following scene:—Upon the death of the chief of Wangata, near the Equator station, his sorrowing family bought up slaves in the adjoining districts, and had them decapitated. A tree-stem was bent down, and attached to the head, so that when the Bangala knife divided it from the body, it flew at once into the air. The lookers-on stripped the flesh from the bodies, as was alleged, without eating it; and the skull bleached on the roof of the dead man's hut. The bodies of four females, of all ages from childhood to full maturity, having been strangled, were thrown into the grave, cloths, rings, and all, for the corpse to lie upon, and two more women fell in the funeral fight which succeeded—in which a woman represents the enemy, is pursued, and run through with spears. Among the Bayansi, when two villages agreed to conclude peace, they dug a grave half in one territory half in the other, and flung into it a live slave with his limbs broken.

The indulgence in human flesh as an almost daily food is, however, quite another matter. When Livingstone noticed the absence of graves in Bambarre, he shrank from inclining to the belief that the inhabitants ate the corpses in lieu of burying them. Now, however, we have learned through Junker that among the Mambunga no corpse ever attains to interment; but, since there is at least a prevalent dislike to making a repast off blood relations, is traded away to persons at a distance. Moreover, the victims, whom an oracle, always consulted on the occasion of a death, has declared to have caused it, are always eaten. Human flesh is eaten with the accompaniment of a dish called *lugma*, a kind of pudding, and clearly as a cheerful carouse; and Monbuttu chiefs owed a grisly celebrity to their relish for human flesh. "Speaking at large and in general," says Junker of the tribes on the Welle, "one may safely designate them a race of *anthropophagi*, and where they are so they are thoroughly so, and make no concealment of it." The cannibals of those parts brag before all the world of their savage appetite, wear the teeth of persons they have eaten, strung in rows like glass beads, round their necks, and hang up the skulls of their victims on posts like trophies. Human fat is very generally turned to account. In war, people of all ages are eaten, the old indeed more frequently than the young, since their incapacity makes them an easier prey in raids; also people who have died a sudden death, and such as had lived in isolation. Gessi Pasha's Makaraka soldiers, otherwise so excellent, were universally known as eaters of their foes. "It must not be inferred," says Felkin, "from my mentioning the fact of the Nyam-Nyam warriors eating the slain, that they are cannibals only when food is scarce, or in time of war. It is a regular custom with them to consume the dead, and at times children are permitted to die in order that their parents and friends may have the opportunity of gratifying this horrible propensity."

Wissmann relates of the Kalebue that they eat people who are sick to death, and he heard a similar story from Manyema. The Bassonge, otherwise holding a high place, are cannibals; and in the Equatorial Congo the custom reaches its highest point with the Bangala and their fellows. There are chiefs' houses there where two human victims are slaughtered daily; as Van Ronslé, the missionary, records of the Mobeka, a neighbour tribe to the Bangala, where slaves destined for eating take the place of animals for slaughter. They are called *Mobeli*, goats

serving the same purpose being *Mboli*. The recognised object of the raids made by the warlike peoples of the Mobangi is to obtain human flesh.

As we go north, there is a slight toning down here also. Schweinfurth specifies from his own experience some Azandeh chiefs who had a horror of human flesh, and even despised chimpanzee, though roast monkey is in general popular. Junker found the bad habit in greater force south of the Welle, where persons belonging to the tribe, and all under sentence of death, fell victims to it; while he calls the Amadi only occasional cannibals. The Bombes also are styled by him, in contrast to the Makaraka in the north, "anthropophagous Nyam-Nyams." Among the Bangala, near the station of the same name, a cannibal meal took place, according to Coquilhat, thrice in five months; but he was told that formerly hardly a week passed without a village or a passing canoe being attacked to get human flesh. Just as scarcity of victuals cannot have been the cause of the practice arising, its diminution and disappearance cannot have been due to some great accession of food.

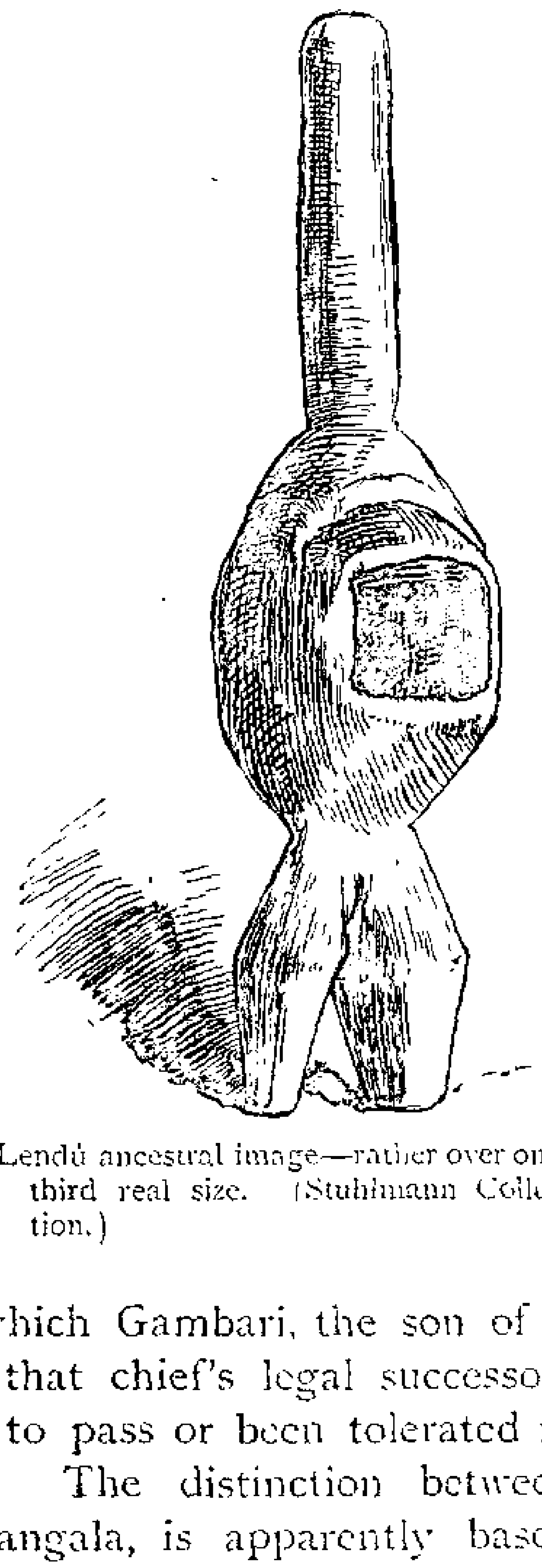


Monbuttu trumpet of ivory. (Christy Collection.)

We meet with a stricter regulation of the family and society among those aristocratic peoples who have been able to shape for themselves a comfortable life based on the manual labour of a number of slaves and serfs. Felkin notices, in regard to the Bongos, that the children did not at first sleep with their parents but in special huts, which is not the case with any other tribe between this district and Lado. The Azandeh and the Madis, too, have their special houses for boys. Marriages are not contracted so early as in other tribes—not till the age of fifteen to seventeen in the case of the girl—and probably for this reason are more fruitful. The Baati and Monbuttu women constantly carry their children with them in longish baskets, slung about them. With the Azandeh, plenty of children is a token of good fortune and prosperity, and the birth of twins is esteemed as a promise of luck. With them too, courtship is not burdened with any demand for tribute on the part of the father. If a man wishes to be married he goes, as a rule, to the principal or some inferior chief, who at once procures him a wife to his taste. The Azandeh wives are distinguished by their reserved bearing, while on the other hand the *nsangah* or wenches—childless widows for the most part, are proportionately free. Precisely similar conditions hold good with the Monbuttus, the number of whose children strikes every observer. Among them, as among the Azandeh and Makaraka, women are more respected than among many negro tribes. If one enters a village the first persons visible are the women, mostly tall very powerful figures, and one soon becomes aware that even in the

affairs of the village they are the spokes*men*. In other respects they are good and industrious workers, cleaving closely to their husbands. Owing to the presence of foreign women, who live among them as slaves, it has become a custom for the women to receive strangers and act as interpreters for them. Polygamy prevails in connection with man-stealing on a large scale, and acts as a political weapon through the nuptials of the inferior chiefs' daughters. Thus the Monbuttus on either side of the Kibali formerly cemented their old tribal kinship by a chief's marriage.

With the exception of a single Monbuttu tribe, the Majo, who are said to burn their dead, it is the custom to inter all corpses that are not destined to provide a meal. The graves have a peculiar niche, in which the corpse is placed in a squatting attitude. Men's faces are turned eastward by the Azandeh, northward by the Bongos, women's being in each case turned the opposite way. But all observers have seen but few Monbuttu graves, and even when interment has taken place, the body is apt to be disinterred from anthropophagic motives. In the west, as among Bateke, graves are found in which pots, elephants' teeth, even umbrellas have been deposited. Human sacrifices are reported at the funerals of Bangala chiefs.



Lendú ancestral image—rather over one-third real size. (Stuhlmann Collection.)

The division of classes is as sharp as might be expected in societies which have arisen through immigration and subjugation. The Monbuttus are in this less strict than the Azandeh, among whom the nobles—warlike, doing little work, drinking and gambling (many of them, as chief's sons, having "Mata" before their names)—form a true aristocracy. But among them also a governing class, setting great store by a pure pedigree on the father's side, is built up on various stages such as slaves, serfs, subjugated peoples, semi-subject hunting races. Such a state of things as prevailed in Monbuttu-land when Emin and Junker were there, in which Gambari, the son of a smith, had obtained the succession to Munsa, while that chief's legal successors had become private persons, could only have come to pass or been tolerated in the revolutionary days of the Egyptian invasion. The distinction between *mukunzi* and *nsomi* which we find among the Bangala, is apparently based purely upon property. To the former belongs every possessor of any wives, any male slaves, and a complete house establishment; the latter is composed of unpropertied freemen. In the larger partitions, as that between the dwarfish hunters and their lords, the breed with a capacity for social life emerges unmistakable; but neither do the bronze-hued warriors of the Bangala, the Azandeh, the Baluba, belong to the negro breed, although they inhabit the most central regions of the African continent. Thus on the whole an ethnographic separation, as in the Soudan, though perhaps more obliterated, coincides with the social.

In political respects great disintegration prevails. Every people is split up

into numerous tribes. More than a hundred hereditary sultans or princes, better called barons, rule within the small Azandeh country, and some of them possess a respectable military power and a large domain. It is the same with the Bongos. Uganda and Unyoro know no power equal to their own westward of their frontier, only weak districts destined to be plundered; their example has been followed by the Arabs, supported by the warlike Manyema; and since Emin Pasha's withdrawal, by the Soudanese, who have made frightful havoc, especially among the Lendús. The Lunda empire stands alone in the southern Congo basin as a state of considerable extent, and in the whole length of the Congo country Europeans have struck upon no single great state. Even the Bakuba chief Lukengo is only a *regulus*. When the first people from Khartoum reached Bongoland in 1856 they found the whole territory divided into an endless number of small districts and communities entirely independent of each other. "The normal anarchy of African miniature republics prevailed," says Schweinfurth. A commonwealth like that of the Dinkas, which united whole districts into a stock, imposing through the number of its warriors, was not to be found. The greatest Bangala chief only keeps some dozen villages more or less firmly together, and is but *primus inter pares*. In rarer cases the influence of the village senior is supported by the connection with his name of a reputation for witchcraft. This subdivision, however, does not seem to have always existed; at all events it corresponds to no national division, as we infer from the fact that the Azandeh language, though its spread is considerable, shows no striking dialectic variations. Among non-nomadic peoples this testifies to the existence in former times of a more intimate connection. The high level of material culture points in the same direction. With gifts so conspicuous, and a country so fortunately endowed, a state of political repose must always inevitably have been accompanied by an elevation of the general culture; and so far the breaking up of these races will seem to us a token of the decay that we may almost certainly assume in the case of several, such as the Bangala, and that we know unhappily to be a fact in that of the Bongos, Azandeh, Monbuttus, and others. The greater chiefs put their sons and brothers in command of the more outlying districts, and so dynasties of many branches are formed, against which a grudge accumulates among the inferior chiefs outside the family, who are prejudiced thereby; and when this breaks out, danger is apt to follow. Neither among the Azandeh nor among the Monbuttus has this system averted political decay, with its consequences of weakness and subjugation.

C. THE WEST AFRICANS

§ 11. THE NEGROES OF WESTERN AFRICA

East and West Africans; European and Mussulman influences; fall in the level of culture on the coast—Trading races, Duallas, Kiokos—Races of Lower Guinea: the Bunda group, Portuguese influences, Christian influences, Bateke, Fans, races of the Cameroon district—Races of Upper Guinea: Yorubas, Ewes, peoples of Togoland, Tshis, Intas, Ashantees, Kroomen, Greboes; Liberia and Sierra Leone.

THE lowest step in which the slope of Africa towards the Atlantic Ocean, essentially similar from the Cunene to the Sahara, terminates, is the flat or undulating West African coast-land, 30 to 100 miles in breadth. This is followed by a narrow transition step in the shape of a hill country, running up to 3300 feet, at their exit from which occur the lowest rapids in the coast rivers. Behind this the plateaux of the interior stretch away out of sight to the eastward. Thus in West Africa the coast is not a country destined to develop independently, whether in regard to size or detached situation; it has always remained a protruded bit of interior Africa. At individual points the coast-land disappears altogether, and the heights come close up to the sea, as in the dark forest belts of the Gold Coast, in Sierra Leone, in the volcanic mountains of the Cameroons, and in the coast plateau of Benguella. On the other hand, for many miles to west and south of the angle where the Niger flows out, level stretches of sandhill and lagoon form outposts to the coast; amphibious objects, hardly rising above the sea-level. On the long reaches of the tranquil lagoons the traffic between remote points of the coast, such as Akassa and Lagos, move about in security. At the mouth of the streams, greater and smaller, the Volta, the Niger, the Oil River, the Cameroon River, the Ogowe, the alluvium of great deltas widen these level strips. The Niger delta, a vast alluvial country, steadily increased by frequent inundations, forms the gate at once to the Soudan and to northern Central Africa. Almost as far as Lake Chad no elevation of more than 1000 feet has to be crossed. Less large is the gateway of the Congo, in which, even below the junction of the Kwango, occur the forty-two rapids known as Livingstone Falls, leading down from the plateau through which the river flows in its middle course to the comparatively limited portion of lowland, and cutting this off, at least for Europeans, during many centuries, from the interior. Above the point where it widens out, the Congo flows in a narrow valley with steep walls, the floor of which is so impassable that, on his famous journey of discovery, Stanley had often to follow a route miles away from the stream. For long distances there is not room for a mule track. Numerous tributaries again have in the same way cut out deep channels, and not only render traffic difficult, but,

Oil palm : papaw on the left, manioc on the right.

with the dense vegetation, offer to the natives good bases for attacks on trade caravans. Thus, apart from the very lowest portion of its course, the importance of the Congo to the coast regions of West Africa for intercourse and settlement is limited; and for this reason it could not and never can be the Nile of West Africa.

Seldom throughout the rather shapeless West African coast do we find islands large or numerous enough to allow of their population entering into any effective mutual action with the mainland. That all those not lying quite close to the coast were uninhabited in pre-European times is evidence of the limited development attained by the life of the coast, lacking, as it did, independence and the contrasts which give rise to life.

The climate is for the most part hot and damp, certain tracts of the west coast being among the rainiest regions of the continent; and accordingly some districts arrive at great fertility. The market at Freetown displays all the year round tropical fruits of the greatest conceivable beauty and variety. Stretches of coast, like those of Akim and Fantee, the most fertile of the Guinea coast, abounding in streams and harbours, with more timber than enough at hand for boat-building, show that it is not in all cases Nature alone that has interdicted the development of navigation among African mankind. Here, from the first settlement, European factories and forts were thickly planted. North and south, in Senegambia and Loanda, lie very hot regions, and the grass-land comes close to the coast. For development of relations between Europe and Africa, the unhealthiness arising from the frequent contrasts of climate in marshy coast-tracts is of moment. Some European trading-stations, like Grand Bassam, Assinie, and Dabon have been deserted from this cause; others, like Lagos and Akassa, are every year decimated by fever. The negroes do not escape these fevers; but as they get better nourished on the coast, they are, in spite of them, not uncommonly superior in bodily strength and good looks to their brethren in the interior. The blending of races may not be without its effect here. The coast, in the narrower sense, is often left uninhabited, and the settlements lie most frequently at the limit of high water. In Togo, as in the north of the Cameroons, the coasts are more densely peopled than the slope from the highlands, but part of the Batanga coast lies desert. As everywhere on the earth, the population tends to mass itself at the mouths of rivers.

Apart from the trade-winds of the two hemispheres, the prevailing south-westerly direction of the wind, blowing on shore as a violent monsoon at the season when the sun is north of the Equator, cannot encourage the negroes to tempt the high seas in their walnut-shells of canoes.

With the abundant rainfall the vegetation is luxuriant on the coast and in the lower-lying parts of the interior, but at the first beginning of the high ground about the Congo and the Ogowe, assumes a savannah character, which is maintained and extended by the practice of burning. The wealth of useful plants is great. The two indigenous plants of Africa of most importance in trade—the oil-palm and the coffee-plant—occur wild in these countries; the former, since the abolition of the slave-trade, the export article of Africa most capable of development, chiefly on the Lower Niger, where it forms forests, and on the Congo, where it covers whole islands. The oil-palm does not belong alone to this region, but is found throughout the Congo country as far as the Welle, but ascends the Niger and Benue; but here on the coast, where it is universally distributed from Senegambia

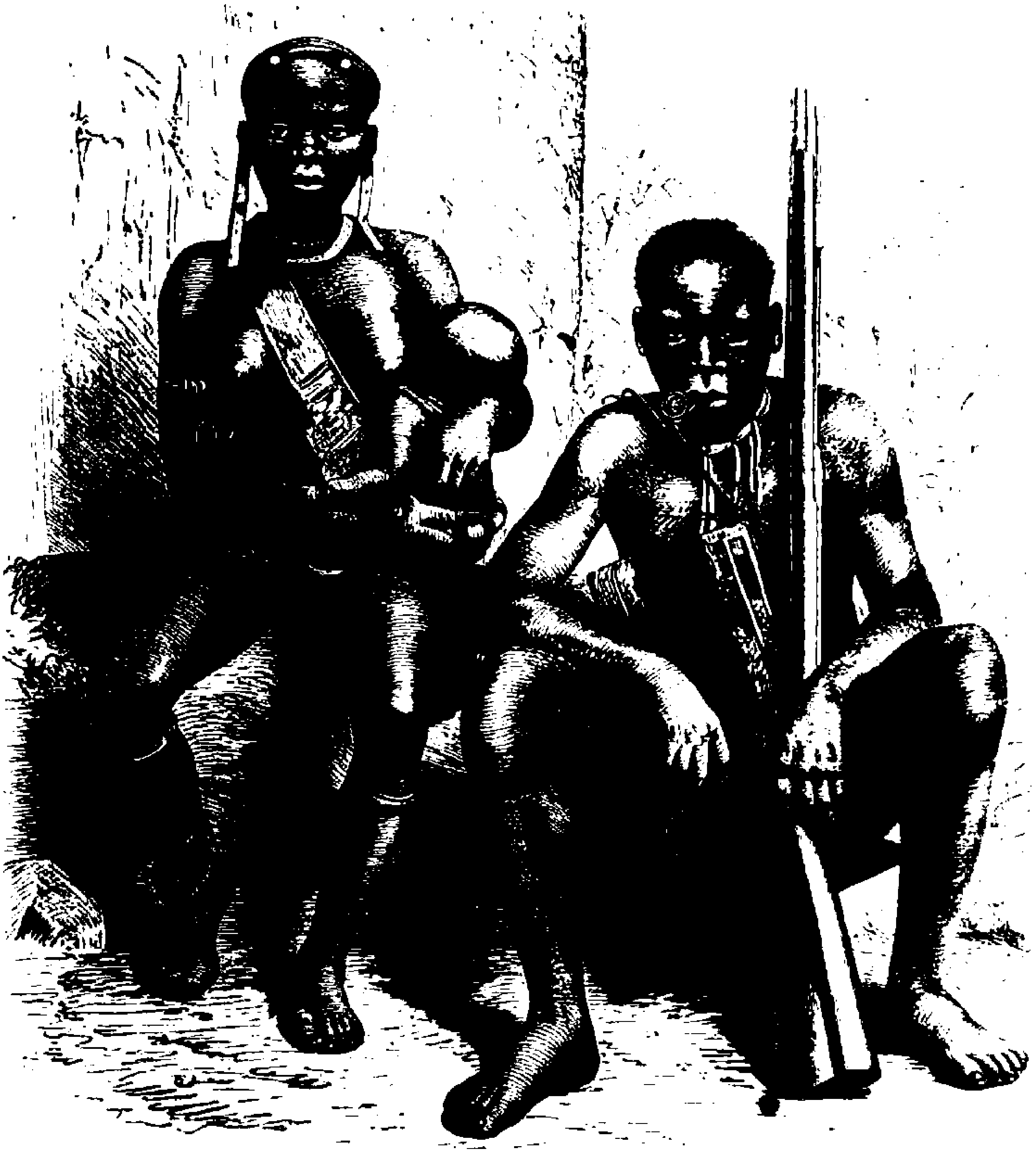
to Angola, it undoubtedly receives its chief development and is th[illegible] account. The coffee-plant occurs in its West African species, *Coffea* [illegible] superior, as it seems, to the Arabian or East African. In the high[illegible] the *guru*-nut tree, *sterculia*, of importance in the trade with the [illegible] caoutchouc-producing lianas are widely diffused in the damp forests [illegible]

The West African fauna is poor compared with that of South and [illegible] especially in the part south of the Equator. In the markets there dri[illegible] an article of trade, and antelope skins are a costly possession, reserved [illegible] of distinction. The Guinea and Senegal region is better off; but ev[illegible] elephant has been driven so far back that the west coast has already [illegible] of its old importance for the ivory trade. The south-west coast abo[illegible] Mossamedes supplies the Lower Congo and Gaboon with it in a dried [illegible]

Types of Loango women. (From a photograph by Dr. Falkenstein.)

To this long stretch of coast the deserts, emerging broad on the sea front, form natural boundaries which may be indicated in a general way by the Senegal River in the north and the Cunene in the south. Between these points negroes, devoting themselves to agriculture and trade, appear everywhere on the coast, bounded to north and south by nomadic dwellers in the plains and the desert. Their distribution is frequently typical. They are thick on the coast, thin immediately inland, thicker again further inland; this is especially seen in the inhabitants of Togo and the Cameroons. The most dividing feature in this long line is the Gulf of Guinea, formed by the change in the direction of the coast from north and south to east and west. At this point the great Bantu family of languages finds its limit, and the negro languages in the narrower sense, with their manifold varieties, succeed each other from the Rio del Rey northwards. In contrast to the unity of the Bantu languages, the tangle of tongues in Upper Guinea is almost impenetrable. In Sierra Leone, where no doubt the settlement of liberated slaves has brought together the greatest possible diversity of races, members of 200 different negro tribes with 150 different languages are said to

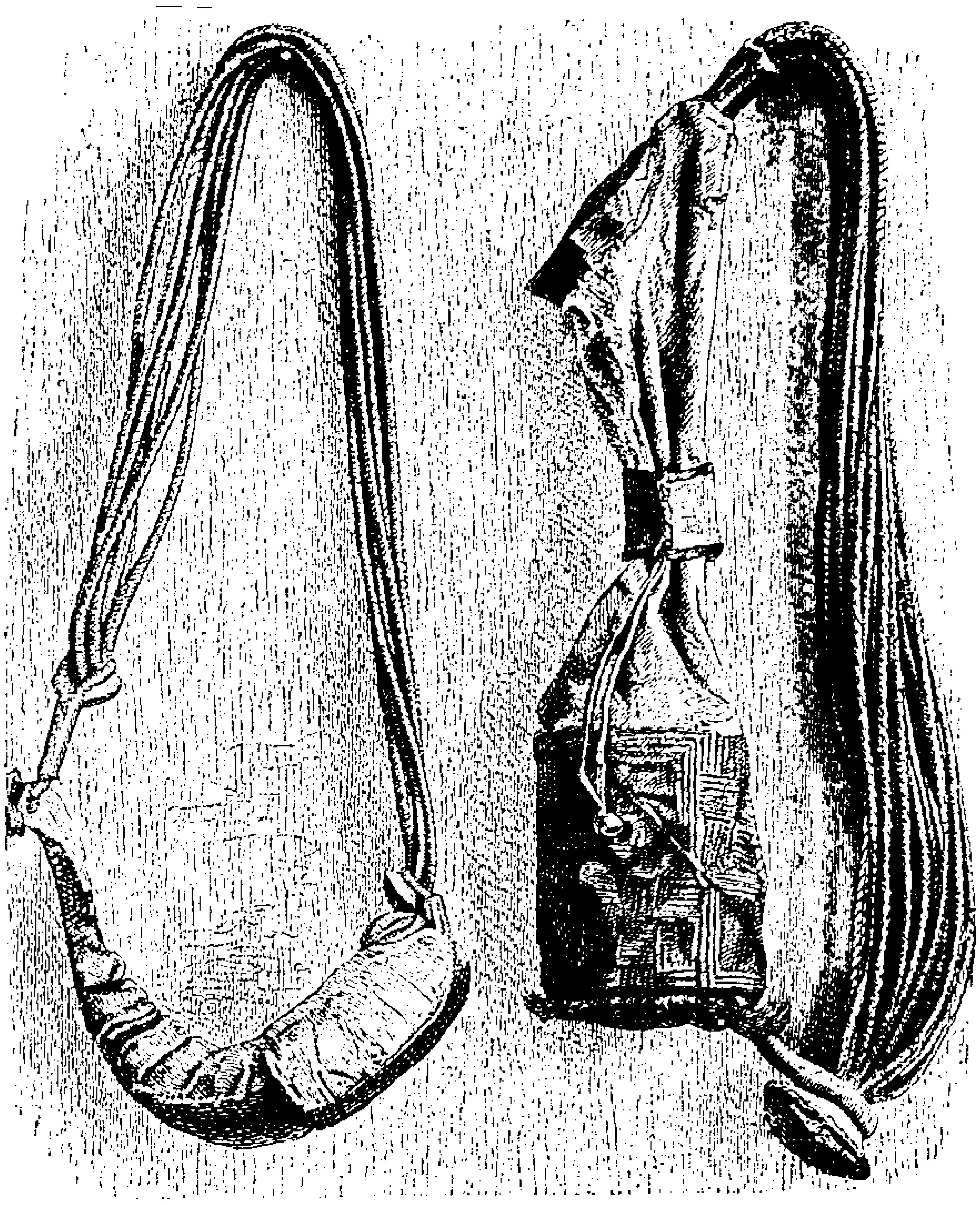
have found themselves in company. Further, we have the European languages under the curious disguises which negroes have given them, and then the Fulbe language and Arabic. If the most obvious bond between them, apart from community of language, is that which is common to all negroes in physical and mental nature, in custom and tradition, contact with European Christian civilization and its whole sum of resulting changes have also fallen to the lot of



Fan warrior with wife and child. (After Du Chaillu.)

many, and formed a ground of separation from the tribes of the interior. West Africa, throughout the whole space between Senegal and Benguella, has felt the influence of Christianity soonest and most enduringly. The bearers of it were at first exclusively Portuguese, or Europeans in Portuguese service, with whom French, Dutch, English, and only at times Danes, Germans, and Spaniards, were associated. The influences of the European settlements, rarely beneficial, in many cases unfavour-

able, were, until the most recent period, limited to a narrow strip of coast which in the old Portuguese penal settlements of Angola, Mossamedes, and Benguella, extended on the other side of 10° S. in a leisurely and uncertain fashion into the interior. Even in our own century the coast-district of Kissame, between Angola and Benguella, was not entirely subject to the Portuguese, and in the very latest decades they have retired on their interior frontier, yielding to the pressure of Tongos, Bangala, and Kiokos. North of the Congo it is but a little time since Europeans have begun, impelled by the race for the occupation of inland territory, to press inwards from the coast belt. Even the negro state of Liberia clings entirely to the coast; 50 miles inland its claims to sovereignty over the interior districts are visionary. All the more important do those powers become which are pressing forward from the interior to the coast; and these again are quite distinct in the two great sections of West Africa. The invasions, on a small or a large scale, which are incessantly advancing from the interior to the coast, are as important here as there, but in quite a different sense, and with quite different effect. All the ethnographical diversity found on this coast can always be reduced to the two opposite types—the coast negro, trading, adopting the immorality and the usages of civilization, and in some cases containing a portion of white blood (for in Angola, where Europeans are more numerous than at any place in the tropical west coast, they form at most a tenth of the total population), and the negro of the interior, who, somewhat more firmly organised for military, predatory, and political purposes, is now beginning to want to look for a place at the fascinating board of the coast-trade, to reach which, as Zintgraff says, "he bores on slowly and almost imperceptibly like the chigoe of his country." This is not, indeed, the only reason, as is shown by the invasions which must have pressed westward long before the time of Europeans; but it has received a powerful development in the course of time, and the Fans, who have lately achieved a successful advance, admit it candidly, even though they may not, like the Fulbes, clothe their thought in a



Powder-flasks from Liberia. (Stockholm Ethnographical Collection.)

WEAPON

sonorous prophecy how "he who has the coast will be master of the whole world." Meanwhile in the south, where the Portuguese are firmly established as colonists, bounds were long ago set to this movement, so that it is chiefly felt in the lands north of the Congo.

Everything connected with origin and kinship on the west coast points eastward. There is no indication of western, Atlantic, or transatlantic connections before the time of the Europeans. From the Ovaherero and Ovambo, whose nearest kinsfolk are certainly to be sought in the Nyassa region, to the kinsmen of the Fulbes and Mandingos, descended from dwellers on the plains, who came down to the coast on the Senegal and at Cape Palmas—Jolofs, Serers, Veis, and their fellows—we everywhere see the east in movement toward the west. This tendency is often vouched for by history; indeed it has stamped itself, before our own eyes, upon remarkable national migrations.

The Fans, called also Pahuin, first reached the coast within the last sixty years, and have spread so rapidly there that they possess to-day a row of settlements between the Gaboon and Cape Lopez, while the coast tribes are split up, as by wedges, by the advanced posts of their extension. "In presence of characters so active," says Lenz, "the various small nations on the southern or left bank of the Ogowe have no show at all, and even the numerous and powerful Akelle or Bakalai, a warlike people of the bush, are vanishing before the Fans. The Okota, Apingi, and Okande, who formerly dwelt on the right bank, have, in the course of recent years, been driven on to the islands in the Ogowe, or to its left bank. Conscious of their own powerlessness, they never seek to offer any resistance, allow themselves even to be sold as slaves by their own chiefs, and hardly venture to visit their former abodes." Enquiries as to the place whence the Fans came received the answer that they came from the land of Ndua and Lake Tem, where constant wars drove them to migrate. They took from five to eleven months getting thence to the Gaboon, marching three days and resting two. All the tribes between the Gaboon and Cape St. Catherine—Mpongwe, Orungu, Nkami—who speak the same language, lived formerly further inland. King Kengueza showed Du Chaillu the sometime seat of his people about 45 miles up the Fernando Vaz. The Ishogos, like the others, have started on their progress westward. At the end of 1880 Father Delorme found the Bakalai on the Ogowe driven back everywhere to the left bank, while the Fans occupied the right, and were prepared to subdue the whole region as they had done on the Rembo and in the Nkami country. They are more powerful, freer from vices, without slavery or human sacrifices. The Okota on the Ogowe formerly lived in greater numbers on the right bank of the Okande, up to ten years before Lenz wrote in 1874 that they had now all retreated before the Mpongwe to the left bank. We shall recur to the advance of the Fans in the Cameroons' territory.

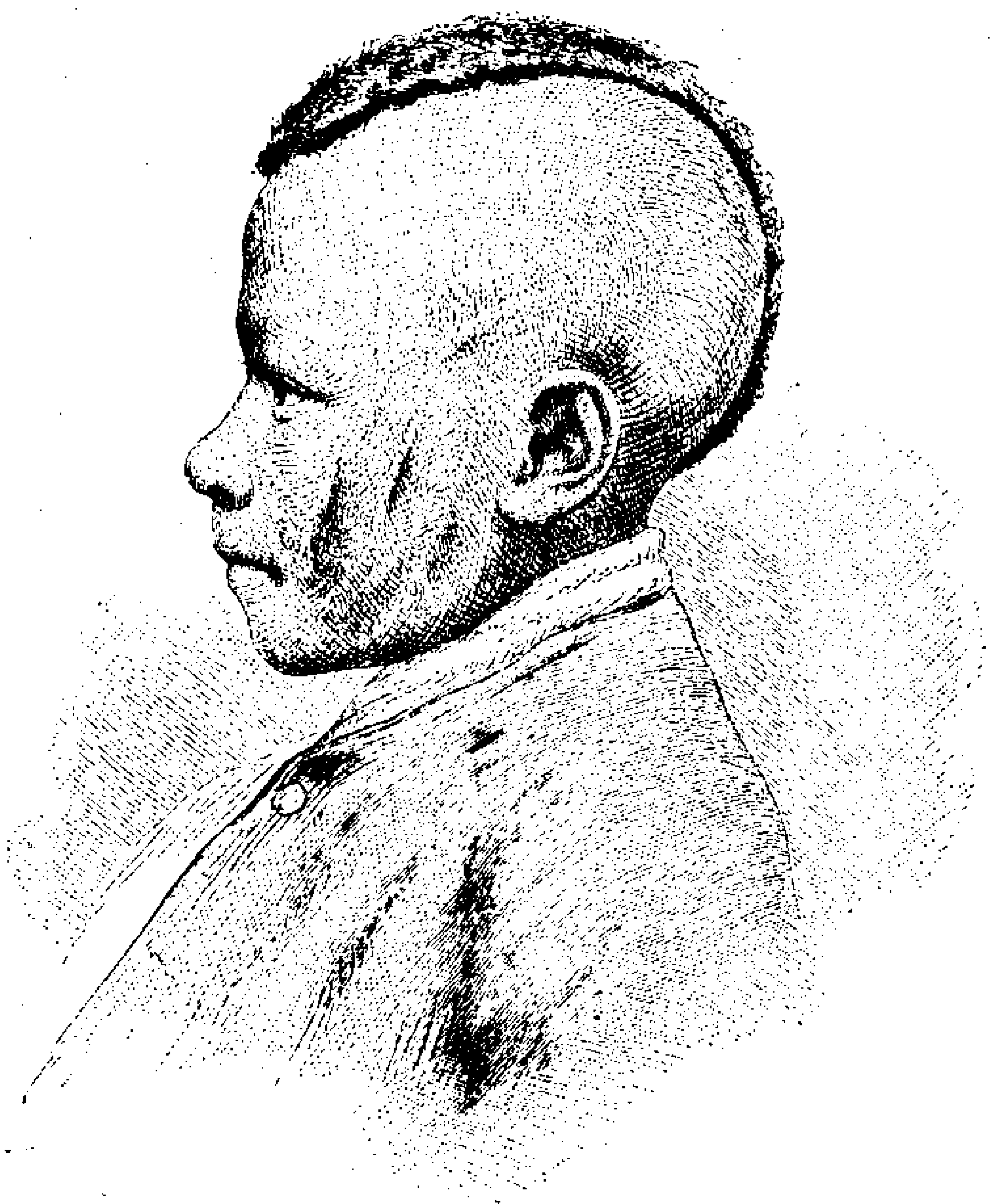
In the country behind the Cameroons other races—at present somewhat limited by the Sannaga River—and what is more a new culture, the Moorish, and a religion in those regions young and fanatical, the Mussulman, are taking up in forms to some extent different, the same movement towards the coast; now, however, no longer as a crude mass-movement accompanied by conquest and dispossession, but as a mighty civilizing and religious influence. Here too we often come upon negro races pressing forward, and a tradition of original abodes further inland. But those are either already bearers of the same influence or of Islam,

accelerated by the gaps which they leave in advancing fast behind them. Thus the Gallinas originally pressed coastwards at the back of Liberia as negroes in search of land; to-day they are already among the carriers of Islam, which, by their means, is making its way faster to the coast in spite of the externally zealous Christianity of Liberia. The increase of culture towards the interior, in the southern half of the coast, is inactive and less important in comparison with that of the northern half, where, for example, from Liberia or Sierra Leone, every single thing becomes larger and better as we go north, beginning with tobacco, which the Barlins send down to the coast, the stronger Mandingo bark, the finer leather work and fabrics, up to the improvement in economical and social conditions through the direct influence of Moorish ways and of Islam, the carriers of which are the talented and much-mixed Houssas, Mandingoes, Jolofs, and their fellows. The Mussulmans who first got as far as Ashantee at the beginning of the present century, have, as traders, already reached many points of the coast. Here too Christianity and Islam are already face to face, and people are already getting the impression that, as with the Mandingo industries under Moorish influence, so the spiritual effect of these races operating from the interior already towers high over the less self-supporting offshoots of Christian culture in Sierra Leone, Liberia, etc., in spite of the devastation caused by its endless wars.

A Soudanese negro. (From a photograph in Pruner Bey's Collection.)

A better destiny had been prophesied for the West Africans from their contact with the Europeans. But here the weakness of the character shows itself. The negroes with whom Europeans came into intercourse on the coast, were no less ruined by the numerous new temptations there offered to them than by unjust, and especially unjudicial treatment. Obviously too they lacked even the capacity to hold fast and make permanent any improvement that they received. Bastian's melancholy phrase about the successors of the Christian Congo chiefs is true throughout the coast: "I had to find out, to my disappointment, that the breath of civilization which may be supposed once to have passed over the Congo peoples, has passed and left no trace, while they have long fallen back into the torpid indifference in which the dark race universally broods away its life." In the natives the Portuguese found races living by fishing, hunting, and agriculture, practised in many arts, but rude and barbarous in their customs, despotic in their

form of government, debased in their religious ideas and usages. It was not till long afterwards that Europeans exercised the moralising influence which at this level seemed easy. The discoverers were followed by profit seekers, while the greed for gold, and afterwards the yet more paying business of exporting the children of the country to America, were the chief causes of the brisk traffic with the West African coast. For a long time Europe implanted only the wild shoots of her culture in the national life of West Africa, and what was noble was killed among the weeds. The natives saw no difference between the morals of the strangers and their own; if hospitality, fidelity, and religion were formerly held sacred by the native, the Christian trader extirpated this notion by the contrast of his demeanour and conduct, and roughness remained as the dominating power. Only the dazzling treasures of Europe, things that children enjoy, or European manners, found willing imitators, and the native fashion of work and art died out. Thus it remained in the following centuries; and now that the slave trade has been abolished, the enormous import of spirits has a demoralising effect. To the new powers which have entered the country in the last few years as colonists, unburdened by tradition (Germany and Belgium), a splendid opportunity has been opened of avoiding the old faults of others, and producing something better after methods of their own.[1]

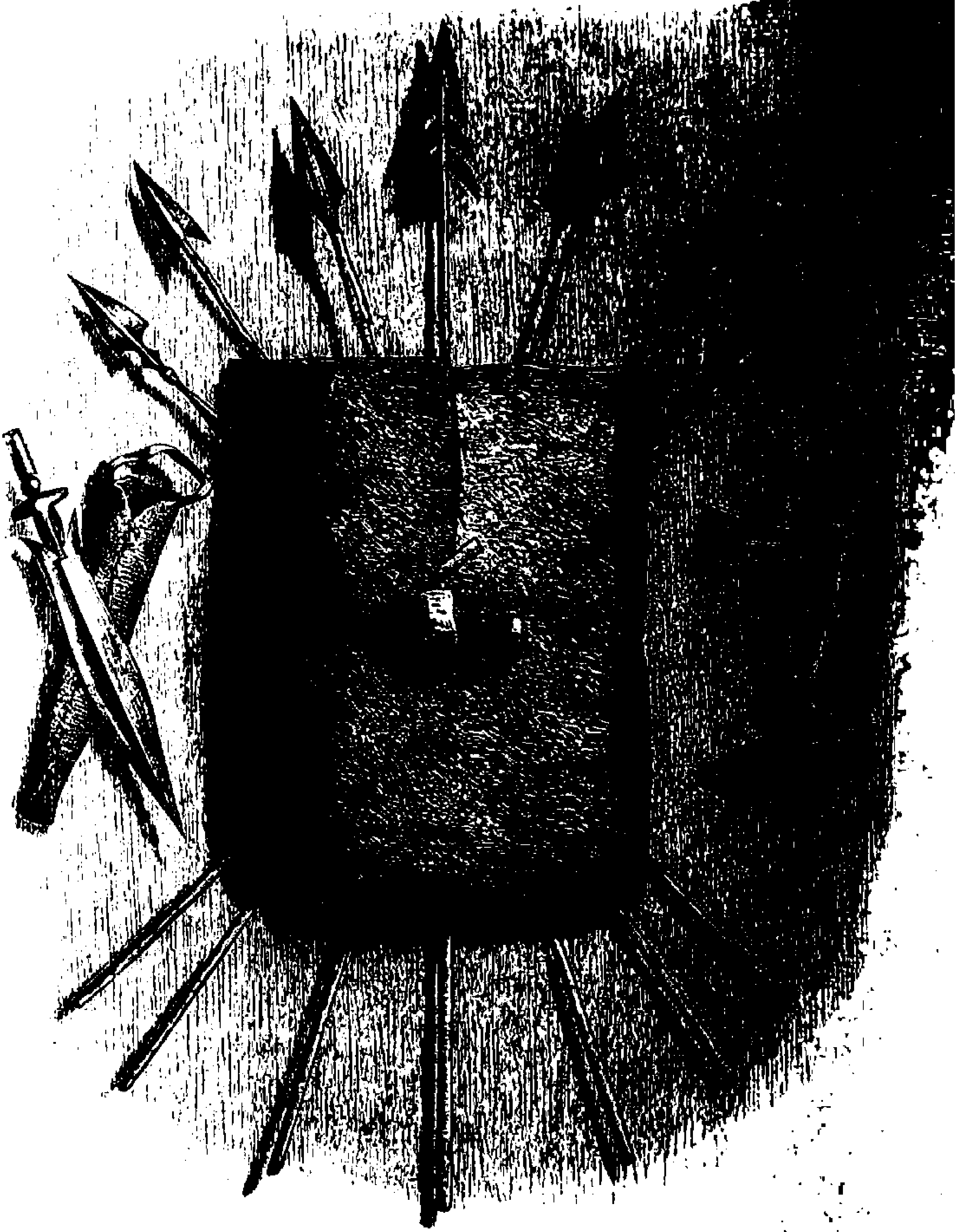


A Koto negro from the Niger. (From a photograph belonging to Dr. Rohlfs.)

The drop in the level of culture towards the coast is manifest, and not only so in the difference which strikes every one between the negroes of the coast and the Mussulmans of the interior, as for instance, between the Gold Coast people and the Mandingoes. It meets us again among the heathen races who are still remote from Islam and the immediate influence of the Arabs, among whom are many of those belonging to the interior. In material culture at least they are in no way behind their Mussulman neighbours, and hold the coast negro in almost as low esteem as these do. Thus there is here a yet older contrast. Islam was not the first influence that caused a higher culture to flourish in the Niger valley and in the Mandingo plateau, it merely spread more quickly in the soil which had already been thoroughly worked by influences operating from the north, of Berber, Phœnician, Græco-Roman, and Christian origin.

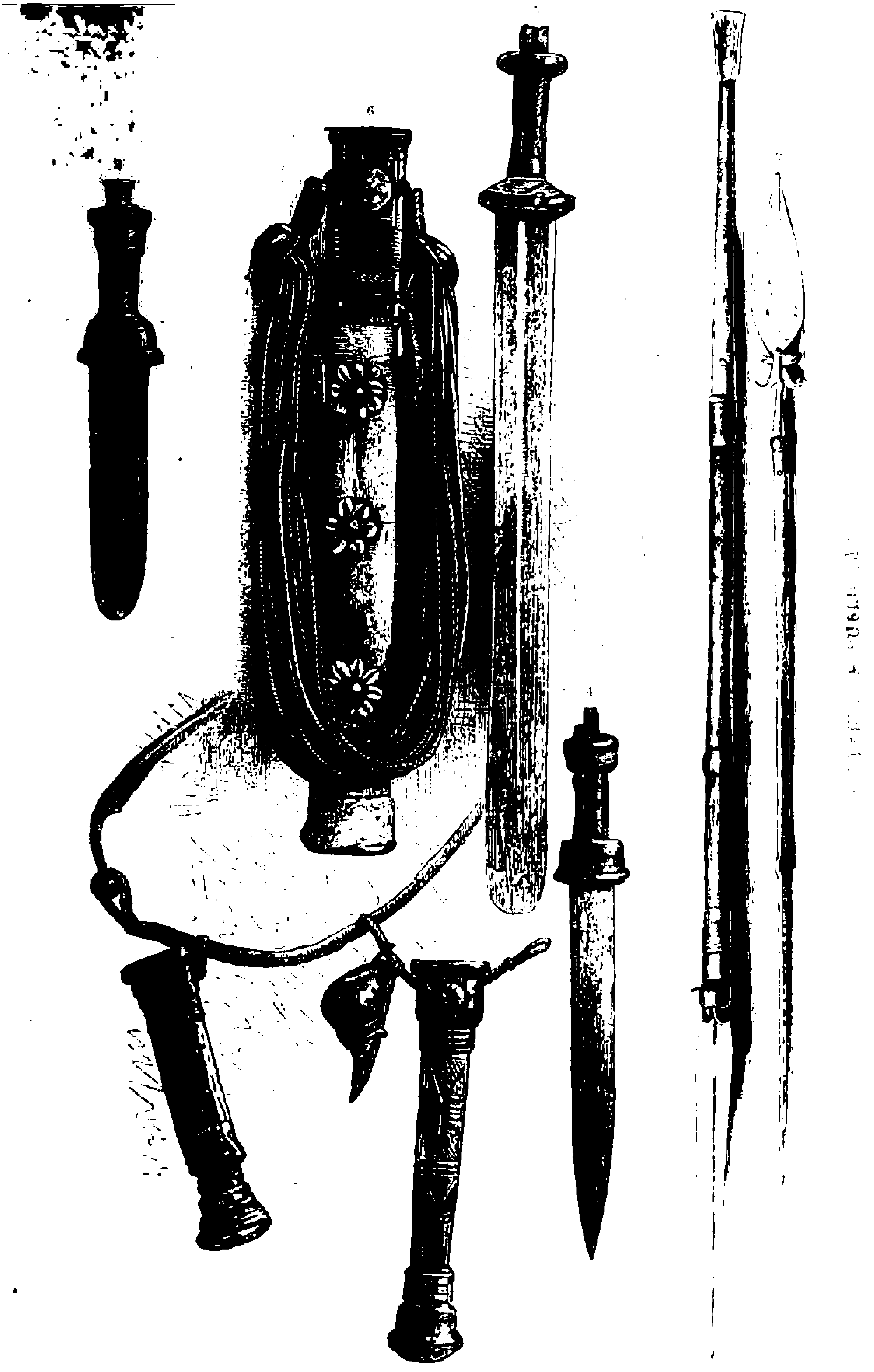
[[1] The names of Peters and Lothaire will occur in this connection to every reader.]

The genuine negro characteristics have been attributed to the [illegible] coast longer than to him of the east, the Kaffir in the wider sense [illegible] desire to retain some part of Africa for the "genuine," that is the [illegible]



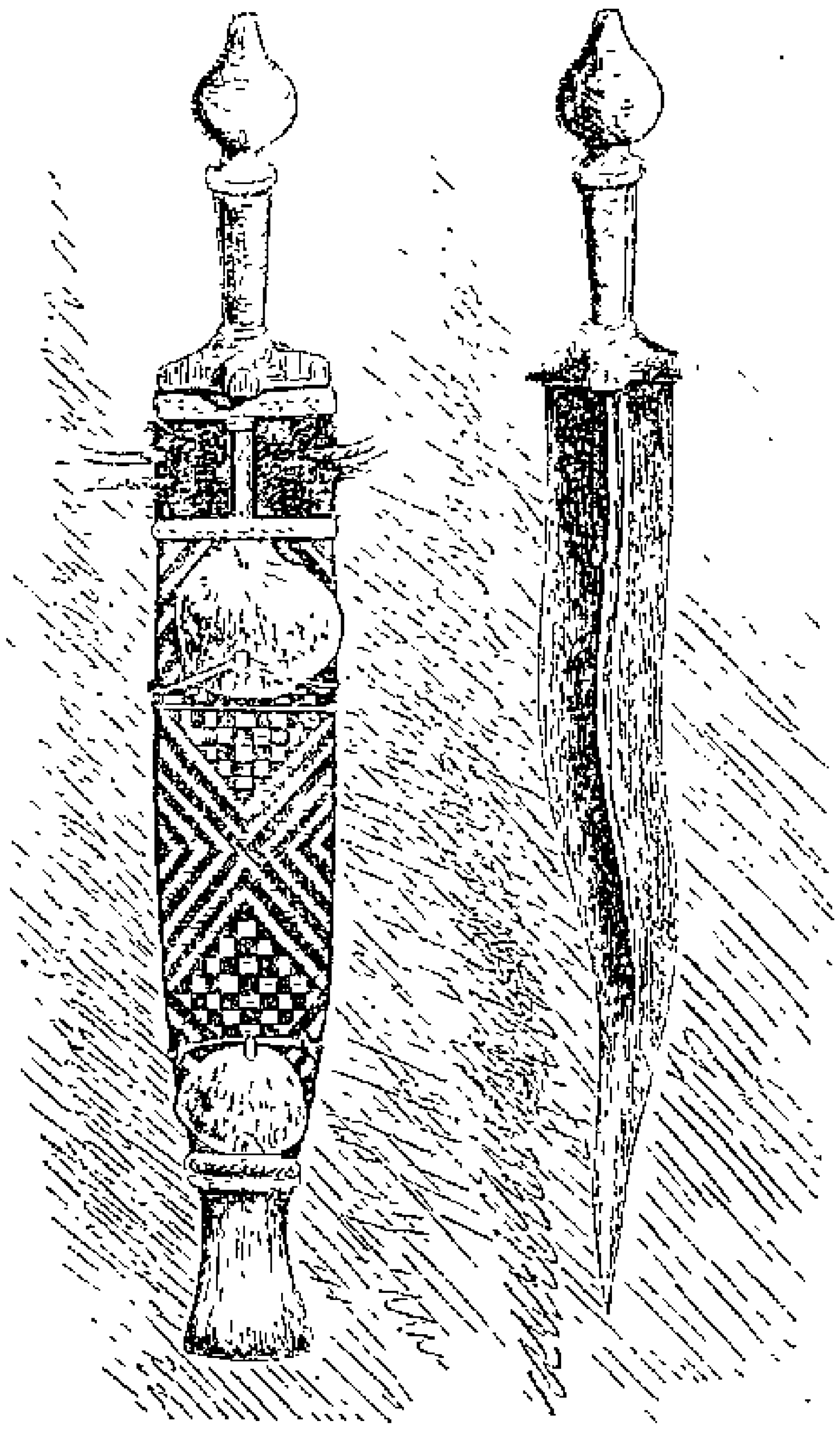
Fan weapons: 1, knife; 2, sacrificial knife and battle-axe; 3, shield and spear. (After Chaillu.)

It is of course certain that the East African has got more Asiatic constituents, or, from a racial point of view, nobler blood, into his veins than the West African at a greater distance from these influences. But the West Africans are far from being the caricatures which they used to be represented as being in the days of



Weapons from Liberia; 1, 2, iron lances (Frankfort Museum); 3, 4, 5, swords; 6, 7, sheath and [illegible] (Stockholm Collection).

bad ethnographical pictures.[1] Nearly forty years ago Bastian spoke of the impossibility of finding the conventional negro type as one of the very results of his West African experience, and the portraits drawn by trained and moderate observers and describers show fewer and fewer departures from the general negro, and especially few in an unfavourable direction. Güssfeldt sums up his impressions of the Loango natives and their kinsmen in these words: "Their bodily frame shows to advantage; their features frequently display intelligence, prognathism is little developed, heads of at all striking length are rare, and it is probable that most skulls are on the border between meso- and dolichocephaly. The colour of the skin is dark bronze, and it is more usual for it to sway in the lighter than in the darker direction." The attempt to constitute a special West African negro race must to-day be looked upon as futile, even more certainly than at the time when we expressed our objections to it in the first edition of this book. The considerable difference in mode of life between the inhabitants of the coast and those of the interior no doubt produces differences of appearance; but no question of breed can be based on that. Inland from Batanga no doubt there dwell in the forest small light-coloured people, who have no fixed settlements, live solely by hunting, and are related to have made the first paths through the forest. They are outliers of the Akkoas or Okoas, treated of earlier in this volume. In any case the coast tribes, who are in frequent intercourse with Europeans, are better-looking than the poor bush people of the interior. But that is a matter of mode of life and mixed blood, and thus is not universal. The Ewe peoples who live on the coast are stronger and larger than those of the interior, owing to their more copious flesh-diet and their maritime occupation. The Duallas are darker than the Bakwiri, who live inland of them, and so are the coast tribes in Akim. But if the coast tribes live in general better, they are more visited by illnesses, imported and indigenous. Mixture of blood is making destructive inroads, especially in the old Portuguese colonies, where the number of mulattos is so great that the negro divides men into blacks, whites, and Portuguese; feeling himself nearer to the last.



Sword and sheath from the Gaboon (Christy Collection.)

One has now to penetrate far into the interior in order to find the dress which four hundred years ago was indigenous on the coast, but since then has steadily retreated in consequence of the immense importation of cloth, clothing, and ornament, and of the all-powerful craze for imitation among the natives. The Portu-

[1] [It is worth noting that the "caricature" negro type was a comparatively late production. In early art, and in the older books of travel, the negro is represented as a person of pleasing features but black complexion.]

guese missionaries ascribed to themselves the merit of having induced the Congo negroes to clothe themselves in palm fabrics; but this industry extends far beyond their sphere of operations. In the interior the only universal basis of costume is the small covering made of bark cloth or hide, or even only of a leaf or a spray; in general the men are more clad than the women. Warlike tribes, such as the Fans, have adhered to the merely necessary modicum of clothing longer than the traders on the coast; but among these the Kabindas still take off their clothes before going into battle. Among the industries of the people in the Congo empire Lopez reckons the preparation of bark-cloth from a tree called *enzada*, doubtless a kind of fig, and also the dressing of hides by the aid of the roots of the *mangle* or mangrove. Both these clothing industries have to-day diminished among the West Africans. Cotton stuffs have driven out native products and facilitated completer covering. In Angola, Buchner found hardly any girls on this side of the Songos with the upper part of the body uncovered. To-day the dress of the typical Loango negro consists of a longish skirt with many folds round the hips, for which it is customary to use cloth enough to serve at night for enveloping the whole body. To go unclothed would there appear hardly less shocking than with us. Children alone have simply a string fastened round the loins. Trade has gradually introduced stockings of all colours, jackets, pieces of uniform, and livery coats. The negroes of the Cameroons were fond even of wearing long, white women's stockings, a pleasing alleviation of the wire top-boots of former days. On special occasions, such as a meeting with white men, things of this kind are often worn one over another, however uncomfortable it may be. An article of the female toilette among those just mentioned, and other civilized ladies of the

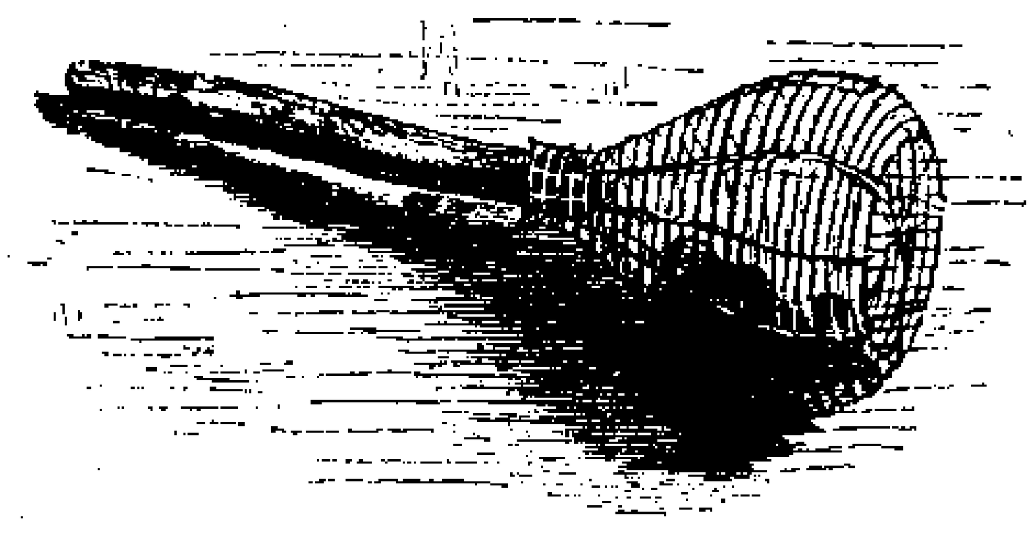
Drums: 1, Dor; 2, from the Gaboon; 3, Jur—one-eleventh real size. (1 and 2, British Museum.)

coast, is a cushion worn as a "bustle," serving at once as a seat for the rarely lacking infant, and as a means of embellishment. That almost inevitable companion of every mother is wrapped in a handkerchief, which is tied in front, and so holds him on his seat. The object of the strings like garters, worn by women on the slave coast, but occurring also elsewhere, is problematical; but see vol. ii. p. 53.

Headgear plays a great part. On the Loango coast caps running up to a point are woven of vegetable fibre, often with pretty raised designs. The wearing of these is a privilege of persons of quality. Further north are also found the pointed caps of antelope skin which are invested with a special dignity or sanctity. Chiefs' caps of honour are thickly embroidered with beads. An abundant and tasteless use or abuse of beads is everywhere a characteristic of West African art industry. The Bangala women are distinguished by a thin band of brass over the forehead. Among the Cameroons women the fashion in hair is simple, as they merely cut their hair short. With the Bangalas it is more complicated; they shave part of the skull. Among the Basunti, "the most amiable of the peoples north of the Congo," says Pechuel-Loesche, the hair is rolled up with charcoal, soot, and ground-nut oil into separate little balls, so that the head looks like a tight bunch of grapes. The great hair-pin of the Ashira recalls the head-ornament of the Azandeh. Porcupine quills are similarly worn. The pigtail is part of the uniform of the Fan warrior. The Loando negresses wear a handkerchief wound turban-like round the head.

Anointing of the whole body with oil, and powdering it with colours, are universal practices. Thus one may at times see Basunti, the right half of whose bodies is black, while the left is gorgeous in the most beautiful vermilion. On the coast the variegated painting of the masks—see the plate "North-west African Weapons, etc."—may be a reminiscence of painting and tattooing the face. The Basunti are also fond of adorning their bodies with red and blue beads. In a West African capital like Abeokuta, inhabited by a variety of stocks, each one may be distinguished by its tattooing, since every tribe, and every clan within a tribe, nay, every family, has its own skin pattern or armorial bearings. The Egbas are to be known by three parallel lines on either cheek; the Yorubas draw vertical lines from the temples to the jaw, as in the cut on p. 103. Free-born women have two or three lines or scars as thick as packthread, running from the fist up the outside of the arm, and round the neck like collars. They call them "nooses to catch a husband." It is not uncommon for women to tattoo blue the areola of the nipple. The Aposso of Togo wear knobby scars on the breast. Still more curious are the decorations of the *Brechi*, a word meaning in Eboe "noblemen." They detach a piece of skin from the forehead, letting it fall like a roof over the eyebrows and nose. This partial scalping costs many their lives, but any one who has survived this "ennoblement" of his physiognomy, enjoys all the higher respect therefore. Painting the body red denotes the intention to fight, and in the case of women announces a recent confinement. A slight tattooing on the temples, forehead, shoulders, breast, or belly, is usual among all West Africans who are not over civilized. Some tattoo but little, others, like the Duallas, tattoo themselves with great variety on the face and breast. They also pull out their eyelashes, which they think prevent sharp sight and readily cause inflammations in the eye. The Duallas may be easily distin-

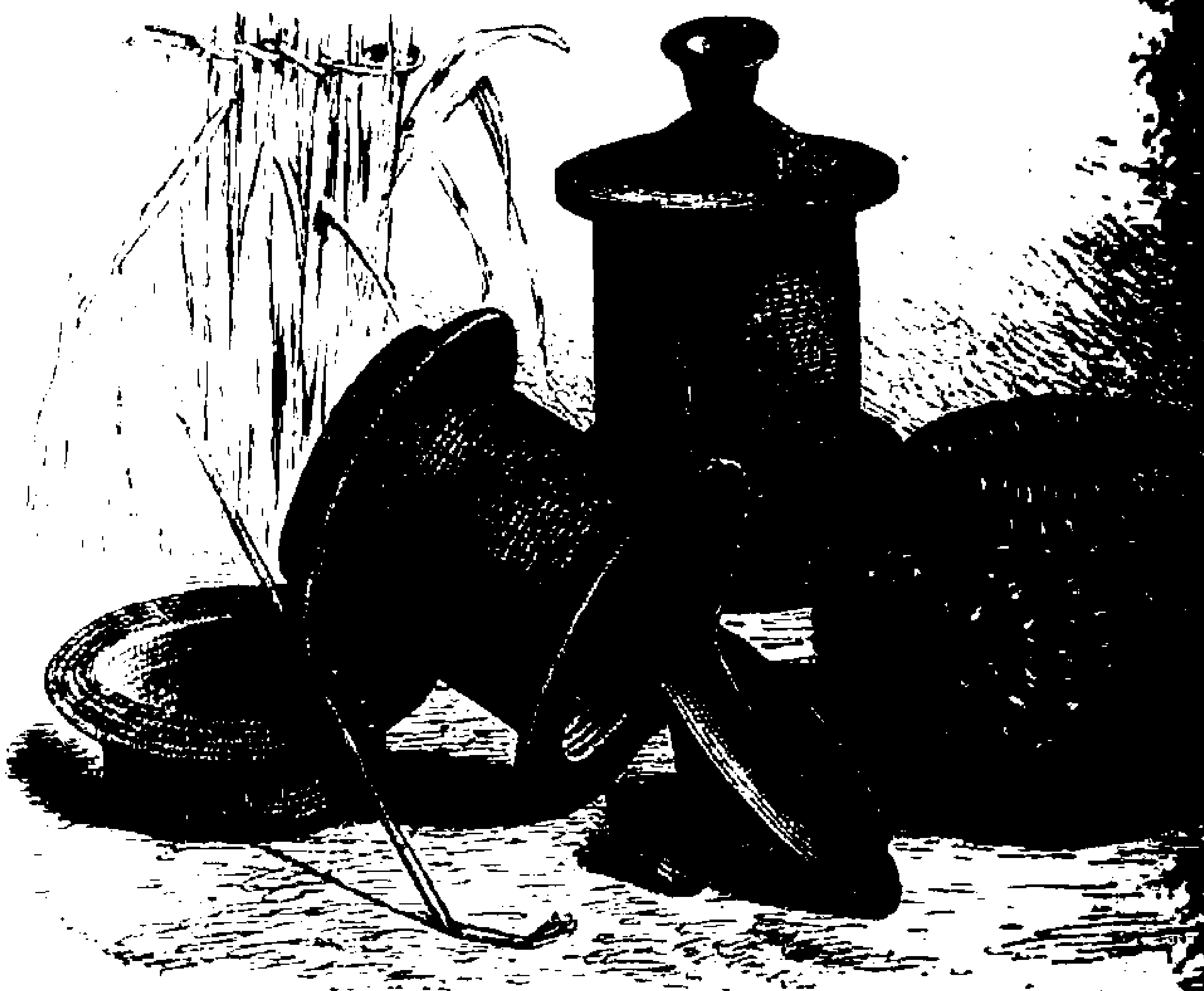
guished by their lashless eyes from the Kroomen, whom they otherwise resemble. When dancing, they evince a great liking for rattling and jingling appendages in the form of arm- and leg-rings, strings of beads, little bells, and the like. The Fan women have a curious way of wearing bells, which, taken together with their way of dressing the hair, recalls their eastern origin. They are, moreover, given to making a somewhat saucy display of their comparative prosperity. Young girls about to be married may be seen hung about with such masses of beads that they can hardly move. Iron and brass wire do not play so great a part here as in East Africa, but still, in the parts inland from the slave coast and Batanga, find employment as arm-rings of spiral shape. Beads, little bells, and other glittering and clattering gewgaws, seem to be more the fashion here; but the older more solid ornaments of metal are still frequently found. On the Loango coast genuine coral ornaments are the most highly valued; gold is little prized, silver is rare, brass and iron rings often have significance as fetishes. Trade has caused a diminution in the exaggerated value attached to ornamental frippery; and the coast negro prefers to beads objects that can be turned to practical account. When he still asks for beads it is usually with the intention of giving them away as presents to some simple beauty.



Fan rattle. (After Du Chaillu.)

Just as the old dress of the Angola people, consisting of iron chains hung crosswise over the breast and shoulder, head-ornament of feathers, and a long garment reaching from the girdle to the feet, recalled the negroes of the Upper Nile, so the leather shield, now only to be found among the Fans, was once universal in those parts, and Lopez assigns to the Congo people long shields covering nearly the whole person, and javelins. Spear, bow, and arrows were the chief weapons, and the iron knife was already worn. With this he contrasts the equipment of the man-eating Anziques—short bows bound with snakes' skin and strung with grass-stalks, also little arrows carried in the hand, short daggers in snake-skin sheaths, and battle-axes. Round the body they wore broad leather thongs. The influence of trade upon the tribes of the west coast has been to make many of them give up manufacturing any weapons, and so far they are on a lower level than the tribes of the interior. The flint-lock gun is now almost their only weapon. Pikes and javelins, bows and arrows, are almost unknown on the coast as weapons for use. The European traders, needing for themselves the security of a superior weapon, once made a tacit agreement with one another to import no firearms save flint-locks. With these guns a powder of the most ordinary kind is sold, which is carried in pouches or horns. The projectile is made on the spot, the natives forging iron bullets for themselves, but using also brass, lumps of ironstone, and small fragments of stone, which at short ranges make nasty wounds. As a rule the guns are overloaded, for a loud bang is of consequence. Among other weapons the dagger, which develops into a short sword, as shown in several of our cuts, acquires a characteristic importance among the West Africans. From the Gaboon onwards this weapon, unknown in many parts of Africa, becomes ever more frequent the further we go towards the north, and at the same time approach nearer the probable centre whence Moorish culture radiated. The artistic sense of the West Africans has taken possession of it and ornamented blade, hilt, and

sheath in most divers fashion. The blade is generally broad, 8 ... often flame-shaped, very sharply pointed, two-edged, with a channel ... number of ridges or channels converging to a point. Often it is ... curved, in which case it is one-edged, with the back perforated, ind... wire ornamented. The hilt is commonly of wood cut into a ... beautified with carving or iron or brass wire. On the Gaboon ... universally of snake-skin, elsewhere of leather or wood, generally ... lower end as at the upper, or wider; but the simplest form of ...

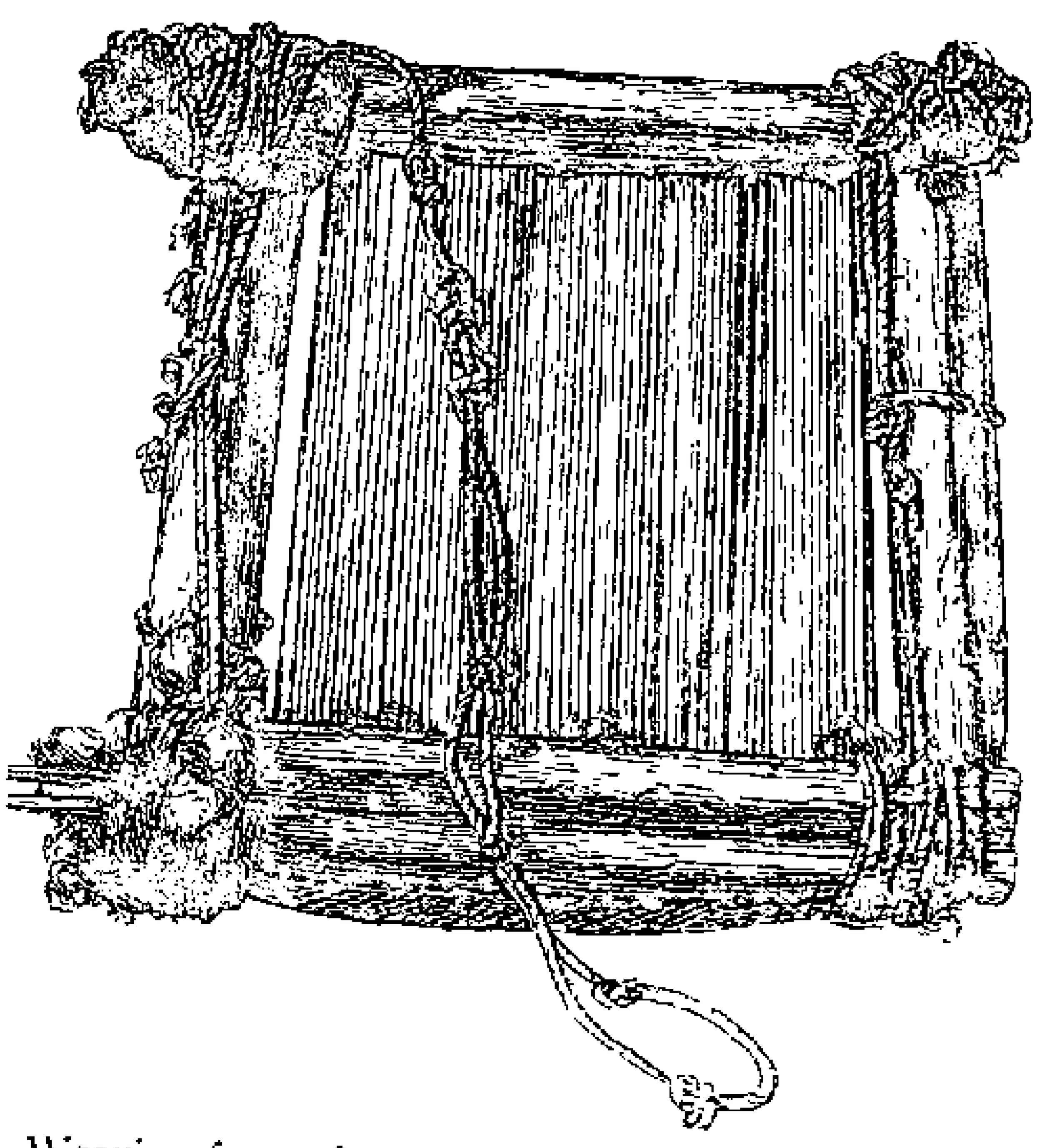


Bush-knives in three pieces; one open and one closed specimen. Also a basket covered with ... interior of West Africa—one-quarter real size. (Church Missionary Society's Museum.)

namely, a flat bit of wood with two or three wires round it to hold ... Nowhere in Africa has this mean term between sword and dagger ... widely as where Arab influence was strong. It occurs also frequently ... Africa, but there assumes gradually the humbler form of a knife, ... Kaffirs wear on the upper arm. The dagger-sword, on the contrary, is more ... attached to the belt or the saddle. Shields are giving way before ... among the Fans, who despise the bow, they are found in the same ... the spearmen of the Nile. The round shield, often a yard and a half ... so as to cover a man on horseback, has come in under Soudanese influence ...

In the country between the Niger and the sea they have simple bows ... dimensions and execution, ornamented at most with a few rings of ... of hide, at all events showing a slight correspondence with the Asiatic ... bows, too, which Flegel brought home from the Benue, are distinguished ... other productions of that region by less care in their manufacture. ... this negative property of imperfect workmanship, and the traces of ...

curve in the middle, there is conspicuous in all these bows of the Niger and Benue region, and the coast thereto belonging, the notion of attaching the string by means of perforations or notches, which is elsewhere quite foreign to true African bows. This caprice and lack of style, when compared with the strict rules which govern the attachment of the string in East and Central African bows, gives the impression of an absolute want of culture; as again, in a bow from the Gold Coast in the Berlin Museum, where the string of hide is fastened to the bow at one end by an iron band. The Houssa bows in the Munich Museum, brought by Governor Zimmerer from the Slave Coast, represented in the cut, vol. ii. p. 253, show a regularly recurring but quite peculiar mode of fastening the string. No attention has been paid to the wood; it is slightly convex on the side where the string is fastened. Towards the end pieces of hide and leather are laid tightly round it, as though glued on. Some have strings appended to carry them by, made of the same red leather that we find in our museums in the pretty leather pouches and sheaths from Mandingoland. The string is a twisted strip of leather, and is fixed to one end, which thins slowly, while at the other it is hitched into a deep groove in the side. This uncommon way of making the string fast, together with the curve in the shaft of the bow, obviously came here from Asiatic forms, in which it is found on the upper side of the recurved arm. The imitation here is plain. One end of the string is apt to be turned back and twisted round it for some distance as a reserve. One form which belongs here, and at the same time points decidedly to the south, has been made known to us by Lieutenant Morgan's expedition as in use among the Watis at the back of the Cameroons territory. These bows vary in length between 6 ft. 6 in. and 5 ft.; they are of dark wood, smoothly wrought, having at one end a point 1½ in. long and turned sharply back, while about an inch from the other end is a perforation. They are furnished with strong strings of twisted hide, the ends of which are mostly wound a long way back. The section, a somewhat flattened semicircle, shows on the under side a more or less broad and shallow depression like that in the Kassai bows. The hand-guard and instrument for stringing show yet more plainly the Moorish influence, which also declares itself in the fringed leather quivers.



Weaving-frame from the Niger—one-fifth real size (Berlin Museum.)

The drum is at once the primary and principal instrument, and serves the chiefs for signalling. The negroes of the Cameroons give signals, amounting to a regular telegraphic system, upon their signal drums, the *elimbe*, an elliptical, hollow piece of wood half a yard long, with a groove-like opening in the narrower side. Besides the wooden trumpets there are others covered with hide. Stringed instruments are found here both of the harp and of the lyre kind. A form that frequently occurs is one with five strings of palm-leaf fibre stretched over a resonant surface.

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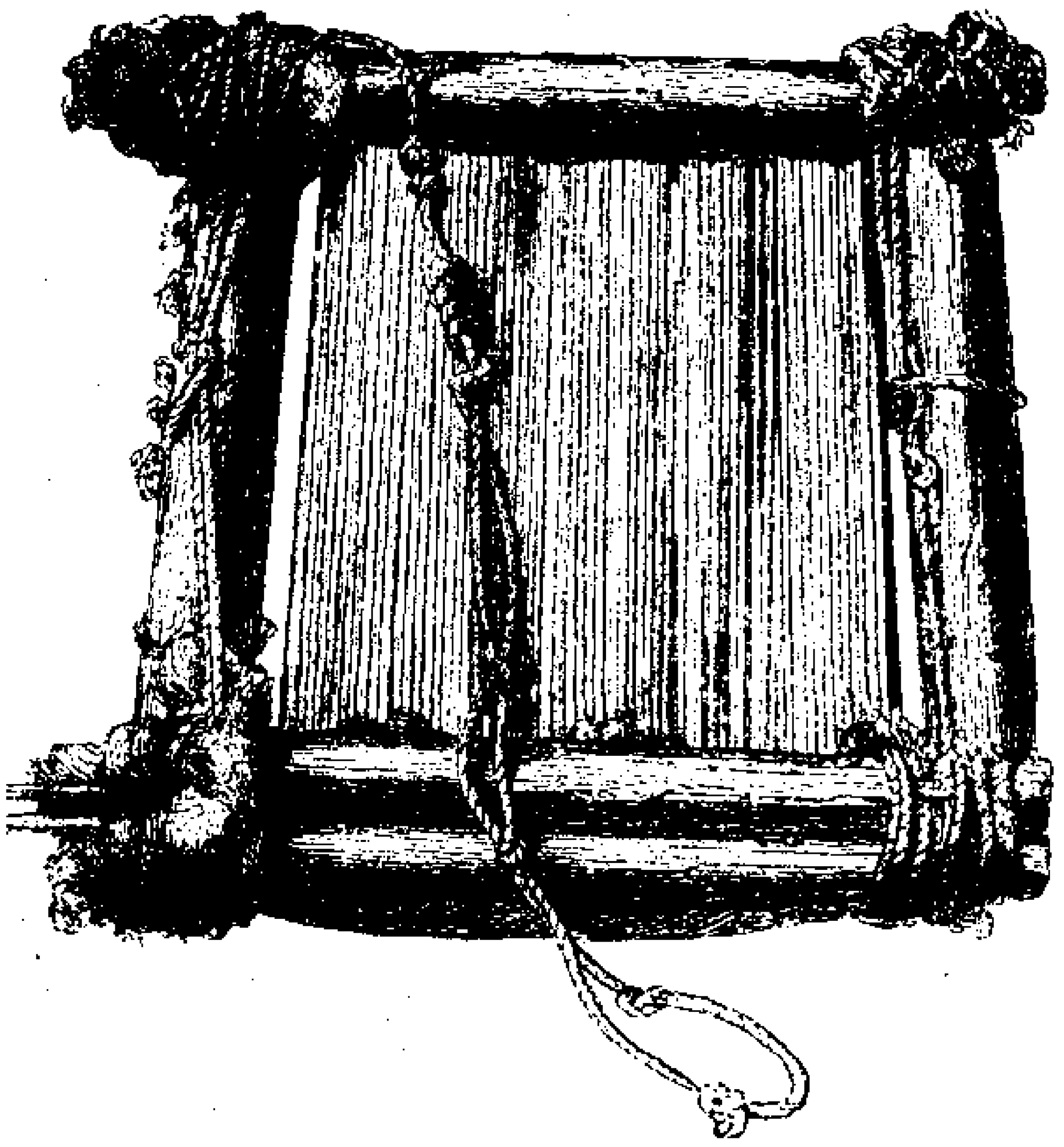
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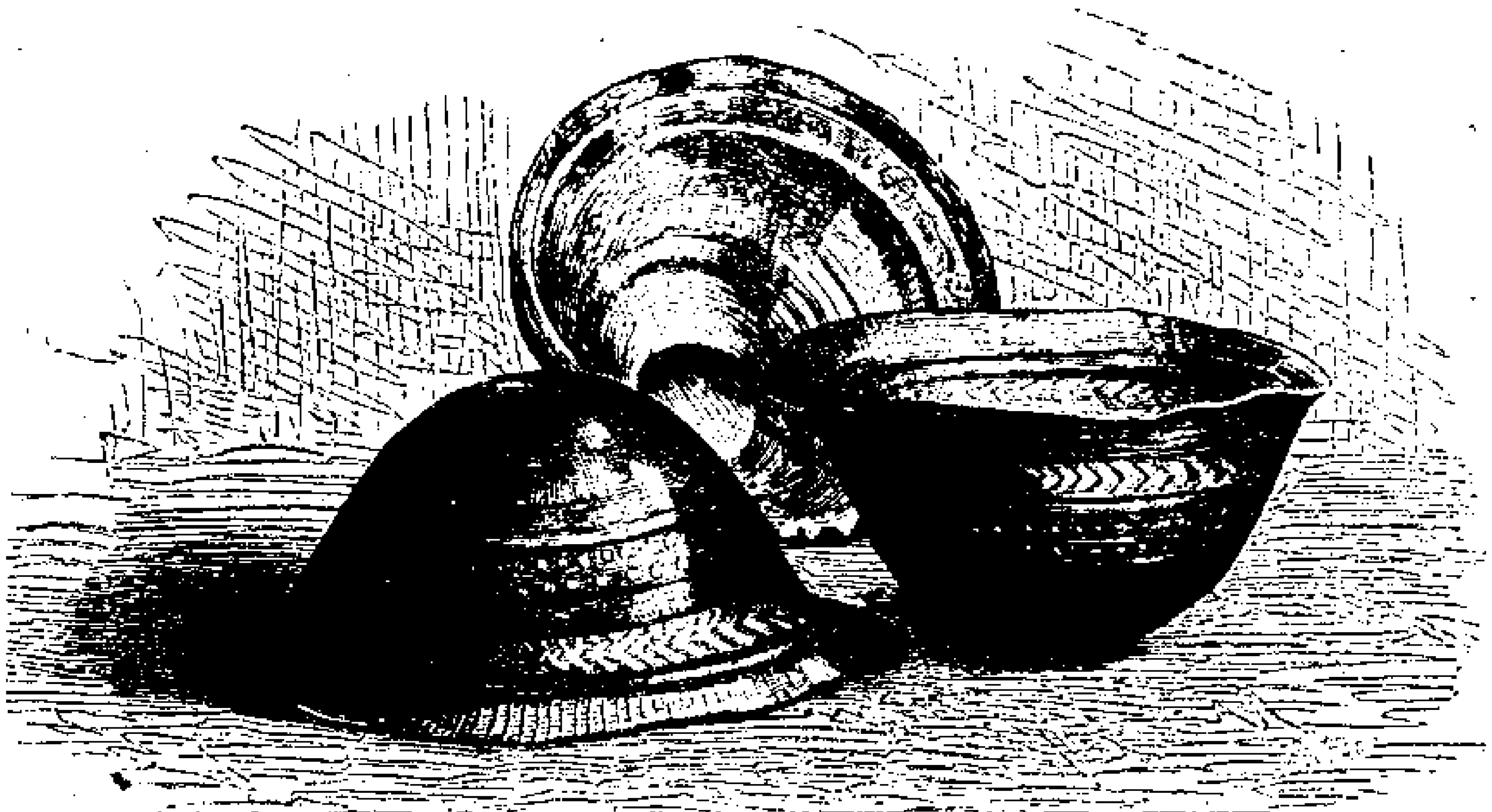
country of petty kings, the chiefs' huts are marked by a roof coming low down, so as to form a verandah, and by artfully woven walls of reed.

Both the four-sided and round styles of building occur on the west coast. The former prevails along the Congo, also in the Ogowe, Gaboon, and Cameroons districts, and shows itself capable of developing materially in the direction of size and comfort. It necessitates a laying-out of simple streets, that is the houses stand opposite to each other, as we have seen, along a broad road, while the conical style leads to a circular arrangement, or to scattered buildings. The plan is always the same; a rectangle divided by partitions into kitchen, women's room, men's room, and stalls. These rooms all open by separate doors on to a common courtyard, where stand the troughs for making palm-oil; also, in the larger establishments, open sheds and stalls. Many of the living rooms are hung with prettily woven mats. The conical style of dwelling house, in which the well-known forms are repeated, is found among the southern tribes, as those of Benguella and Angola, but also, remarkably enough, among the tribes of Upper Guinea. The huts of the Kroo village near Monrovia are rectangular and prettily made of wattled bamboo and palm-bast; close by is a Vei town of round mud huts. So in Tribu the rectangular style prevails, in Adeli the round. There is little else to be said about it save that it repeats, with slight variations, the well-known forms from the Kioko bee-hive to the Ashantee round mud-hut.

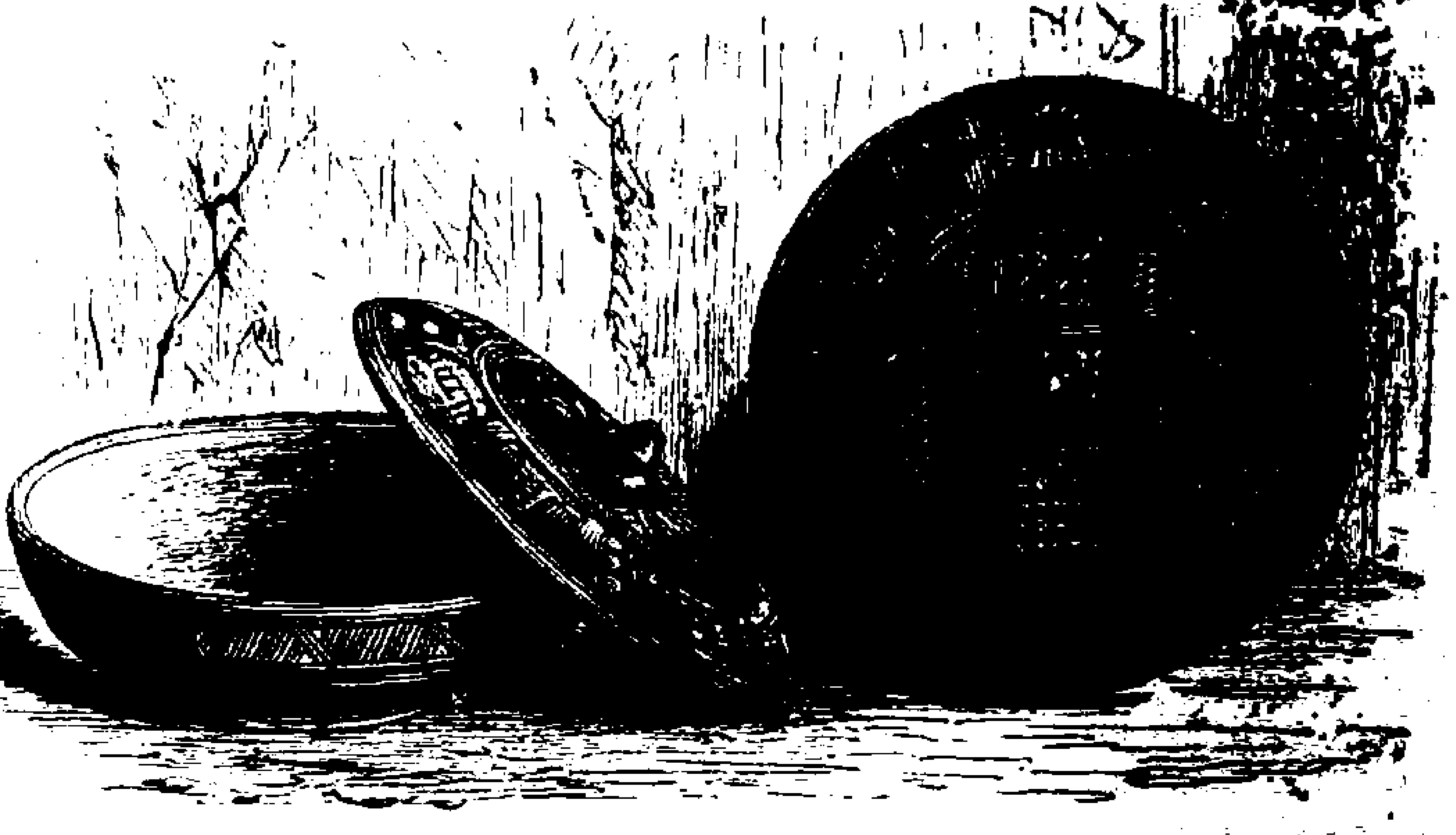


Brass beer-cups from Old Calabar—one-third real size.

The villages on the coast often manifest the influence of the prosperity which their position as trade *entrepôts* brings with it; their size is often considerable—in Dahomey, Whydah, Agomey, and Agomey-Sefa, have each over 5000 inhabitants—and their situation very attractive. The elegant huts of King Bell's town lie in the shade of a forest of bananas, coco-palms, mangoes, and other fruit trees, forming broad streets and squares distributed over a wide space. They are very long and of rectangular shape; only the foundation, a substructure a yard high, is made of mud, while the walls of the huts themselves consist of mats, woven extremely prettily from the leaf-stalks of palms. The very neat and elegant roofs consist of the leaves of a pinnate palm, made to overlap like tiles. A less gratifying sign of progress in the fittings of these huts are the firm padlocks on the doors. In the Cameroon district there are "long houses" capable of holding 100 persons. In the grass-plains of the interior the lack of palm-leaves causes a variation; the huts are thatched with grass, and the sagging roof forms the ordinary station of fowls, goats, and cats. In districts where feuds are common, fence and ditch are not absent; and the villages stand on hill-tops or other places difficult of access. In the hills on the Benguella coast, Cameron found a village with thirteen lines of fortification. The custom of daubing the walls and floor with ox-dung has been

transferred to the Upper Guinea coast from the Soudan; [illegible] this purpose are offered for sale in the markets of Abeokuta [illegible] are stuck on the gable as trophies of the chase.

Agriculture is indigenous in all West African races. The [illegible] manioc, maize, yams, ground nuts, *koko (Caladium esculentum)*, [illegible] of gourd, the seeds of which are pounded and boiled. Much [illegible] to getting the palm-oil, though little to the cultivation of the [illegible] the trading-people on the Batanga and Cameroons coast, the [illegible] only the barest sufficiency, while it reaches an astonishingly high [illegible] parts of Upper Guinea, for instance on the Slave Coast, where it [illegible] painfully every foot's breadth of earth, and where the sale of [illegible]

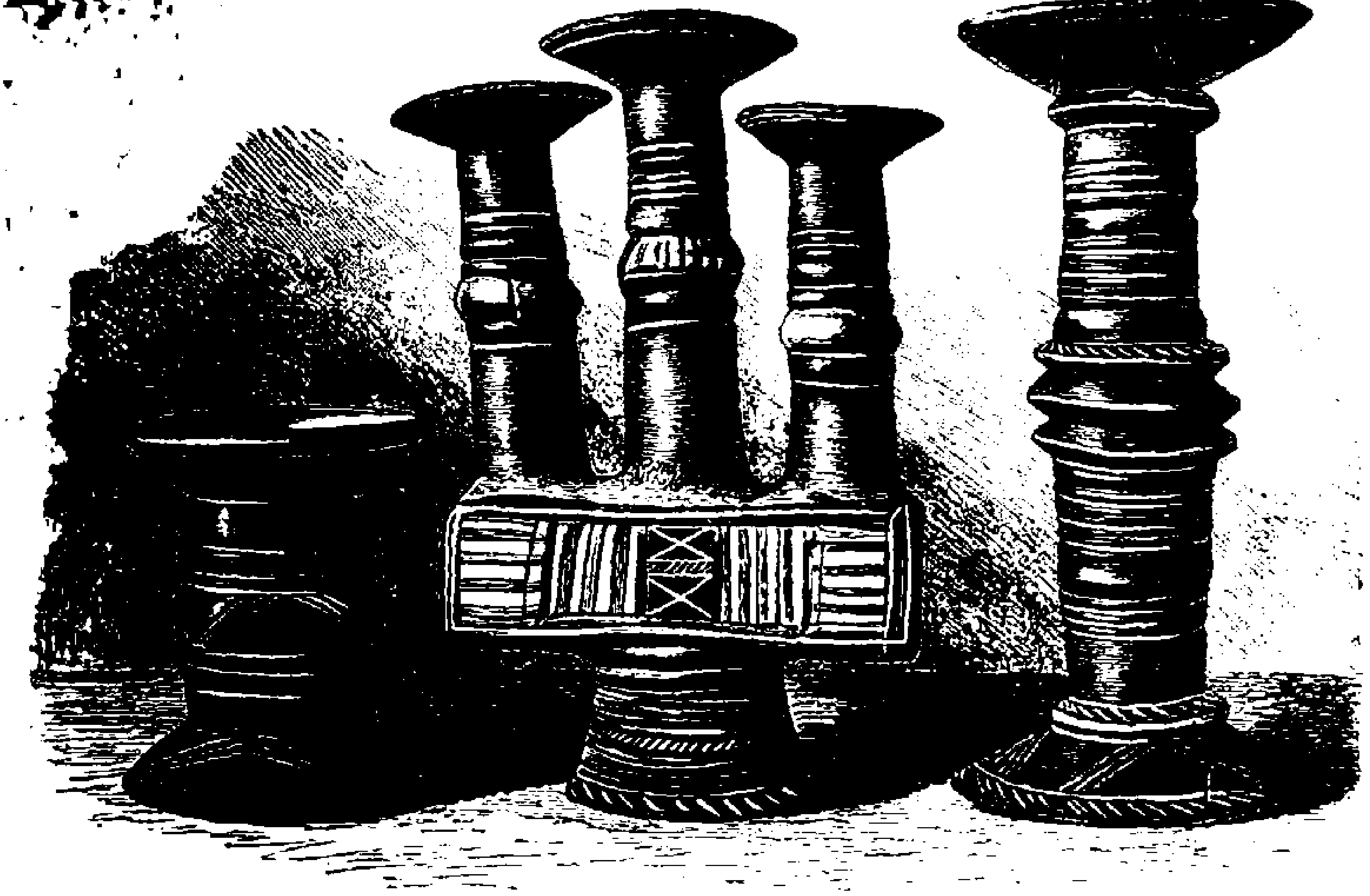


Carved wooden vessel, with lid, from Guinea—one-seventh real size. (British Museum.)

offence. But to this extent it flourishes only over a limited area. Agriculture so extensive and industrious as that of many races of the interior is not found amid the conditions of decay that prevail here, and in the far less fertile soil. Wide tracts lie unbroken-up or covered with wild woodland; for years Stanley, on the Lower Congo, had to get nearly all his food-supplies from Europe. The only field-work is a little scratching of the ground to plant manioc; anything further is forbidden, in politically insecure districts, by the fear of plunder. The tool is either one imported from Europe, or else the two-handled hoe to be found also on the Upper Nile. Many articles of agriculture are imported from abroad. Bastian relates how San Salvador is famous for the goodness and abundance of its cabbages, which, like the pease and beans, probably derive from the vegetable gardens of the old missionaries.

Pigs and fowls afford the greatest part of the animal food. Anyanga, inland from Togo, rears pigs in great quantities, while all around, owing to the influence of Islam, they are lacking. Also in Benguella and Kimbundu the pig is widely diffused. Cattle are to be found only in places, more in Upper Guinea, where they have spread down from the Mandingoes and Houssas, than farther south. The interior is unquestionably better suited to cattle than the coast; in Angola

... stops at the Portuguese frontier. Here the breeders of cattle are ... and Bondos. In some districts, for instance the inland country of ...ns, the goat is the commonest domestic animal. None of the beasts ...mployed in other countries can thrive in the coast-lands of West ... on which much depends. Mules that were imported quickly died. ...ad from Houssaland towards the coast, but do not succeed in doing ... well there. There are some studs of horses on the plateaux of ... the breed is small and weak. Oxen, which thrive nicely in the rich ... Ambaqua, and are much in use for riding in the higher parts of the

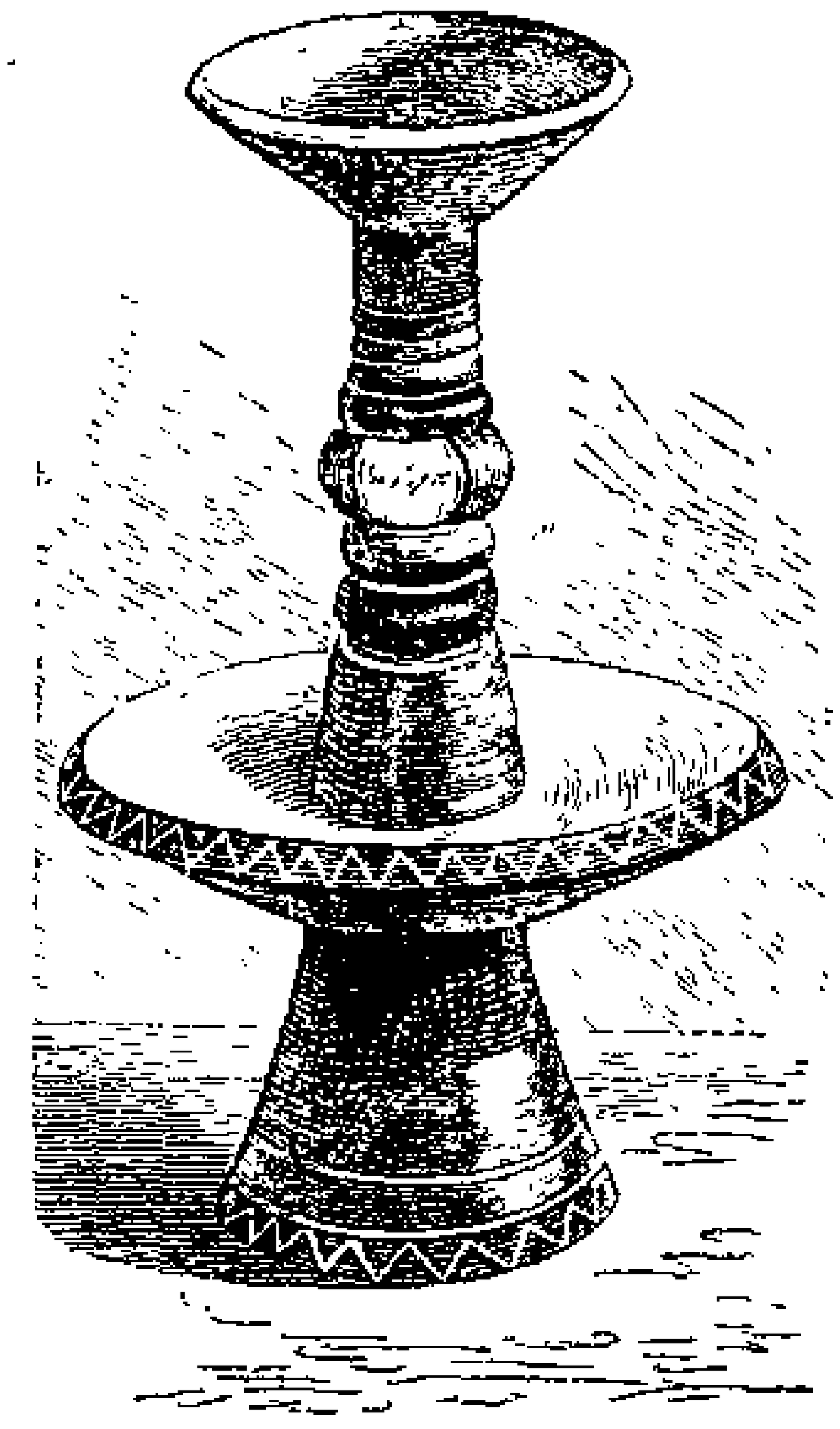


Coloured earthenware vessels from the Niger. (British Museum.)

coast, are not driven to the coast till they are ready for slaughtering, since it is only with great trouble that they can be kept alive there for any time. Probably the fault is with the plants used for fodder, which alter within small distances, so that the removal of the beasts from one district to another always produces sickness. An attempt has been made to import camels from the Canaries, but they stood it only a short time. The Angolans were formerly described as fattening and eating dogs. Guinea-fowls are found with other fowls in Upper Guinea. In many markets dried rats are offered for sale. Bee-keeping is carried on here, just as on the Upper Nile, in artificial bee-hives made from cylinders of bark a yard and a half in height. These hives are attached to lofty trees, in a horizontal position, a piece of some "medicine" being tied to the stem to keep off thieves. All the wax exported from Benguella and Loanda is got in this way. Slices of manioc toasted, roasted ground-nuts, parched *farinha*, or a porridge made from it, play the chief part in the diet of the Congo and Angola negroes. Wooden mortars for preparing this meal may be seen in front of all the houses, and at

them children are usually occupied in pounding cassava roots. Tapioca, which requires more minute preparation, is used almost solely by Europeans. In the Niger delta the so-called "palaver sauce" is made from fresh palm-oil, while on the Congo the palm-nuts are eaten as nuts. On the Lower Congo the extensive fishery allows of a more copious diet, and its produce is also dried and exported.

Certain tribes are passionate sportsmen, and the chase of the buffalo and elephant is still pursued with success in the interior. But in the Cameroons it is regarded as a triumph when a large hunting-party brings home a porcupine, an antelope, or a wild boar. In certain parts of the coasts the oyster plays the chief part in the food of the people, and in Lagos there is a special class of oyster-catchers, said to be the lowest among the labouring classes. Other shell-fish and crabs are also eaten. Certain whimsical peculiarities in the choice of food have their roots perhaps quite as much in forgotten tribal precepts as in the Christianity, now lost, which numerous missions founded on these coasts in the sixteenth century. The consumption of the viands does not take place in a disorderly way, but has its appointed and fixed usages and rules. On the Loango coast a woman boiling manioc never takes hold of the pieces with her hand, but uses a green leaf. Washing the hands and rinsing the mouth are universal after eating. Whenever possible people eat on a mat. The negroes share their food with one another with great readiness. The use of aromatic herbs in soup and broth, and the great popularity of cayenne pepper pods, show that these negroes are more cunning in flavours than many others. Nor do they suffer from dearth of salt. Near the former German station of Chinchosho the manufacture of salt in large quantities was carried on by filtering and evaporating the water of a salt lagoon. In the north, where a row of salt-pans extends as far as Nyong, it is done yet more simply by directly boiling down the sea-water in shallow brass basins which come as an article of trade. Farther in the interior, as about the sources of the Ogowe, salt is also got from inland lakes, and forms an important article of trade for the Bateke and Apfuru.



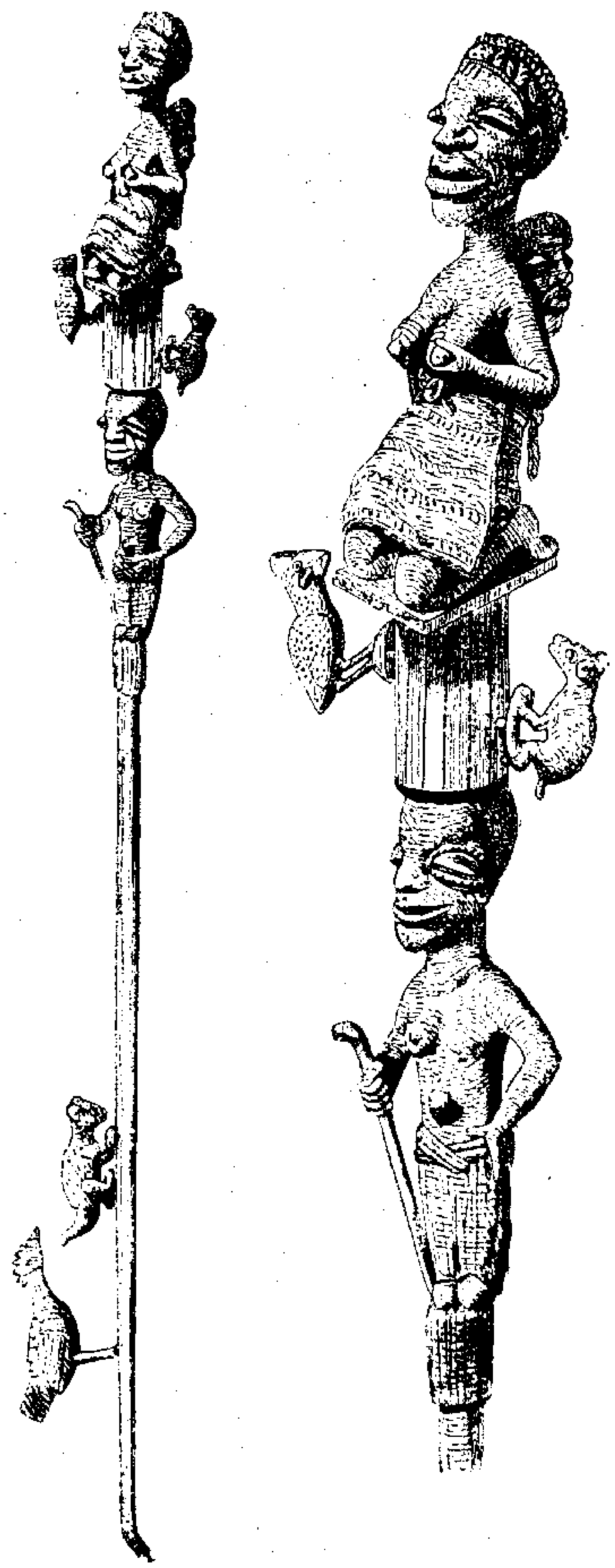
Earthenware vessel from the Niger. (British Museum.)

In the Guinea district essentially the same customs as to food prevail, although in many cases more European manners have found entrance. For example, stoneware cups form part of the household utensils, while table-knives, forks, and spoons are articles of luxury met with in some Europeanised families. The only intoxicating drink which these people brew for themselves is palm-wine; but spirits, ruinous both in quantity and in quality, have been imported by Europeans. In hardly any part of Africa can they be so widely spread as here: and the west coast, under the influence, as it is, of Christian races, compares unfavourably in this matter with the Mussulman east coast.

Hemp as well as tobacco is smoked out of bulging calabashes, converted into pipes by the insertion of a reed. The Loango negroes have short pipes; long pipes with tubes of hollowed banana-stems are not found till further north. Among the Loango people it almost seems as if the women smoked more than

the men. Small calabashes, as in South Africa, are used for snuff-boxes. In the inland ports of the Cameroons country the habit of swallowing the smoke enclosed in a vegetable tube, with rapidly stupefying effect, has come in.

The most important article of export from West Africa is to-day without question palm-oil, obtained by the natives from the pounded kernel of the palm-nut, with no particular trouble, but so carelessly that often only a third of the oil available is pressed out. There are various methods of obtaining it, the most careful perhaps on the Loango coast, the most careless that of the Bassas on the Lower Niger. The oil when ready is taken to the coast in calabashes and earthenware jugs, and disposed of to the factories for payment in money and goods. The place of sale displays the bustling life, and offers the most unique physiognomy, of an exchange after the African style. Troops of negro women, yelling and screeching, set down the heavy pots of oil, bargain with the oil-dealers by the aid of gestures, laughter, and abuse, and when they have come to terms, go off together to seek fuel to render the oil fluid. Real cultivation of this useful tree, which also yields fibres for weaving, roofing material, tinder, palm-wine, and finally even an edible caterpillar, is as yet rare. In many a village "place" it forms regular groves; still more often it occurs, a living ruin of culture in the waste places, only too frequent, where villages once stood.

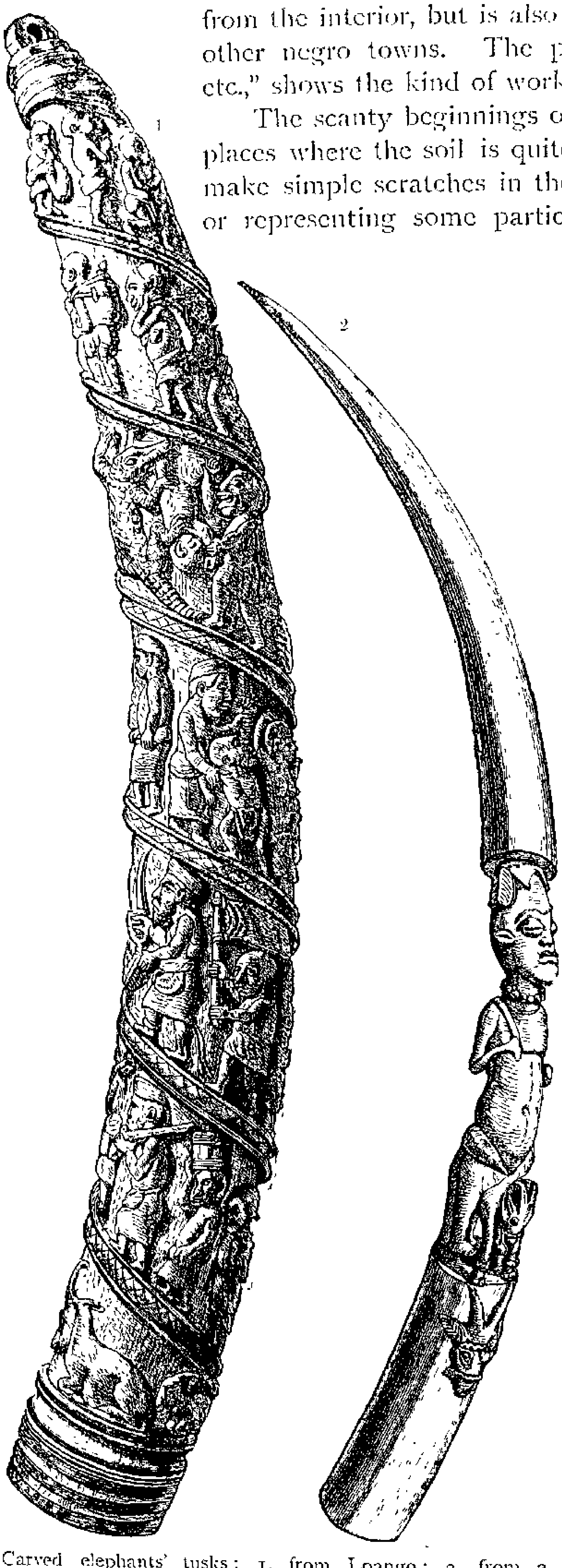


Brass staff, made by the Aboni negroes of Lagos. (Christy Collection.)

West African industries in the well-ordered states are divided after the west Soudanese fashion into castes or guilds. In Abeokuta the head guilds are five in number—smiths, carpenters, weavers, dyers, and potters. In the northern parts, till close to the coast, they have come under higher influences from the east, and have retained the negro character only in narrow areas, while further south they have lost many of their peculiarities owing to European influence. The iron industry of the Yaundes, at the back of the Cameroons district, is quite excellent; and their large smelting-houses can be recognised far off by the pointed roofs. In some places it is conspicuous by a special perfection of artistic endowment; while elsewhere it is at a low level. One may speak of a real art-industry in those regions, since a great number of articles in common use never occur unadorned by wood-carving, bead-embroidery, cast or wrought metal-work. The leather work in the Moorish style is brought

from the interior, but is also very well executed in Abeokuta and other negro towns. The plate "South-west African Weapons, etc.," shows the kind of work.

The scanty beginnings of an art are often very curious. In places where the soil is quite bare, the Babwenda on the Congo make simple scratches in the ground, having the form of circles, or representing some particular things, wheels, bows, boats, with which they first became acquainted when Stanley passed through. In these scratches they place stones, often fetched from a distance, since the rocks are mostly covered with soft masses of laterite. The artists of the Congo and Loango coasts betake themselves by predilection to rough mural designs, generally executed in harsh colours. Near the coast these are representations of ships, sea-birds, steamers, and the like; in the interior, figures dancing or outstretched, lords surrounded by their slaves, palm-trees, and so on. In depicting the hideous, no race excels these West Africans, who are so devoted to sculpture that they can never have enough of grimaces, and in contrast to the East Africans, represent the human figure by preference, whether as ancestral image or scarecrow, pot or pipe-bowl. Not to speak of their indecency, they are for the most part brutally true to nature, or exaggerate, if at all, in the direction of ugliness. Idols, too, especially, are clumsily executed. The insertion of eyes made of shining white cowries or shreds of porcelain plates, the embellishment of the belly with a square fragment of looking-glass, are childish disfigurements which one might laugh at were it not their deity that is in question.



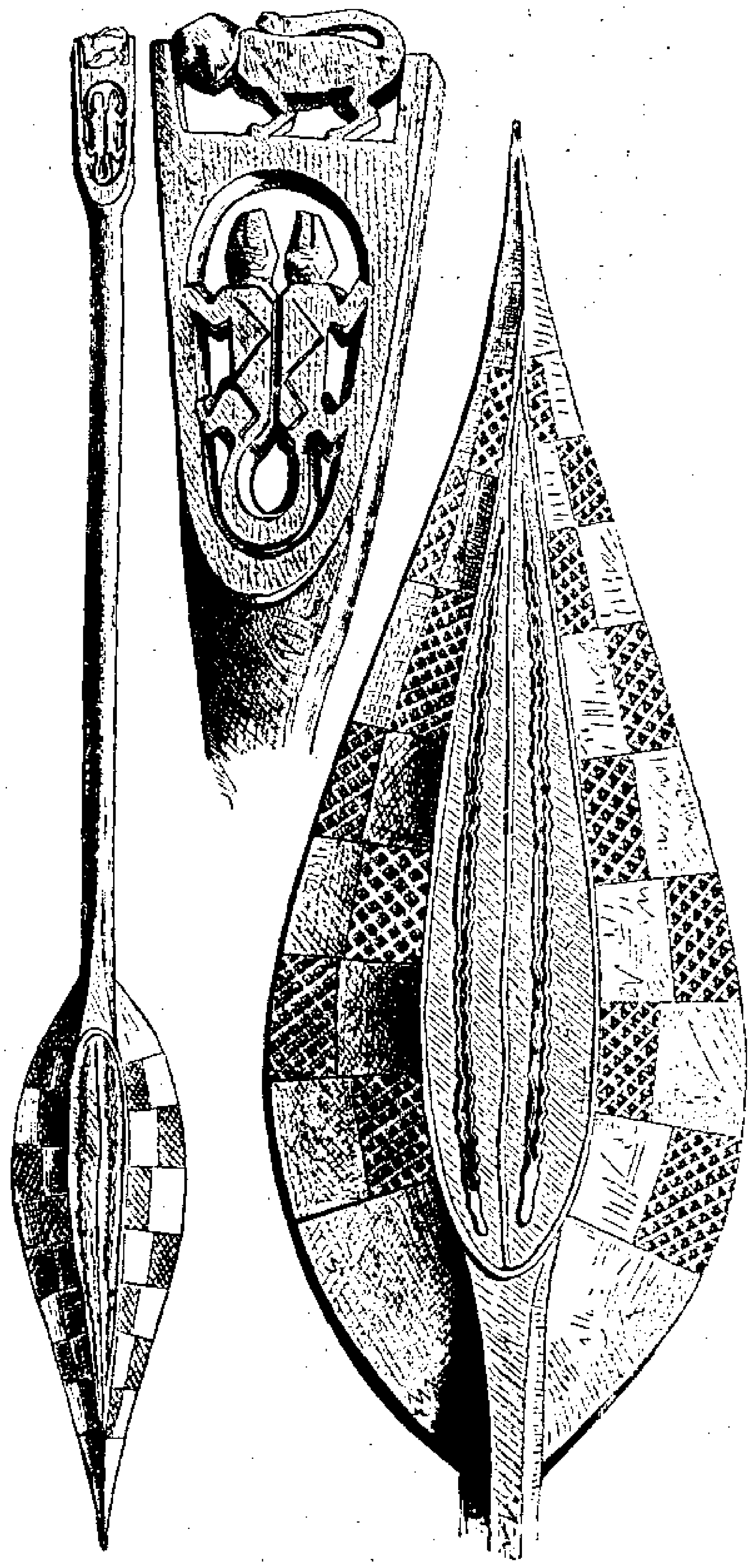
Carved elephants' tusks: 1, from Loango; 2, from a West African temple. (1, British Museum; 2, in Christy Collection.)

This art is most enjoyable when it attempts careful imitation or bold conventionalisation, as in some representations of animals. In presence, however, of the large groups of many figures represented in ivory, as in the

conquered the northern kingdom until the fall of the Yuer dynasty, from 1234 to 1368. Kublai Khan, the founder of that dynasty, was as great a friend to Chinese culture as was afterwards Kang-hi, the great Manchu emperor, and like him tried to spread it among his wild countrymen. From this effort sprang a systematic policy of assimilation, which, as finished by Kang-hi, became to this day a rule of the policy of the steppe. We may express the elements of it in the words of a contemporary witness, Father Gerbillon: "The Manchus invested the most powerful Mongol chiefs with rank and titles, assigned payment to every head of a squadron, defined his boundaries, and gave him laws. They instituted a superior court, before which appeals against the chief's decisions could be brought; and all Mongols, princes or common people, are bound to appear when summoned by this court. The Emperor who then united Chinese and Mongols under his sceptre, did more for the security of China than he who built the Great Wall." To this momentous influence the Mongols most decidedly fell victims. The culture with which they came into contact was no less powerful than injurious and pitiless. In the first stages its effect was more demoralising than civilising. The judgment that a Chinafied Mongol shows neither Mongol straightforwardness nor Chinese industry, is true of the transition state. We may perhaps take it that the Mongol will some day adopt Chinese culture as healthily as the Uzbek has adopted Iranian culture; only then he will not be a Mongol but a Chinese.

As regards the mind, the training which the desert bestows on its mankind is penetrating and effective. Eye and ear are incredibly acute, and the man's sight and hearing are his most trusty guardians. His intelligence is brought to bear only on the most immediate concerns of his monotonous life, and therefore his mind is made up and his decision is swift. Trained by nature to achieve difficult tasks, he is capable of more than his compeer who lives in a softer climate and on a more genial soil; and thus the contrast between his poverty and his strength inevitably extends his fancy no less than it narrows his intellectual activity. The three great monotheistic religions are connected in their development with the deserts of Arabia and Syria. The stimulus to fancy, and the restraints at the same time imposed upon it, have had important results in fostering the religious sense among the desert-dwellers. The desert, again, is a training in political force and independence. There is the master, and there is the slave, and nothing between. A governor of Ghat said: "The Sahara is a country full of sheikhs." The desert races are split into factions to an unusual degree, which does not facilitate the growth of a strong authority. In this comparatively small town of Ghat there were, in Richardson's time, three factions, whose traditional rivalry was the strongest motive force for what one may call the internal political life among the peoples. But it is personal or tribal quarrels that keep them apart. The personal freedom of such members of the community as are born free is practically little limited; while those who are not called to freedom have no impulse to strive for it. The difficulty of feeding slaves makes it difficult to keep many. Thus whole populations are kept in subjection, from whom everything in excess of their absolute needs is taken. Whole oases are turned to estates, which are visited in the time of harvest in order to plunder the inhabitants; this is quite the desert idea of sovereignty. Thus the inhabitants of the Borku oasis, in spite of its famed fertility, are poorer than their fellow-tribesmen in the mountains to the north.

annexed cut, which the natives, especially of the Loango and Cameroon coasts, used once to execute with nothing but a pointed nail, one is certainly justified in suspecting European influence. Here the tendency to caricature gives way to the effort to be natural; and one notices that the artists of the Congo and the Gaboon in their coarser daily work have acquired sufficient manual dexterity to be able successfully to carry out the orders of Europeans. (The carvings on the elephant's tusk were undertaken for one shilling.) The single figures again, carved in ivory, and the more geometric ornaments on the trumpets, on cups, on spoons, and other things, often show no slight artistic capacity, and still more fancy. Favourite themes are lizards and snakes, certainly not without some religious significance. On weapons too, especially on the helves of battle-axes, adornments of all sorts occur, showing that in fact more than one branch of industry has here been impregnated by a crude artistic impulse. The ornament often oversteps its object, as in the case of the battle-axes decorated with beads and strings of shells. In the staff of cast brass carried by the members of a secret society among the Aboni negroes, which is figured on p. 117, the metal industry is also shown in its artistic side. To this also belong the simple engraved or embossed arabesques on the blades of battle-axes and on broad knives, which give a further view of the art of these West African smiths in an equally good light. The same holds good of their daggers. Their pottery ware similarly shows aspirations, but is obviously, where the ennobling Moorish influence has not entered, the weakest product of their art-industry, while their plaited or woven work is, on the contrary, no less neat than compact. Plants furnishing materials for weaving—which is carried on by the men only—and plaiting are represented in great abundance and variety on the coast. Those principally employed are the fibres of the oil-palm and the bamboo, the pandanus and the pine-apple, on the Gold Coast also the wild cotton. The natives, though they wear almost without exception the printed and white stuffs which the traders bring, consider them none the less as something outlandish; for they still make a point of appearing at assemblies or palavers of special importance in African vegetable stuffs only, the manufacture of which was once more flourishing than it is to-day. Lopez gives marvellous descriptions of the weaving of the Anziques, how from palm-fibres they manufacture all kinds of fabrics, which he himself compares to velvet and damask. This industry has

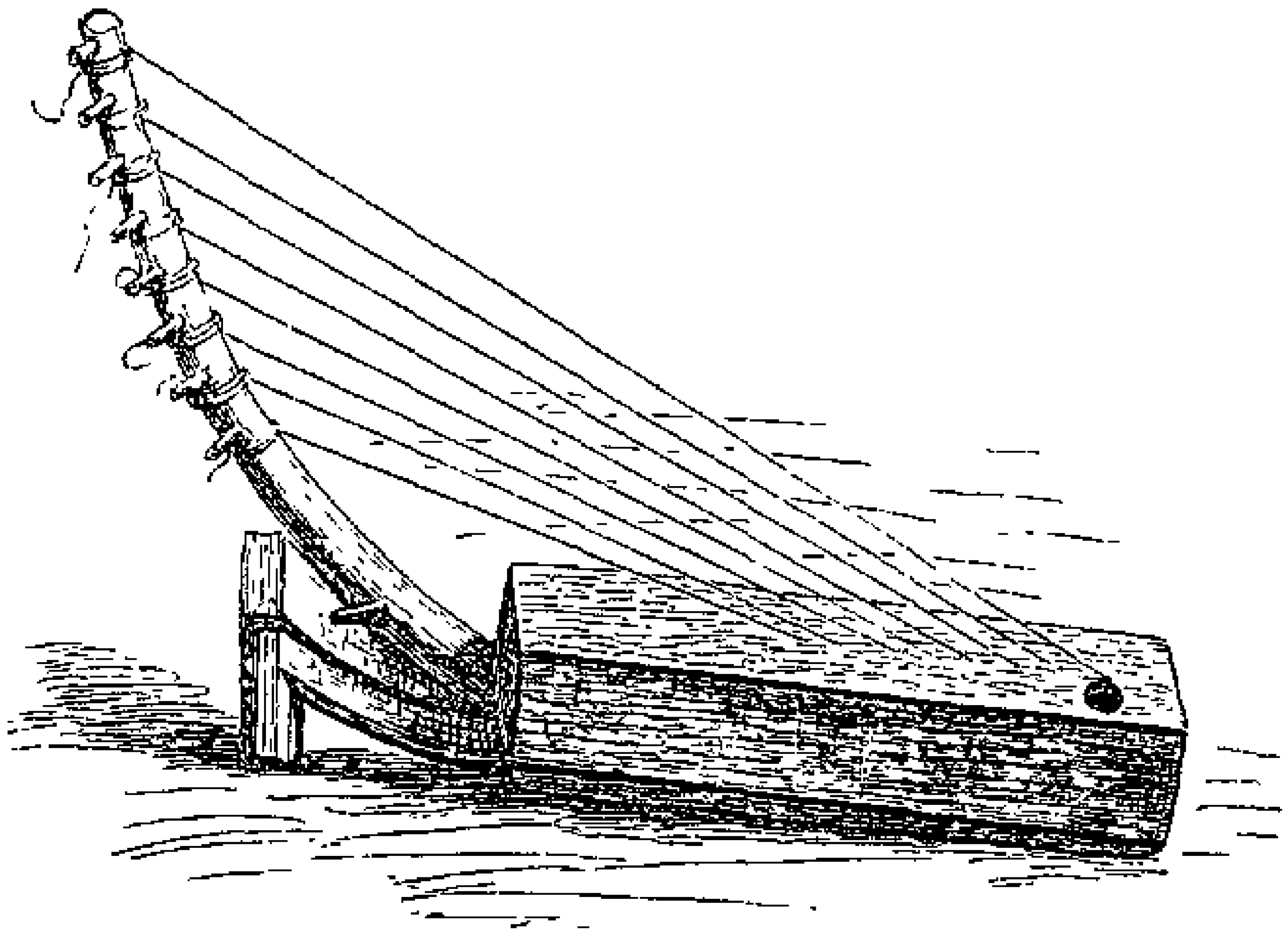


A paddle from Benin. (Berlin City Museum.)

migrated back to the interior, and is now limited to the production of caps for festive occasions, and to mats. Bark-cloth is often worn, as in the country at the back of Batanga, where string and rope are also made from the bast.

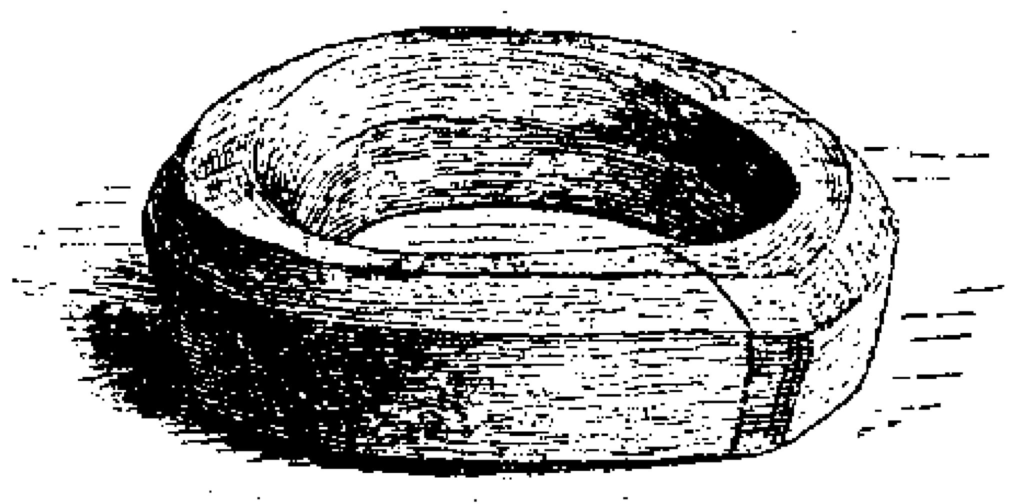
Apart from the cases where the material is no longer to be had, as in ivory-carving, which is said once to have flourished especially among the Duallas, we perceive in the art a paralysis of natural creative activity. European influence has provided no compensation for the loss of the peculiar, the original, the genuine. Bastian contrasts "the grimacing, styleless idols of the coast region where, by the intercourse of centuries with Europeans, the natives have been degraded to a profligate rabble," with an idol from the Lunda empire, having a head-ornament which recalls those known as *hatep*, and with other carvings "somewhat Egyptian in style."

Of all industries, boat-building and the navigation of the coasts and rivers of West Africa is perhaps the only one which has been materially advanced by the influence of white men, since the amount of surf on many reaches of the coast makes voyages in weak boats almost impossible. Even Lopez speaks of boats on the Congo holding 200 men; but notices the primitive style of rowing without thowls or wash-boards, and without any steering-paddle. The long-standing development of boat-building in the Congo delta is in close connection with the slave trade. According to Ladislaus Magyar the dwellers on the Lower Congo were excellent boat-builders, in spite of their simple tools. "Many of the vessels built by them have before now gone off to Brazil and the Antilles with 400 to 500 slaves on board." Till quite recent years the part about the mouths of the Congo was rendered unsafe by the Mussorongo, a race of river pirates, who never allowed an unarmed vessel to pass without hindrance. One invention that belongs apparently to all these coast tribes is that of a double boat, in use on the Angola coast, made of two boats lashed together, with the gunwales downwards, so that it has an upward tendency, like a buoy, and cannot capsize. At a favourable moment it is quickly run down into the sea, and by dint of rapid paddling got clear of the surf before the next wave comes. You take your seat in a squatting posture in the hollow between the two rounded keels, in front of the negro, who employs his broad shovel as paddle and rudder. The Cameroons people construct richly-ornamented dug-outs to hold 100 men. The Kroomen on the coast of Upper Guinea are valiant seamen, who make long coasting voyages in their simple canoes; but the regular coast navigation is everywhere here conducted at the present day, as it was 300 years ago, by Europeans with black crews. Among these the Kroomen are noted for their cleverness; they are indeed indispensable. The canoes built by the people living in the highlands of the interior, where water is scarce, or torrents only make their way, are of inferior quality, and the ferries are few and far between.



A Bakalai harp. (After Du Chaillu.)

The negro's talent for trade, upon which we have often remarked, finds its most extensive sphere of action on the long reaches of the west coast. The first success won for civilization by Stanley and his people was bringing the natives to barter and to act as carriers. Of the Portuguese coast districts, one as experienced as Monteiro thinks that in spite of missionaries and all other philanthropists, trade has shown itself to be the only force making for culture. Everywhere from Benguella to Senegambia this business is carried on by special groups of peoples, the trade in the markets of the interior being frequently assigned to the women; in Dahomey, indeed, the women alone trade, and so in some districts of the country inland from Togo. When the Houssas appear, trade attains a more flourishing and dignified position, and men of the highest wealth and rank devote themselves to it. The Biheños of Benguella fit out whole caravans; and individuals are said to embark as much as £2000 in a single trading party. In the north the caravans are smaller and the journeys shorter; from the Cameroons and Batanga more than twelve seldom go together, and these are as a rule members of one family. The limitation of the slave-trade has put an end to the great trading business; marts once famous, like Bonny and Kimbundoo, have decayed, while new ones, like Lagos and Noon or Akassa, have sprung up. The decrease of elephants, the rapid extirpation of caoutchouc, the exhaustion of the deposits of gold, have further borne their share; but in place of these individual trade, in which the negroes take part with ever-increasing independence, has flourished all the more. The Portuguese traders at Cassange and Malange, the Ambaquistas, Linguists, or whatever the middlemen are called, are hardly hit by the custom ever spreading among the local negroes of themselves carrying their goods a distance of hundreds of miles to the coast, in order to trade on their own account. The Bangala, who operate here, are among the best negro traders, as further north are the people of Batanga and the Cameroons, of Old Calabar and Bonny. All are not equally competent for the business; the German Loango expedition found the chief hindrance to its rapid advance in the impossibility of obtaining carriers. Nowhere had trade made so deep a mark on the life of the people, especially in social and constitutional matters, as it has here. King Bell of the Cameroons, a true merchant-prince, who maintained trade stations all along the Mungo, and thereby ruled the district both commercially and politically, was a genuine West African phenomenon. In Salaga, trade flourished more than in the equally well situated and peopled Yendi, because in the former country fewer taxes were imposed on the merchant. As long as the slave trade throve, it was the cause of very close and steady relations between negro chiefs and traders or shippers. Every negro village had a broker who, when a vessel appeared, quickly came on board to do business in slaves, gold, or ivory. The vessel went on from one place to another on the coast until it had its cargo, which everywhere was in readiness for it. Thus the dignities of trade viceroy, trading prime minister, and the like, came into existence.



Copper arm-ring, probably a medium of exchange; from the West African coast. (Stockholm Ethnographical Collection.)

A good type of the coast traders is found in the Duallas, who have the great advantage over many inhabitants of these coasts of being laborious and industrious

and capable of endurance. In this they resemble the Kroomen. They have succeeded not only in putting duties on the trade to and from the interior, so far as it goes by way of their coast, but in getting it with their own hands; and they now command it with a jealousy which sedulously and by all possible means excludes every trace of competition. They are a nation of traders showing in their own narrow territory the same ruthless craving for monopoly that is found in the trading nations which rule the world. Thus they are conspicuous among their neighbours for prosperity, but show on a small scale the same disregard for agriculture, and the same strong need for extensive possession of slaves, as did once the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. By the help of their women and slaves they produce bananas and yams hardly sufficient for their own requirements, and their coast has a bad name for dearness of victuals. Crops which demand more attention, such as maize, coffee, and cotton, are unheard of among them. Almost all the goods in which they trade are brought from the interior. The tendency to monopolise is universal. As the southern Bangala formerly tried to block the roads to the Kassai, so the Duallas those to the Benue, the former by force, the latter by inciting the inhabitants and spreading reports. When Fourneau went to the Ogowe he was preceded by such a panic, artificially created, that he found only deserted villages, and an attempt was made to put about a report in the Cameroons that traffic only went on in the dry season. On the Benue it happened that the inhabitants tried to bar the river to strange vessels by dams of wicker-work. Flegel rightly saw that the importance of the Benue lay in the fact that it interrupts the monopoly. The peoples of the interior were then obliged either to take circuitous routes, as Okwao, before the days of its independence, had to go by Coomassie; or else to pay toll, having to fight if they declined to "fork over," as, a few years ago, the Bane, inland from the Cameroons, had to do with the Yenoas. Till quite recent years Dahomey prohibited strangers from travelling in the country or learning the language. He who dispenses with imposts, like the wise ruler of Salaga, takes the surest means of making trade flourish. Few tribes have contrived to assert a certain inviolability through the terror of their fetish magic. "Of these," says Bastian, "one can naturally not hope to obtain any intelligence, since their whole policy is directed to keeping intercourse as dark as possible." In this again they are like the old Phœnicians. Naturally, cannibal legends are also connected with this.

The chief traffic with the tribes of the interior takes place on the occasion of the weekly markets. On the Lower Congo, where there are four days in the week, there is a market every day at some particular point, and the market-overseer is never absent. The visitors either simply barter or use fragments of blue beads as counters. On the coast such childish articles as beads, hand-mirrors, and so on, have naturally long ceased to have value, and brandy, firearms, cotton-stuffs are in demand. Where intercourse with Europeans is more vigorous, coined money is also current. The cowries which once were alone of value on the Congo no longer pass there, while in the Niger territory they still form the universal small change. The King of Congo himself used formerly to send to collect cowries on the Angola coast. In Bonny, and at the back of the Cameroons, horse-shoe shaped brass rings are used as counters resembling the Nubian arm-clasps, but too small even for children's arms. On the Lower Niger little triangular plates of iron were once usual. At times we find laws about the

number of goats or cattle which a private person may possess; just as elsewhere a government tries to regulate the circulation of coin. Unfortunately, among the tribes which come more frequently into contact with Europeans, brandy has become a medium of exchange, which is pretty much in a position to outweigh everything supplied by the negroes. The standard for many kinds of goods in the West African trade, but especially for ivory, is formed by the *rod*, a value nominally adopted, originally perhaps expressing the definite length of an iron bar, but now composed of the most various articles as agreed on by the two parties. In the Portuguese territory it is, like the *peça*, originally a piece of cotton cloth, composed of this; but also of brandy, powder, and other things in a fixed proportion.

The trading spirit makes its way into families, and wife purchase is much more an affair of trade here than with other Africans. The average price among the Duallas is from £90 to £120, but often more when the father is a person of consequence. The wife is the husband's entire and absolute property; he may give her away to some one else, lend her, or sell her. But since wives are the most costly article of commerce, this only happens in important circumstances, as at the conclusion of peace between hostile tribes, or as expiation for a murder. The penalty for adultery is sought by making the seducer pay, or if he is not in a position to do this, become the slave of the injured husband. In Loango adulterous wives of chiefs are said to have been burnt with their paramours.

The economical element runs so markedly through all phases of these negroes' family life that one has to look closely at it not to believe that the institution of the family has for its sole object the increase of possessions. A young man who attains the age for labour hires himself out, and seeks in various ways—the Kabindas or Kroomen as sailors, the Duallas and Bangala as traders—to earn his livelihood, upon which he saves as much as he possibly can. As soon as he has enough, he buys a wife, and the richer he becomes so many more members does he add to his harem. Each of these wives will clear a special spot in the forest, and there plant manioc or ground-nuts, which she herself has not only to cultivate but to take to market and sell. Not every spouse roams with impunity under the shade of so fortunate wedlock. "In Okolloma," says Bastian, "my host led me, in a troubled frame of mind, through the tangled and crossing paths of his dwelling, in the innermost room of which he slept. He had good reason to fortify himself carefully, for twenty exasperated female foes inhabited his homestead, and he could justly curse the hour when his wealth led him to surround himself with them."

Persons of princely rank have in this respect also important privileges. A Loango chief could espouse any woman by the grant of an ivory ring, and could by the same means secure young girls for himself. Equally a princess could choose any man, so long as he was not himself a prince or a white man, and had not shed human blood. Even if he were a slave, the children of a princess were princes. In Akim, princesses had just the same rights. By their choice they could make peasants into chiefs, and compel their husbands to put away wives of a former marriage.

Still greater vestiges of woman's rights appear in the institutions of the west coast. The children belong to the mother, who brings them up almost universally;

if she dies, the husband makes a payment to the wife's parents that they may keep the children. Female sovereigns are frequent. Among a few tribes, as the Eboes, the law is male inheritance, accompanied with a high position of women in other respects. A Fantee queen emigrated, in consequence of a dispute for the throne, to found a nation of her own. The Jaggas too were ruled by queens. The peculiar position of the Lukokesha beside Mwata Jamvo seems to radiate westwards. The Lunda legend of the founding of the empire by an immigrant hunter, who wins the love of the local queen, recurs in a significant fashion in several districts, as with the Biheños. The position of the women is yet more elevated by the frequent validity of inheritance in the female line. Even the throne of the Congo empire, where the missionaries succeeded only for a short time in imparting a different order of succession, passed to the sister's son. In the famous Amazons of Dahomey, too, a vestige of gynecocracy has been preserved. It is not in fact limited to the renowned guard, under the command of the queen Dada, in which the soldiers consider themselves as men, and dress accordingly; the women also help to govern, advise with the prime minister, the *Mingo*, while the queen has the right of life and death over the women. It is only their sons, too, who may call themselves princes, all other sons of the king being forbidden on pain of death to mention their origin.

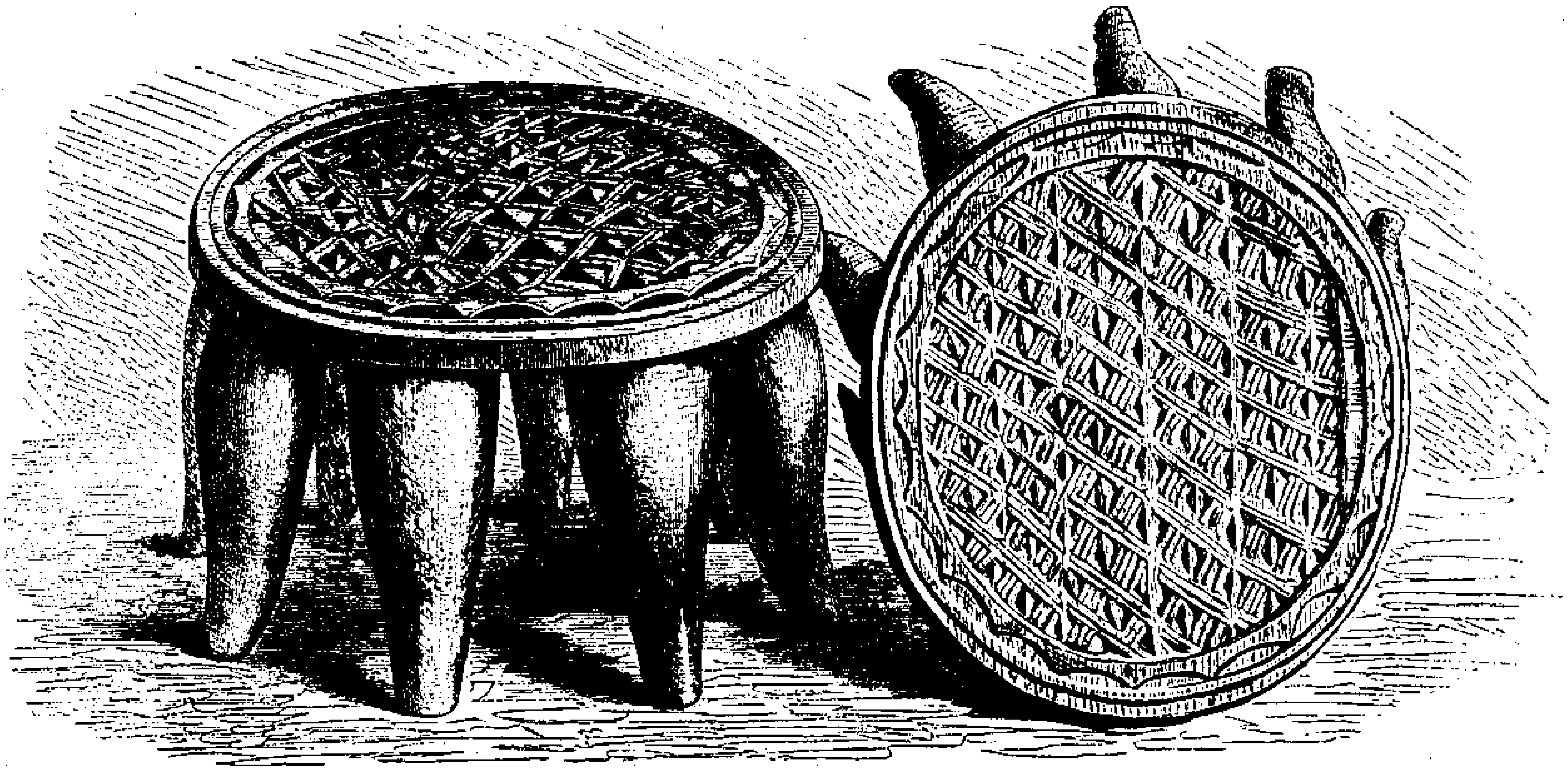
Closely connected with marriage is the practice of secluding boys and girls when approaching maturity in huts in the forest, called on the ivory coast "Grigri-bush" or magic forest. There they receive their final education from persons of their own sex, and there girls, when betrothed, often remain till marriage. The boys are at first kept very strictly, but are afterwards initiated into the jollities of the men. They receive new names, live chiefly by thefts from fields and gardens which they carry out under the guidance of their "coach," and announce that they have been killed by the spirit of the forest, and have come to life again. If they have not yet been circumcised, the rite follows on their entrance into the forest. Like the fetish-doctors and corpse-dancers, the leaders wear cloaks of leaves and masks, just like the Melanesian *duk-duks*.[1] In Loango they wear feather-cloaks which are some of the most interesting remains of an old artistic industry.

Among all West Africans, slaves form an essential element in the household, and, with the chiefs, the basis of their power. They attend especially to every branch of labour that does not come into the business of trade. Often they live in separate villages, called in the Cameroons *ninga*-villages, and usually undergo no very hard treatment. But their quality as "chattels" is regarded by their masters from so consistent a point of view, that if need arises for a human sacrifice, they are slaughtered in cold blood. Travellers also relate how chiefs, who have been unsuccessful in stealing men from foreign tribes, cut the heads off their own slaves secretly, to bring home as trophies; since "you kill no man, you child" is the most grievous reproach that can be aimed at them. This passion for killing innocent strangers does not spare even cripples. To this day great slave-hunts are a fixed institution in Dahomey, one may even say a manifestation of life in the state; and till recent years slaves were also exported thence.

The formation of states in this district has in our time, far more rarely than in the eastern parts of the continent, assumed a great and permanent character. In certain favourable spots conquerors have risen to become sovereigns over

[1] See vol. i. p. 282.

wider territories, but their power has always been transitory. To this day bold marauders take possession of a village on some frequented trade-route, and extend their power in the fashion of robber-barons. The French were astounded to find in the terrible Murgula, from which the whole province of Birgo had been sucked dry, only a miserable nest of robbers. This was obviously otherwise in the pre-European time, from which have been preserved the *debris* of political and social organisation much more powerful than anything that the present can show. Negro empires, gorgeous and cruel, like Benin, Dahomey, Ashantee, offer, in their surrounding of politically disorganised tribes, many points of comparison with the old Peru or Mexico. The strictly exclusive hereditary nobility of the Mfumus, to whom fell the principal administration of the district, and with them the more transitory nobility of rank, formed from the children and grandchildren



Carved wooden stools from the Niger-Benue district—one-sixth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

of princes, court officials appointed by merit or favour, faithful vassals, to both of which classes appertained strictly defined privileges, formed stout pillars of the monarchy in Loango. Even the dynastic tradition, in its indefiniteness, shows the present decay of the idea of the state. It contributes very little to the security of the tradition if oaths are taken by the names of great predecessors, or if kings of Whydah were crowned only in their old family seat, even after it had long been lost.

Just as the conquests of the Jaggas on the south-west coasts had to perish, leaving little trace, since they were based on no forcible or permanent organisation, so the other racial waves, after swelling for a short time, have subsided again. Like them too have disappeared those Christian kings of the Congo, whole dynasties of whom are set up by the old Portuguese. Captain Elliot's expedition of 1883 to the Kwilu-Nyadi district came across no important political organisation; the whole province could therefore be acquired without fighting, and with no great outlay in presents, and in the whole Congo basin it is only foreigners, that is the Arabs, who have offered any obstinate resistance to the foundation of a European colony.

Before the time of extensive acquisitions by Europeans on the Guinea coast, and before the greater kingdoms, above all Dahomey, had pushed forward to the

coast from the interior, geographers enumerated upon it a long series of kingdoms and republics mostly with tiny territories. On a smaller scale they repeated the states of the Loango coast, and were influenced by trade in even a higher degree than those. One may indeed say that in most cases they owed their existence to the wish, often prematurely recognised by Europeans, of sharing in the trade independently of neighbours to right and left along the coast. The history of the Gold and Slave Coasts teaches that European powers frequently enough found it to their own interest to support these pretensions; indeed, towards the end of the last century there existed on the Gold Coast alone forty forts and fortified factories of English, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, all without area of power, and dependent on the friendship of neighbouring kinglets.

The chief attribute of kings is the throne. On the first reception of the Portuguese in his capital the king of Congo had his ivory throne adorned with carved woodwork on the arms, and erected on a high platform, so that he could be seen from all parts of the vast assemblage. From his shoulders hung a horse's tail, the token of royal rank, while his head was covered with a mitre-shaped cap woven of fine palm-bast. Besides these there are many monopolies of dress and ornament. The umbrella is often permitted only to the chief and the princes, as also the right to be carried in a hammock, and go shod. To the nobility of Loango were reserved ivory ornaments, clothing over the shoulders, the finest mats and caps. They only might partake of a certain kind of cayenne pepper. In Dahomey, stools and wooden doors were forbidden to the people. The King of Accra still wears at festivals a pointed hat of antelope-skin with a feather, peculiar to himself; the priests wear a similar hat of horse's skin with a piece of the same antelope skin attached to it. In Loango the upper class of inhabitants still speak the language of the country mixed with peculiar words, and with an intonation of their own. We must not forget what is the most effective attribute of West African princes, the staff; armed with which the chief of Akim perambulates the roads at night, to drive home any subjects who may be late abroad. How different a picture does the appearance of these kings offer under present conditions! They now adorn themselves by choice with the leavings of European marine store-dealers, and the remnants of their insignia stand in loud contrast to the misery of their other circumstances. Comparatively dignified is still the presence of one scion of the Congo kings at San Salvador. Beside the long loin-cloth, he is described as wearing a white shirt to cover his upper body; a silver crucifix hung round his neck, and his hand grasped a sword. Bastian's companion greeted this man according to court etiquette as a prince of the blood royal; kneeling down, striking the ground thrice with his forehead, and rubbing dust on his face, before interpreting the welcome. The old nasty custom of licking the soles of the feet is obsolete.

In the south, echoes of the Lunda tradition pass into the legends and customs of the dynasties; and from the other side, the new power of the European colonies. The foundation of the kingdom of Bihé, and of the Portuguese supremacy, is related as follows. Bihé, coming on a hunting expedition from Bamba, fell in love with the fair daughter of the chief—the title of *Soba*, afterwards generalised by the Portuguese, is used in this region—married her, subdued the people round about, and founded the place still called after him. Part of the Bamba people migrated hither, Bihé had brought a large following with him, and so a new

people arose. A successor of Bihé sold his brother Cangombi at Loanda, where he became the governor's favourite slave. Thereupon part of the Bihé people conspired, and sent to Loanda to buy Cangombi free; his master would take no ransom, but sent him home with presents, and a Portuguese escort. In this way the Portuguese got to Bihé. Cangombi overthrew his brother, and on his again trying to invade the land, let the Ganguellas have him to eat. This is said to have happened three or four generations ago.

The chief is surrounded by a council, the members of which are taken from the nobles or the village headmen. Several have about them nobles who gather up what they spit and take it out, a private stool-bearer, and a fool, who has to keep the environs of the palace clean. The principal burden on the chief are the fetters of the *china*, a grandeur recalling the Polynesian taboo, which forbids him—among the Loanga people the nobles also—to sleep in any place surrounded by water, whether island or boat, or to cross certain rivers. Some might not leave their dwellings at night, nor look upon the sea, a horse, or a white man. Sometimes he was a poor prisoner, with whom only his visible representative and three of the eldest men might hold intercourse, and that with their backs to him. As elsewhere among negroes, the people hear nothing of the king's death; his body moulders away in the hut, after which the bones are buried in or beside it. Then follows the well-known interregnum when lawlessness prevails. The witch-doctors discover some one who has caused the death by magical arts, and who is naturally put to death therefore. Meanwhile the elders have ascertained the lawful heir; and then a band hunt an antelope in one direction and cut its head off, while another band in another direction similarly cut off the head of the first man they light upon. With the two heads the medicine-man then does magic business, that his consecration may not be lacking to the accession. Among some tribes the right of succession falls to the head wife; elsewhere she takes a place like the Lukokesha in Lunda.

Since 1445 the Guinea Coast has been the region of Africa most visited by European ships, so that information about its political condition is especially copious. In spite of the waste of human life in wars, slave-trade, and human sacrifices, unlimited despotism nowhere prevailed. So free was Ashantee under its first kings that, as Bowdich avers, Dahomey, which was already despotic, declined all close intercourse, lest its people should have an opportunity of making acquaintance with the liberty there existing. According to Ashantee tradition, the founder of the kingdom, Si Totoo, concentrated his power in Coomassie and the neighbouring towns, in the latter delegating it to chiefs who were only bound to appear at the capital on certain feast days. Later a great number of courtiers assumed at the Ashantee court the position of representatives and administrators of the conquered districts, visiting them mostly only to collect tribute. Therewith they were to some extent responsible for the behaviour of the actually reigning native sovereigns. Bowdich notices the similarity of this to the Persian system described by Herodotus. They held, besides, the most important post of heads of the spies and the secret police. When 3000 persons were put out of the way at short notice on the occasion of a threatened Mussulman rising in Dahomey in 1855, it was done by the dreaded "king's people"—detectives and executioners who base their indefatigable and unscrupulous work for the state on a highly organised espionage. It is a recog-

nised system in Dahomey to associate some spies with every representative of the king—*avogado* as he is commonly called. Spies keep an eye on the intercourse between Europeans and the people of Dahomey; and the traders in Whydah, etc. Dahomey coast station, for this reason avoid taking the king's subjects into their service. With his frivolous nature and quick temper the negro often breaks out into abuse of his superiors; but in Dahomey any one who speaks or undertakes the slightest thing against the king is irretrievably lost. In this way it has been possible for centuries to maintain here a compact power, which has not its like in West Africa from the Senegal to the Cunene; while in the Cameroons, where even a dozen years ago only two trading kings, Bell and Acqua, ruled over all Duallas, in a short time a string of subordinate chiefs have raised themselves to the height on which princes stand.

Everywhere the people took an occasional hand in the government, and in most states they had a traditional part in it. The Ewe peoples are ruled by a king, whose power was limited by a council of the senior men in his capital. Laws have also to be laid before the elders of other towns, and ultimately before the whole people. In the towns there is a complete "college" of councillors and justices, with a chief at their head; in the villages the functions are performed by the oldest man of the family on whose ground the village is built. Amacu on the Gold Coast, where the French founded a settlement in 1787, gives an example of what was then called a republic. General and foreign officers were settled by the whole people in great palavers, while internal affairs were regulated by the caboceers or hereditary village headmen who had usually enriched themselves by trade, and were dependent on the traders. The person of the king was held in historic and religious honour. The caboceers alone arranged the entire cession to France in 1786. When King Si Kwamina of Ashantee did not return into his kingdom as his chiefs wished, but remained in the neighbouring state of Duabin, he was deposed in a regular form, bearing a legal appearance, his brother was placed on the "stool," and his own wives and slaves were sent to him, with whom he had to betake himself to the forest and found a solitary village. The brother, however, reigned only a few days. The island-states of the Bissagos have been described, in contrast with the oligarchies of the neighbour-peoples, as purely monarchical; but this we must conceive as due to acquired privileges of a transitory nature, just as the head caboceer of Amacu had a dignity which gained him respect beyond his own village, owing to the conquest of the place by his ancestors. There were regions, as in the Timene country behind Sierra Leone, which has now in many districts fallen to decay, where no authority whatever was recognised. Mayosso, where Vorse held a palaver with the chief in 1882, seems to have been only a historical spot, not a political centre.

The authority of the sovereign, and therewith the political cohesion of these countries, naturally grows weaker with the extension of the legitimate trade, through which every private person has a chance of acquiring wealth and influence. Each then makes himself independent and gets powder and muskets; and so the royal dignity loses still more in importance, no one caring to assume it and submit himself to its burdensome ceremonial.

The endlessly recurring conversations and councils between the chief and his magnates bear on the coast the ill-famed name of "palavers" or in older writings "cabals." Every talk or council held by several persons is here called a palaver,

and the name is transferred to the disputes which are settled at them. The most dangerous is the witch-palaver, at which the frequent trials for witchcraft are discussed; the most popular, as elsewhere, the brandy palaver.

In the stricter social organisation, such as formerly existed in the Congo country, insoluble disputes between two men of rank were decided by wager of battle. A torch was lighted between the parties, and when it was burnt out, the time for reconciliation was at an end.

The frequency of money-fines and the covetousness of these races has led to a universal extension of the bad practice of stamping, with a certain traditional capriciousness, as punishable crimes a number of trifling trespasses and oversights. Among some peoples, such as the Biheños and Kiokos, this custom, known as *mukano* and *milonga*, has become an extraordinary annoyance, especially to strangers. The negro fancy is inexhaustible in devising grounds for *mukano*. The penalty, too, is transferable in the most arbitrary way, so that a caravan-leader has to settle for unatoned *mukanos* of his predecessors. If any one liable for a *mukano* dies, whoever innocently enters his dwelling has to take up the deceased's liability. The most common occasions for *mukano* are given by adultery, real or alleged; and the demoralised negroes on the roads to Bihé and Kimbundoo compel their wives to provide pretexts for these extortions.

Since the cessation of the slave-trade the income of the states is reduced to a small sum from fines, tolls, and rents for sites where there are trading houses; the "hulks" of European traders in the Cameroons river pay a yearly rent to the negro chiefs of the districts off which they are moored. Among the hunting and agricultural peoples of the interior the chief, as a rule, receives from his subjects beer and palm-wine, ivory, lion and leopard skins, as well as the right hind-quarter of all game killed.

Exogamy appears only in isolated cases or in traces. In Loango it affects only persons of higher rank, all princes counting as brothers and sisters, and therefore being able to marry on their own level only abroad. As an express national custom, it occurs among the Mpongwe of the Gaboon and the Orungus of Cape Lopez. The delimitations of special trade districts by primitive treaties is established among the Duallas. The Tangwanes of the southern Cameroons may not go as far as the Sannaga, but only to the country of the chief Chinga. Confederations for purposes of aggression are met with, according to Stanley, in the Congo region. Wars do not always result from hasty quarrels. Negotiations often precede, at which the parties, in order not to break out in the heat of the moment, make between themselves a line of branches, which may not be crossed. Among the Loango peoples the dispatch of a burning torch denoted war. Wide frontier deserts, or uninhabited forests, thirty to fifty miles broad, isolate and protect the states, and foster abundant hunting.

The veneration paid to certain animals, as the iguana in Bonny, the shark (to which children used to be sacrificed) in Old Calabar, points to ancient totems. Thus the Ashantee, Fantee, Wassau, Akim, Assin, and Aquapim tribes are bound together not only by a community of languages, which Bowdich noted as going beyond the similarity of the ancient Greek dialects, but are just as closely embraced by the bond of a common tribal organisation, which is indicated by legend as a primitive possession of these tribes, and confirmed by the present conditions. There are twelve stocks, the members of which are distributed

promiscuously throughout these tribes, however remote they may be in situation, or politically separate. These are the Aquonna (buffalo), Abrotu (corn-stalk), Abbradi (plantain), Essonna (wild cat), Annona (parrot), Yoko (red earth), Inchua (dog), Appiadie (servant), Chuidam (panther), Aguna (grove of oil-palms), Dumina and Abadie (of uncertain meaning). In the individual stocks we find Ashantees beside Fantees, Akim people, or members of other tribes. Perhaps, however, the basis is not in all cases common descent, but the "servants" may have been a subject class, as the oil-palm clan, into which the Portuguese are adopted, embraces the trading people. The Aquonna, Essonna, Inchua, and Chuidam stocks are regarded as the oldest and noblest. In Angola, whoever kills a crocodile has to give up the gall-bladder to the nearest chief, who buries it with quick-lime in an out-of-the-way spot. In Loango, leopard's gall is also held poisonous, and in Dahomey the leopard is a kind of sacred beast. Dahomey and Ashantee tribes are called after animals like the Bechuana tribes; and this connection with living nature descends to the very smallest animals. On the Gold Coast, Buchner often found clay dolls representing a man and a woman laid at the foot of termite-mounds, and surrounded with particular roots, charcoal, etc.

The ordeals of the West Africans have obtained a tragic celebrity on account of their wide diffusion and the employment in them of powerful poisons. In administering an oath, the priest causes the parties to drink the bitter water, which will cause the death of the perjurer. On the Lower Congo this bitter water contains an extract of *nkassa*-bark, a very powerful cardiac poison. The plant seems to belong to the *Asclepiadaceæ*. Its very irregular operation can only be explained by the fact that the vomiting excited by it occurs so quickly that the stuff is often thrown out of the stomach at once. At the first sign of convulsions in the victim the opposite party would often fall upon him and hack him to pieces with knives. The Angola tribes run a sharp stake through the corpse. The ordeal is reinforced by an oath, taken only on this occasion, and applying either to the swearer's family or to the whole people. To prevent suicide by swallowing the tongue, the Dahomeyans pierce the cheeks of prisoners from the back, or tie a wooden cross over the tongue.

At these adjurations, and on other great occasions which require the co-operation of the priests, magic rites are performed with portions of human bodies, which imperceptibly pass into cannibalism. Serpa Pinto mentions a festival which the chief of Bihé now and then organises, at which the headless bodies of five men are eaten, being roasted or boiled together with beef. To the old Portuguese, to Zucchelli, and others all the inhabitants of Benguella and Angola appear as actual cannibals, even the wooden forks for human flesh being referred to; but the "Giaghi" are especially noted as such. They were known by their shaven scalps, their filed teeth, and three scars on the cheek. Anthropophagy is also ascribed to the Kissamas, south of the Coanza. It has often been asserted, but never proved, that the people on the Lower Congo were cannibals; but it is certain that there are still man-eaters further in the interior of West Africa. Even where no strictly-attested cases of cannibalism can any longer be recorded among these peoples, cannibal customs point to its continuance in secret.[1] We may recall how, among the Cameroon tribes, a new chief, when entering upon the

[1] [The recent work by an officer in the service of the Congo State leaves no doubt as to its widespread existence.]

inheritance of his precedessor—usually his father,—does not count as having fully attained his position until he has killed one or more men, either openly or by stealth, and distributed parts of their bodies, even the entrails, among his kinsfolk and the neighbouring chiefs. The skulls of unlucky victims are preserved to be paraded at commemorations, to adorn their graves, or to serve as drinking cups. Among the Mpongwe a couple of chests of lime or ochre are kept in miniature houses, between or behind the dwelling-houses. With these substances the owner rubs his skin as a protection against dangers whenever he goes hunting, fishing, or on a journey. Usually, however, the chests contain also the skulls of ancestors or relatives. If a guest comes to the house, the owner scratches a little earth off a skull and mingles it with the food that he sets before him, with the idea that he will be more friendly, if a little of an ancestor's substance has passed into him. Human skulls and jaws are among the most popular ornaments.

Secret societies play a great part on the Upper Guinea coast as well as in the south. We meet with them even in old traditions of the Bundas, who put an end to the devastating cannibalism by means of the league of the buffalo-hunters, called by the Portuguese *empacasseiros*, from which a new nation grew. In the last century the league of the Aboni, Ogboni, or Egbo, played an important part in Benin. Its members were admitted by drinking human blood, and bound by fearful oaths. It forbade the introduction of any stranger on pain of death, and exercised a regular reign of terror by the death-sentences which its members executed without a word. We have an off-shoot of *niengo* customs in the *parra-parra* festival of the Duallas, when a series of tournaments takes place between two villages, the combatants appearing in the *niengo* costume, which protects them against any hostile treatment. It consists of a broad projecting girdle of dry palm-leaves, and a mode of dressing the hair in a single upright tuft. The contests take place under prescribed regulations, and are watched by seconds, who jump in at the slightest violation of the rules. Women, who are excluded from the men's leagues, form secret societies of their own; the female "freemasonry" of the *nyemba* forms a counterpart to the male *nda*.

The races of the West African coast, between the Hottentots and the inhabitants of the Great Desert, belong to the two great linguistic groups of negroes. From the mouth of the river Ngab, about 21° south, to the point where the fourth parallel of north latitude strikes the innermost corner of the Gulf of Guinea, dwell relations of the Bantus; from this point west to the Senegal, the varied series of "Soudan negroes." We have made acquaintance with the pastoral Ovaherero in the extreme south, the only one of the West African negro races that has carried cattle-breeding in the full East African fashion to the coast. We have crossed their northern boundary, which is also the southern limit of the agriculture henceforth predominant, and have in the Ovambo described the most southerly of the West African agricultural races. Both Ovambo and Ovaherero show intimate affinities with their eastern kinsmen; at the back of both, wide tracts are inhabited by Bushmen. Now we cross the Cunene, and find ourselves among peoples who, as far as their northern limit, show a sum of Central African characteristics. Tattooing meets us; leather clothing vanishes with cattle-breeding; agriculture makes its appearance together with a higher development of handicraft, already announced among the Ovambo, and embodied in the loom, in more careful

construction of huts, in finer work on the most divers articles, especially bows and arrows. This does not display itself freely till we go inland, being subject on the coast to the law of decay upon contact with higher culture. Presently, too, in Angola and on the Congo, we meet with larger political structures, which in part no doubt first came into existence under the influence of the active slave-trade.

Within the general relationship of the Bantu, a great dialectal affinity embraces the tribes of the Portuguese provinces of Benguella, Mossamedes, and Angola, and the inhabitants of the Lower Congo basin as far as the Dande. These are members of the Bunda group. They also have the name Angola, since in Angola Kimbunda has become the *lingua geral*. It is nearly three hundred years since dictionaries of it were published at Lisbon, and it was raised to the rank of the trading and missionary language throughout Portuguese West Africa. It is customary to distinguish the Bundas north and south of the Coanza. Along the whole coast disintegrating influences have much altered the negroes of this family. They have adopted Christianity, speak Portuguese or a mixture of it with Bunda, and call themselves Pretos; while applying the term Negros with a suggestion of contempt to those who have remained free. In the trade which radiates from Loanda and Benguella, Malange and Bihé, two groups are important; the Ambaquistas, originally the people of the Ambaqua district in the basin of the Lukalla, and the Biheños or people of Bihé on the water-shed between Coanza and Cunene, a kind of caste of traders, guides, and porters. Not only have the Europeans influenced them, but also the active Kabindas from the Lower Congo. who were formerly introduced in masses, and still immigrate; also, too, negro-slaves of the most various origin and blend, who have been brought or have made their way hither from Brazil; and lastly, immigrants, in no small number from Madeira and Goa, the latter called Canari as coming from the Canarese coast. The climate of Angola and Benguella makes a prolonged stay there and the establishment of a family difficult for pure Portuguese, and the Bunda and Kabinda half-breeds flourish all the more vigorously. Many negro customs betray their more distant origin, for example the *jus primae noctis* mentioned by Magyar and Lux, as offered publicly by poor girls in order to earn a dowry for their marriage; but in adapting himself to negro customs the Portuguese goes half way to meet them, and thus a much more intimate alliance between the two races has come to pass than in other African colonial territory. Since the slave-trade which depopulated Angola and Benguella ceased, the numbers have increased materially; and since the formal abolition of slavery in 1878, the cultivation of the mixed breed makes more rapid progress. In the southern colony, Mossamedes, the Portuguese element keeps itself purer in the more temperate climate; and Portuguese fishermen are active on the well-stocked coast.

North of the Cunene the Banhaneka and Bankombi form a number of small tribes, who trace their origin to the Upper Coanza, whence they are said to have been driven by the Banano, the people of the hills. Although they carry on chiefly agriculture, their whole life, to the point of their burial in an ox-hide, show traces of an intimate connection with their herds, such as points to the south. The notion of circumcision as an important ceremonial occasion belongs to them with the other Bundas. The Basimba or Simbeba live along the coast to the right of the Cunene. North of Mossamedes live on the coast the Bakwando and

Bakwisse, and in the mountains on the coast the Bakankala, to whom Nogueira assigns Bushmen characteristics, partly pure, partly mixed. Throughout Southern Angola generally smaller stature, lighter colour, broader faces, point to a strong admixture of those races whose now concentrated distribution further in the interior we have already had to mention. Next to them live a vigorous pastoral people, the Mundombe, whose hemispherical huts, leather clothing, and sandals strongly recall the cattle-breeders of the south. On the Upper Kubango we have already come across the name of the Ambuellas, the people dwelling further to the north, and are reminded by it of the strong movements in those races, a part of which may here have been pushed to the coast. Next come, west of the Libollas, the small dirty Kissamas, who are said to have been still cannibals in the 'forties, and now are salt manufacturers, purveying the bars of salt which are important in the trade with the interior. In spite of close intercourse with the Portuguese they still preserve a certain independence. Their dress combines leather and bark-cloth, and they plait their hair with alternate strings of beads and vegetable fibres. Lastly, beyond the Coanza we find the nucleus of the family, the true Mbunda, tall, teachable people, who formerly impressed Europeans by their military capacity, and now, under the name of Pombeiros (*pombe* = the bush, Portuguese, *sertao*) undertake bold trading expeditions. Closely akin to them are the Songos between the Coanza and the Kwango, and the Ganguellas who live further inland in the south.

The Bunda legends of an origin in the north-east, which is carried back to the sixteenth century, connect the races south of the Dande with the dwellers on the Lower Congo, across which, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, peoples from the interior—as alleged, from the neighbourhood of great lakes—had thrown themselves. Whoever examines the incessant movements of nations in the interior will find it natural that they might extend to the coast and fill wide territories with races of identical origin. One thinks at once of the Fan people, who within historical times have found a way to the sea at some places in the northern part of the region we are considering, and are trying to do so elsewhere. As might be expected, beneath the peculiarity of the dialect which connects the peoples between the Dande and the Rio del Rey, lie a number of ethnographic points of agreement which alike north and south of the Congo point to the east. Karl Ritter was long ago reminded of the Upper Nile tribes by the snake-skin covering of the Anziques' bows. The weapons of the Fans also point back across the basin of the Congo, and both in dress and hut-architecture there are further resemblances between the Upper Congo and the coast regions north and south of that stream.

Though the dwellers on the Lower Congo, alike the Mushicongo and Bacongo of the southern bank and the Mussorongo of the northern, and the Loango people beyond them, have not felt so deeply as the negroes of Angola the influence of European traders and missionaries, no true colonisation having here taken place, their independence has long been broken. The Congo empire, like every negro empire, is a mere political shadow, and the "King of San Salvador" has not even power over the neighbouring villages, where, as Wolff assures us, he dares not show his face for fear of a thrashing. Boma, at the mouth of the Congo, where Tuckey was sadly disappointed by the wretched huts of the 500 inhabitants, was once the greatest slave-market, visited especially from Liverpool. Remnants

of old plantations in the form of cotton bushes run wild, surrounded the place. But by that time the traces of European influence had become few in Noki, and no one knew anything of the peoples in the south or north, the "bush people" who brought the slaves. Here were found the first of the little independent chiefs, called *Chinu*, enthroned on lion and leopard skins upon which no man might step on pain of death; with the cross degraded to the indignity of a fetish.

Whether Congo with Loango and Loanda ever formed a great empire may be doubted; in any case the Portuguese here found disintegration into smaller states already an accomplished fact. The impracticability of a purely ecclesiastical mission was never more thoroughly shown than in the degeneration of Christianity on the Lower Congo. Fetishes hung with crosses were held sacred by the negroes, and nowhere was the ordeal by poison, here called *casca*-eating, so deeply implanted. The influence of the masses of slaves brought from the interior was naturally more potent here than elsewhere; perhaps the powerful and handsome figures, especially among the Mushicongo, may in part be traced to this admixture. Very dark, almost blue-black, negroes, with skins remarkably full of creases, inhabit some islands in the lower stream. North of the Congo are settled the Kabindas, the most industrious of the Congo tribes, whom one comes across in all the Portuguese coast-stations as far as Benguella, discharging the most various functions, especially that of clever boatmen. Nearly akin to them are the Mavumba, renowned as potters and smiths, to whom some assign a Jewish origin—Jews expelled from Portugal being alleged to have settled at São Thomé, and to have sent a branch this way. Loango, as a province of the Congo Empire, is said to have at one time extended to the Kwilu, and its capital, which now consists of a few *shimbeks* or negro huts and factories, to have numbered 15,000 souls. The Loango negroes, with the Kabindas, belong to the Bafiot group, nearly allied to the Congo tribes. Their three states on the coast have long vanished, and their Christianity has fallen into such decay that baptism is followed by circumcision. They have adopted few of the economic virtues of their neighbours to the south. On the other hand, as our general discussion of them shows, their life is still rich in curious old-fashioned customs.

A Kabinda. (From a photograph by Dr. Falkenstein.)

To the back and north of them the Western Bateke inhabit the dry, sandy, elevated region which forms the watershed between the Congo and the Ogowe, and the upper country of the Alima. The Lebai river, with its tributary the Lekona, may be taken as the extreme limit which the Bateke territory reaches to the north. Here the population is so sparse that one may often go a day's journey without coming across human habitations. The houses are built on a rectangular plan, the villages are small. The Bantu dialect of this part seems most to resemble that of the Upper Ogowe, as for instance the Aduma. The chief food and most

...p is manioc. Weapons are those of the peoples on the Upper ... simple African bow, arrows carried in quivers of hide with covers, ...ins, and a narrow rectangular shield, rounded at the corners. Battle ...ort swords with incurved heads are more rare; throwing knives are not

Types from the Loango coast. (From photograph [illegible])

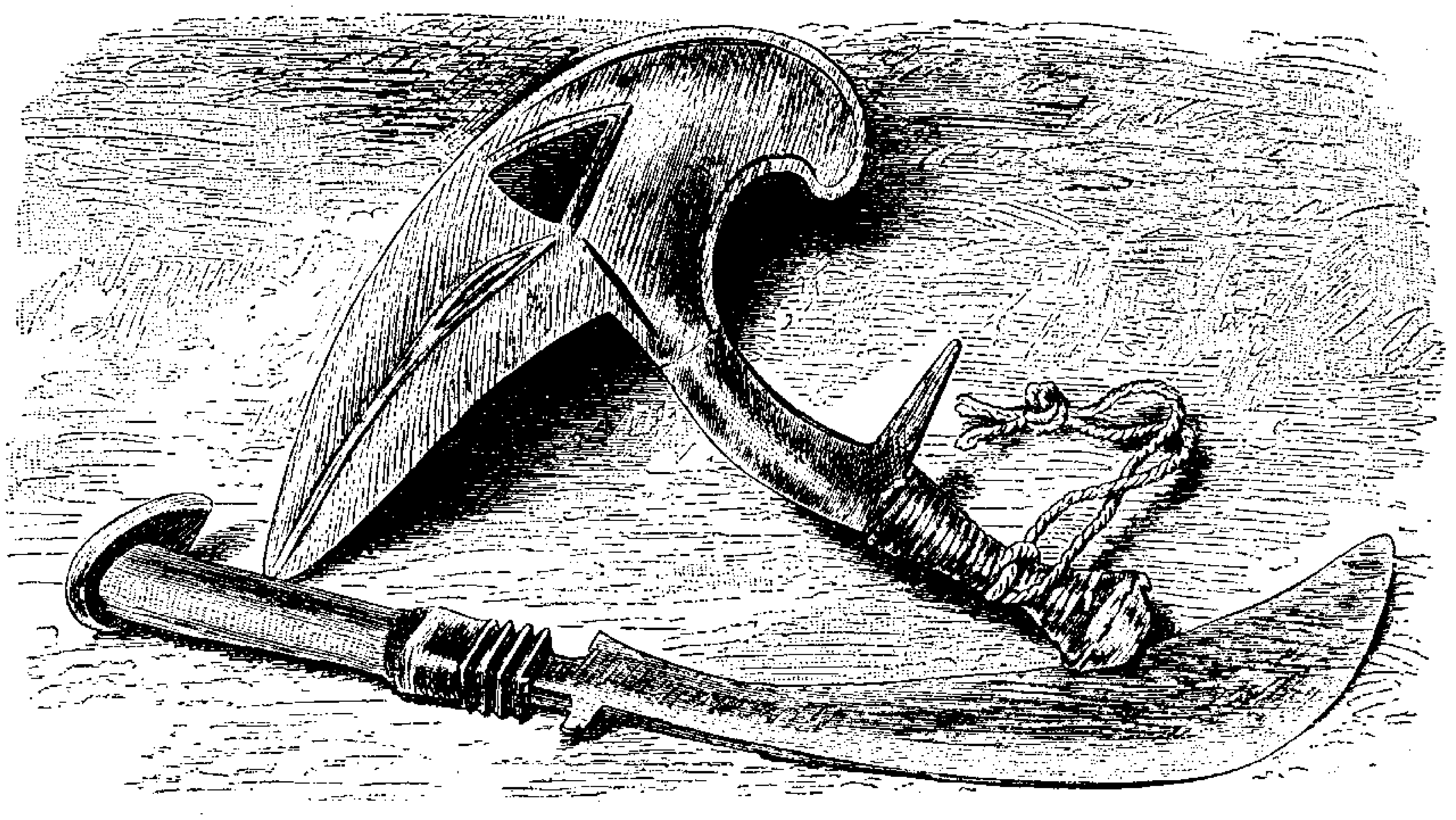
found. Beyond the Kwilu, after so many old races fallen into decay before reaching maturity, we find a younger people, the only one that in this wide region has exercised anything like political power, or in whose present position may ... at least the germ of a political formation destined to greater importance. These are the Fans, Fangs,[1] or Pahuin. They are at this moment the most dreaded race between the Niger and the Cunene. New as they are, their influence has

[1] Kund avers that he never heard the name pronounced otherwise than as [illegible]

been powerful. They have driven a number of peoples from their abodes, have taken their places and subjugated their neighbours. They alone have offered an enduring opposition to Europeans, of which the French can tell tales. Though their agreement, physically and intellectually, in language and in customs, with the surrounding Bantu tribes, excludes any fundamentally different disposition, their possession of a military system and better weapons is enough to make them appear to their neighbours as a more highly-organised race, since from the Gaboon to Brazzaville, Ballay tells us, all the natives, with the exception of the ever quarrelsome Pahuins, are peaceable and gentle. Almost naked, with front teeth filed to a point, frequently with what the French call a Mahometan shaven head, with lion and leopard skins for finery, never without a musket—it used to be bow and throwing-knife,—the short sword, copied from that of the Arabs, slung round the neck, they remind us strikingly of the Zulus, and form a contrast to the bow and spear-bearing negroes between the Cameroons, the Gaboon, and the Ogowe. With their warlike dances, their wild cries of menace and battle, they are an object of dread — as elephant-hunters, of admiration; and, where possible, of imitation. It may be called lucky that they have never yet attained to political consolidation, and now that the coast is everywhere closed to them by European occupation, and roads will soon have to be made through their territory, never will do so. They are split up into a mass of village sovereignties, which individually are not sources of danger—nor are internal feuds ever lacking. But they have undoubtedly gained some national feeling, one of the rarest characteristics in Africa, from a deeply rooted tradition. As though led by one idea, they press west and north-west to the coast, not merely as brutal conquerors, but colonising at the same time. This bond of union makes their progress steady and imparts an unusual permanence to their conquests. Whether in this conquering and colonising race we have a chip from greater masses which formerly surged toward the coast, whether the Fans are only a limited manifestation of military spirit in one stock, or, what is more likely, are sprung from a warrior-caste, the tradition as to a migration from the east is universal.[1] Except on the Ogowe, where they already occupy the coast, they have come nearest to it over against the little island of Eloby, where their first village may be seen on the Muni river, near the affluence of the Kongoa; then on the Ikuku river, where they are staying, it would seem for a time only, in the village of the same name, inhabiting a special quarter in the shape of a long dirty street. In Batta Land, Zöller heard that a stout walker would take six or seven days to reach the Fans' border; which, as negro marches are short, might mean sixty or seventy miles. Here again, however, they inhabit only temporary huts, which the owners of the land permitted them to build, for they often come down to the coast as porters. On the Ntembe, Crampel met with opposition from the Fans, and on its right bank they had already got near the coast in 1890. A certain mobility is a special feature in them, and is of advantage to their enterprises, since in Africa also political and mercantile agility go hand in hand. At any rate people are said to come to Batta who have already been on the Gaboon, the Muni, and the Ogowe. The Fans spread, however, not solely through their combination of military and commercial qualities, but also by reason of their rapid increase, female children being treated with consideration.

[1] [Some recent observers are inclined to identify them with the Manyema.]

The population settled beyond the steep slope from the highlands, which being thickly wooded is thinly peopled, close upon the interior plateau, is as far as the Sannaga in the interior of the Southern Cameroons territory, practically the same as that with which Crampel's and Brazza's travels south of the Ntembe have made us acquainted. Here again Fans lurk under the most various names—we give only those of the more important tribes mentioned by Kund—viz. Bane, Yaunde, Tinga, Bulei. This collective name is, however, as unknown to them as those of Mpongwe or Pahuin. They are tall powerful people of dark bronze colour, often with regular features, the men dressed in bark cloth, the women scantily covered with a banana-leaf in front and a reddish-brown tail of fibres behind, a costume



Fan knives. (Berlin Museum.)

fully recalling the Bongo or Azandeh women of the Upper Nile and Welle. The affinities of the Fans extend further north than their name. A characteristic as important as the absence of the bow, which is so highly developed among their neighbours to the east, appears no less among the Yaundes in the country behind Batanga, who are almost always seen with spears only. Not only in the dialects of various Cameroon tribes has it been held that a closer affinity with the Fans may be detected; a tradition of immigration from the south is found among the Kasyuas and Ibeas, Batanga people of the Southern Cameroons territory. The Ngambas again, settled on the verge of the highlands behind the mouth of the Kriby, have a similar view of their origin. They are indeed the nearest neighbours of the Bulei who have advanced in this direction from the Ntembe or Campos river, and undoubtedly belong to the Fans. North of them dwell the Bakoko, akin to the Cameroons people, in the country behind Batanga between the Sannaga and the Nyong, where they are very unevenly distributed through the primeval forest, to the verge of the coast, which they leave clear. South of the Nyong on the coast dwell the Batanga peoples Bapuko and Banoko, who equally say they came from the south. Kund got the impression that all the population west of the interior plateau could be traced to a recent immigration.

This strip widens to the north; and as even on the Sannaga and Nyong we found the population denser, so on the bay into which many rivers discharge to form the Cameroons river we meet with the Duallas, a trading people nearly allied to the Bakoko. They themselves say that they dwelt on the north-west side of the Cameroons peak. As the slave-trade was flourishing here at the end of the seventeenth century, it would seem that this brought them to the coast, where we first hear their name about that time. On the analogy of the Fans and other races of the interior who advanced to the coast, this process must have gradually followed the track of trade and colonisation. A deeper resemblance between these traders and warlike expansive tribes, especially in the display of courage and ferocity, perhaps also in their physiognomies, seems to favour a connection of this kind. Zöller thinks that the difference between the Fan and Dualla dialects may be compared to that between German and Dutch. When the Germans established themselves in the Cameroons the number of the Duallas was estimated at some 26,000. They were under numerous petty chiefs, who mostly ruled over only one village, while two greater chiefs, Bell and Acqua, appeared each as the leader, with many limitations, of one half of the people. Nearest to the Duallas, of the tribes dwelling towards the mountains, stand the Bimbias, and then the Bakwiri (bush folk), the most numerous of the mountain tribes, whose settlements lie almost too deep in the forest for much change; the largest being Buea, a village that can turn out 400 armed men. The Bakwiri are cut off from the coast by the people of Victoria who have come from Fernando Po. These immigrants belong to the Bubis of that island, an ethnographically poor people, driven into the interior by Spaniards and Portuguese. They are probably as little the aborigines of their island as are the people called Angolares, long the independent inhabitants of São Thomé, who are due to the wreck of a Portuguese slave-ship.

North from the Cameroons river one comes in a few days' journey, beyond the station of Barombi on the Elephant Lake, to the country, as yet untouched by trade either from inland or from the coast, occupied by the Batom and Mabum tribes on the Mango river. These still wear the bark apron, and are copiously tattooed with long scars on shoulders, back, and belly. They extract the upper incisor teeth. Among them dwell numerous slaves from the interior, the Bayongi, tall people, little tattooed, who like the Fans have their middle incisors filed sharp, and inhale tobacco-smoke through the hollow stalks of the *koko*-plant.

Beyond the Batom and Mabum, on the Katsena Allah river, come the Banyang, an industrious agricultural people. Their clean rectangular huts stand singly in the plantations, or, where the chief lives, arranged together in an oblong, the shorter ends of which are closed by assembly-houses. Among them cloths from the interior are found; bark-cloth is reduced to a belt or a pocket-handkerchief. North of the Sannaga, West Soudanese influences radiating from the Benue, decidedly prevail. Houssas come as far as this on horses; their cowries are found even further south. Blue and white burnouses of European and Soudanese stuff become ever more frequent; north of the Nyong one begins to find beehive huts and the cultivation of sorghum. Prettily worked bows, with strong suggestions of the Asiatic form, and huge shields of buffalo-hide, together with numerous spears, form the equipment. Turning south again, we find the Barondo and Bakundu, kinsmen of the Duallas, as the last Bantu tribes to the

south-east of the uninhabited frontier forest between the Old Calabar river and the Rio del Rey, which divides them from the first Eboe tribes.

The races of the northern and western Guinea coasts are bound together in the first place, as opposed to other negroes, by the negative feature of their contrast with the linguistic unity of the Bantus; but also by their distribution on the verge between the highlands and the sea, between the Moorish-Mussulman influences from the interior, and those of Europe and North America from the coast. Squeezed between the pastoral peoples and the sea, the tillers of the Guinea Coast, from Cape de Verde to the Niger, hold an outlying position which, for want of any use of the seafaring privileges of the coast, makes them just a mere fringe without power to create anything original. Now, whether politically or ethnologically, no idea can be formed of them apart from foreign influences which have become closely interwoven with their whole being, and of their origin only relics remain. The discovery of their coasts by the Portuguese is the most important epoch in the history of these peoples, and hardly less significant are those connected later with the Mussulman influence. It was in 1807 that "Moors" first made their appearance in Ashantee politics as suitors for aid. In 1816 they first came to Lagos. But in general European influence predominated on these coasts, if it nowhere reached far inland. The law of political development has caused a number of small coast-kingdoms to spring up as a sequel to trade; these came into relation with Europeans, and in order to satisfy the demand for slaves, sought to extend inland, and then gradually fell victims to the colonial extension that followed.

Passing from the Cameroons to the Niger, we first come to the Efiks. They have been visited by missionaries for some decades, and formerly had a reputation for cannibalism. Like the Akwas, who, exhausted by their migration down the Calabar, now live among them as Helots, they belong to the Eboe group. Many things testify to their arrival from the north and east, while their customs, their mode of building, and other things, are certainly influenced from the Niger. Members of the same great Eboe family, connected by community of speech, dwell from Old Calabar to Yoruba; especially the ruling tribes on the Lower Niger. The name has somewhat more meaning than several other African collective names. Formerly in America all slaves coming from the Niger and thereabouts were called Eboes; and the Eboe of trade, the *lingua franca* of middle Upper Guinea, is a dialect of the Lower Niger. In the Niger delta there are some *enclaves* of Eboe; but on the Noon river they speak Akassa, a branch of the Eyo or Iju; further east, Nempe or Brass, another branch of the same, to which traders and missionaries, as far as Bonny, have given a wide currency. After this comes the territory of Efik, which is widely spread in the interior, and arouses our interest as the transition to the Bantu of the Cameroons people which begins east of the Rio del Rey. From older reports we gather that much of these low swampy or sandy coasts, cut up by lagoons and water-courses, was little inhabited. Here, too, trade has clearly drawn people from the interior to the sea, and created genuine trading nations under the influence of the once flourishing slave trade. But even now, the tracts immediately bordering on the sea are empty, and trade begins where navigation for large vessels ceases. Tattooing and teeth-filing have almost disappeared. The former used among the Eboes to mark the strict differences of rank, which in the highest circles were also

marked by bands of bells round the knee. To-day it is usually among the Akassa people to mark the first-born by tattooing the forehead. Circumcision is confined to slaves, tillage is confined to small gardens, and fishing is carried on. Only trade, in which the Bonny people and the Efiks rank as masters, is pursued with enthusiasm. Hutchinson relates that even in 1857 a slave was solemnly committed to the sea, on the voyage to Old Calabar, in order to secure or hasten the arrival of European ships.

From the Niger to the Volta extends the flat Slave Coast, the approach to which is rendered difficult by a mighty surf, while the numerous lagoons behind the dunes facilitated the trade which gave the coast its name. Here two groups of people come down to the sea. Starting from the east, we come to the Yorubas, to whom the inhabitants of Benin, the most easterly of the larger negro states of the Guinea coast, are nearly akin, though differing in language. We find their belongings in smaller groups in the Niger district, and inland as far as Dahomey. Egba, Jebu, Ketu, Eyo, are some of the names attached to this family of languages, known collectively as Nago. Negroes externally, though already somewhat dignified by Soudanese influence, they are in character and tastes much more like the more elevated races of the interior than the coast-negroes. Active, industrious, capable agriculturists and manufacturers, liking to collect in large towns, as Ibadan with 150,000 souls, Ilorin with 100,000, Oyo with 80,000, they recall the Houssas, who have obviously had great influence over them, but their manners are gentler. In many descriptions they are shown as a pattern people. Since the Fulbes founded Ilorin in 1830, they have come under their influence; and in the north, on the Massa, which flows into the Niger opposite Rabba, they come in contact with the Segu territory. On the coast, Benin was once the most important country of this group. It penetrated into the Niger delta, and was looked on as the remnant of a great inland state between the Calabar and the Volta. Its inhabitants, who fattened dogs for eating, and bore various tattooed tribal marks, drove the most active trade in slaves in all Upper Guinea. Hence they show traces of the Portuguese language and of Christianity. Further west lies Lagos, the great centre of European influence and trade on the coast, on an island near Badagry, the old metropolis of the slave-trade, where, as late as 1830, Richard Lander, to prove the innocence of his intentions, drank the cup of poison, fortunately without effect. Lagos, owing to the afflux from the interior, becomes every year more and more the rendezvous of the black Mussulmans, who are here simply lumped together as Houssas; they have increased nearly thirty-fold in the last twenty years.

The old kingdom of Whydah once stretched from the Volta to near Lagos. On the land side it bordered on Dahomey. In 1723 Ardrah, formerly united with Whydah, and in 1727 Whydah itself, were subdued by Dahomey. Later, the chief trading place was Ayuda; both are now in French possession. West of this Dahomey comes down to the sea. The way to its capital, Abomey, lies through the ruins of Allada, 200 years ago one of the greatest towns in West Africa. On the Ogoon, which falls into the sea east of this district, stands Abbeokuta, the remarkable free city of the Egbas; one of the largest inland towns in Africa. Its population has by some been estimated at 120,000, while its outer walls are nearly 20 miles in circumference. The town was founded on this spot in the 'twenties by a number of negroes who had escaped from the slave

caravans; but its nucleus bears the name of the old Egba capital Ake. It may be regarded as the most outlying of the Yoruba towns, which are like it in composition, and quite similar externally in irregular agglomeration.

About the Volta is grouped a conspicuous family of West African negroes, the Tchi or Volta group, comprising the Tchi, Akwa, Gan, and Avatime branches of language. It extends inland as far as the Niger. First, west of the Ogoon, dwelt the great race of the Ewes, Efes, or Asighehs, who are held to be immigrants from the north-east, in the neighbourhood of the Niger. The Mabis are said to speak the purest dialect in that part; beside theirs, the Dahomey and Krepi branches are to be distinguished. The Ewes are a not very dark variety of the Negro, of good stature. They were once in great favour as slaves, owing to their intelligence, courtesy, and cleanliness. Returning from Portugal and Brazil, where they went by the name of Minas, they have gained great influence on the coast; while conversely they transferred their heathen customs, and particularly their *Vaudoo* or fetish priests, to America. The Fons, known since the seventeenth century as Dahomeyans, are the most important branch of this race historically. Their state, until its collapse in 1893, rigidly centralised, and in many respects, especially as to the trade and commerce of its inhabitants, well administered, at the same time strictly exclusive, resembles that of Ashantee in the divine honours paid to the king, the "Cousin of the Leopard," and in the waste of human life; its most famous peculiarity being the Amazons, who form the king's guard.

In the Togo highlands, between the coast-strip and the Volta, resides a dense population of the unwarlike, industrious, Krepi tribe of the Ewes, who in addition to a carrying trade, to weaving, pottery, and smith's work, carry on a somewhat flourishing agriculture, the staple of it being the growth of maize and yams. From the Upper Volta onwards, cattle-breeding is general; herds of 100 cows, which are milked daily, are not uncommon. The fact that cheese is made testifies to the Soudanese origin of cattle-breeding here. Just inland from the coast the population is so dense that with a bad crop famine is inevitable. Every patch of ground is carefully utilised by dint of weeding and rotation of crops; land fetches an exaggerated price, and in some places the sale of it is a capital offence. When the hill-country is reached, in place of these peaceful industrious people appear bolder more swaggering figures, who impressed L. Wolf "in their appearance and demeanour as more like savages than the dwellers on the Congo up to Leopoldville, or the Angolans as far as the Kwango." Agriculture ceases to flourish, and with it population, which may have been 40 or 50 to the square mile, grows less dense. Slave raids from Ashantee,—the effects of specially devastating inroads between 1869 and 1873 are not yet overcome,—have here produced a solitude. Kling went two days' journey from Bismarckburg to Kapu through empty country. There are no doubt large villages which testify to a brisk traffic, and even settlements without agriculture, laid out merely for market and customs purposes; but those in power often try to gain the profits of trade by oppression and caravan-plundering.

Adeli, a district in the hill-country of Togo, near the coast, has an influence owing to powerful fetishes, for which a regular cult is established in the famous sacred place Pereu. Here the neighbouring tribes bring their disputes, and respect the decisions given. Kebu and Baposso are the nearest neighbours of Adeli, and to the north it touches the little country of Tinne. Islam, which has

advanced its missionaries even to the low coast-country, and to which nearly all the chiefs and persons of rank in the Volta district adhere, has an important centre of its own in Salaga, not far from the Upper Volta. Owing to its position, Salaga is the meeting-point of the roads from Segu, Banjagara, Timbuctoo, Say, and Kirotashi, and owing to the wise policy of its sovereign, one of the most influential marts of the West Soudan, especially for slaves, of whom 15,000 change hands yearly. It is at the same time one of the most irregularly-built and dirtiest of towns. Kling assigns it 6000 huts; Binger, at least 6000 inhabitants. South-east of Salaga lies Krakye, a trading-place with its lively Houssa town, Kete. Further north live the poor and savage Grusis, who let their women go naked—an isolated people who have been made so shy and suspicious by the slave-raids that it is hard to get through their country. Here occur bows with strings of bast, knives with guards to the hilt, and fighting-rings.

West of the Volta we enter the Gold Coast territory, where, as the first great racial group, we meet with more Tchi peoples, whose branches, Fantees, Assims, Akims, Wassaws, Dankiras, extend to the Tanu. European colonies attached themselves in great numbers to the most numerous native states, without gaining as much influence as at other points of Guinea. As early as the sixteenth century, came in, it is said, from the Niger, the Intas, a race capable of founding states, who set up in Upper Guinea powerful states, especially Ashantee, which for some time embraced nearly the whole Gold Coast, with country a long way inland. In spite of the difference of the dialects, which are spoken in Accra and Aquapim on the east of the Gold Coast, the Accras agree with the Intas in circumcising, and are reckoned with them by the Fantees. The Brongs or Potosos (barbarians), who have been driven into the hills to the north-east of Ashantee, also belong in language to the Tchi group. According to their own traditions, the Ashantees are a decided race of conquerors; and in the judgment of Europeans they are among the best breeds of Guinea—intelligent, industrious, and courageous. They came to their present abode from a country nearer the sea, and founded their empire, subduing the western Intas, and some smaller peoples. Bowdich thinks it probable that their emigration included a number of discontented families, who then attached themselves to their country of origin, and that they came from the south-east, where towns like Dumpassi, and others of considerable size, formerly existed. Some accounts point to repeated emigrations. The leader of the emigration is called Si Totoo—the prefix Si recurs in the royal family of Ashantee as often as Yunana in that of Dagomba—the national hero, who lost his life in a fight with the Akims, and whose name is still used to swear by in Ashantee. To him is referred the foundation of Coomassie. Extraordinary things are related of his accomplishments. The neighbouring kingdom of Duabin was founded at the same time by a sister's son of this hero, Boitinne by name. This was in firm alliance with Ashantee, and was at first perhaps the most considered of the two. Boitinne took possession of Duabin, the largest of the existing towns, while it was left to Si Totoo to build Coomassie. All this took place early in the eighteenth century. Si Totoo's successor laid the neighbouring countries of Gaman, Kong, and Dagomba under tribute. Wassaws, Assims, Aquambas, and Aquapims were subdued later; even Accra, though called a free city, came under the protection of Ashantee. Since the end of the last century, during which the Akims alone are said to have risen eight times against the

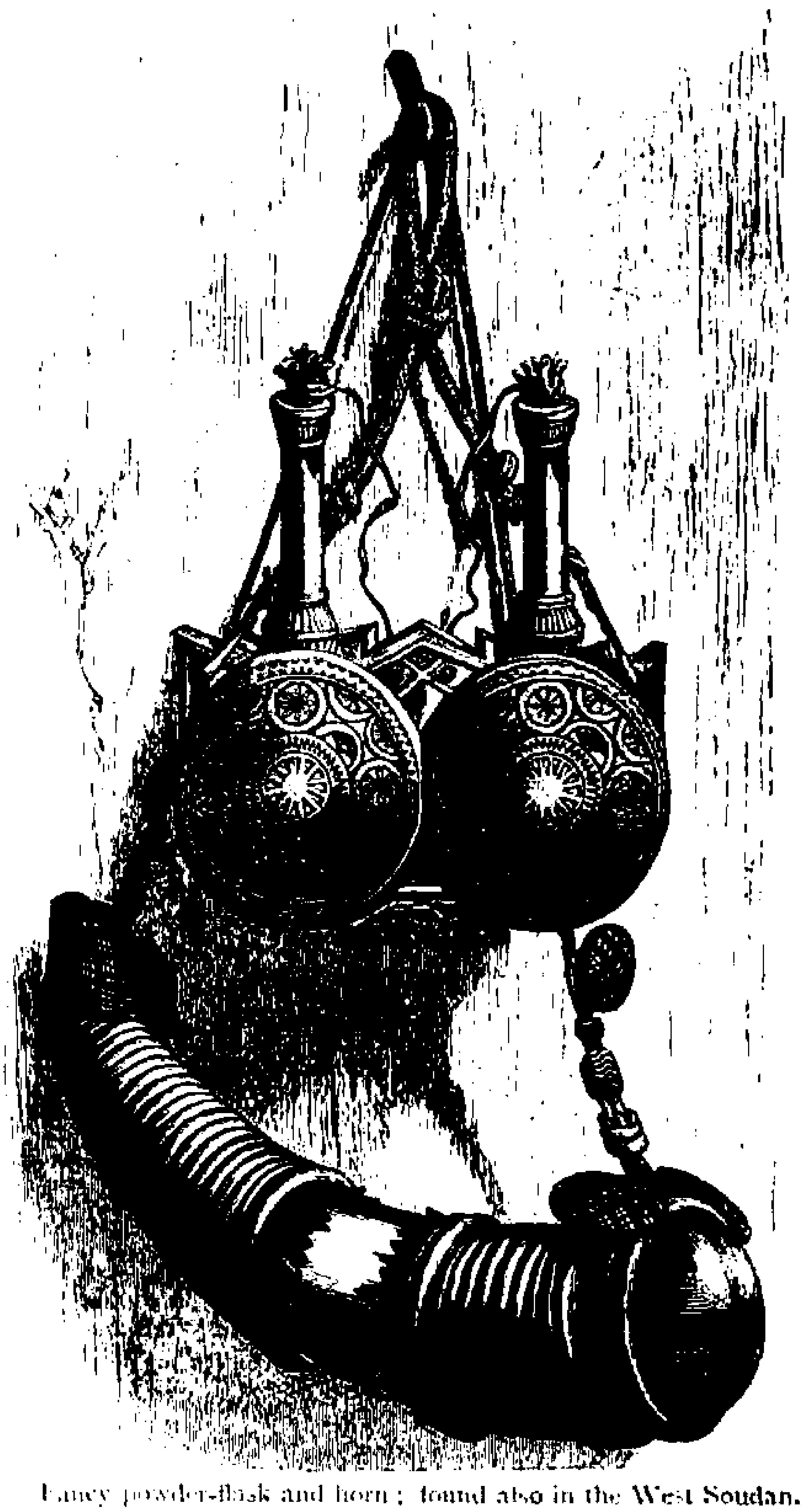
[illegible]quests have crumbled away bit by bit. To-day Ashantee, [illegible]500 square miles, to a fifth of itself, forms only the back [illegible]tern Gold Coast. Through the opening of the independent [illegible]bo, it has lost [illegible] the carrying [illegible]ast, and there- [illegible]ower that it was [illegible]ndon to say that [illegible]mand was only [illegible] radius of 12 [illegible] capital. Quacco [illegible] sovereign, had [illegible] English governor [illegible]ernal disputes. In [illegible]uccessor, Prempeh, [illegible] for breach of treaty, [illegible] resident estab- [illegible]oomassie.

[illegible] Ivory Coast philo- [illegible]guish two groups of [illegible] the Mande, includ- [illegible] Pessi, and Kosso; and [illegible] including Bassa, Kroo, [illegible] or Deh. Older geo- [illegible] speak of the small [illegible] of Bassa on the west [illegible] the River Issini, the [illegible] of Issini on the same [illegible] on the sea, with its [illegible] Asoko, and Ghiomere [illegible] and the space of [illegible]nia Mountains. The [illegible] the bad people," given [illegible] coast west of Cape [illegible] which the Grain [illegible] on beyond the San [illegible] River, must point to [illegible] state of things.[1] Yet, [illegible] independent dis- [illegible]ken of. A power- [illegible] Kroomen, live in [illegible] half of this coast, [illegible]own Avikoms or [illegible] the eastern. These do good service as trade-intermediaries and

A Kroowoman. (From a photograph [illegible])

[illegible] which in old French maps appears as "Cote des Malegens," [illegible] the Spanish or Italian, with "Malagnete," an early name for the "grains of paradise" [illegible], which formed the chief article of export. (I am indebted to Miss Kingsley [illegible] [illegible].—TRANSLATOR.)]

carriers, and drive a yet larger trade in their own products, [illegible] The Kroos[1] or Grebos, who live to the east and west of Ca[illegible] become one of the most important peoples of this side, on[illegible] excellent sailors and artisans whom they supply to European [illegible] trade. Strangely enough, they are not among the more nobly-[illegible] their physiogno[illegible] coarser than th[illegible] neighbours, the V[illegible] become civilised [illegible] ence of the neare[illegible] and devote them[illegible] triously to man[illegible] farming. But their [illegible] frame is compact, a[illegible] their demeanour is [illegible] ing, and their love [illegible] upon which in their [illegible] they are active as fishermen and wreckers, proves their courage, since there is a dangerous surf on their coast. Without Krooboys in the stokeholes and holds of vessels, and in the warehouses of factories, West African trade is inconceivable. Not only do they travel along the coast in these capacities, but they have founded a whole series of settlements. Sierra Leone, Grand Bassa, Monrovia have their Krootowns. As the slave trade formerly spared them for the sake of their utility, lawful trade now enriches them; they are well-to-do, and will extend yet farther. The Veis and Bassas also have, of late years, gone out as labourers, and have, like the Kroomen, worked on the Congo Railway and the Panama Canal.


Fancy powder-flask and horn; found also in the West Soudan. (Stockholm Collection.)

On the Grain or Pepper Coast, the geographers of the last century knew of the Folska or Quolcha tribes, and a kingdom of Mesurado. Though still inhabited by negroes, it now presents a very difficult picture. The Golahs, on the middle unnavigable course of the St. Paul's River, to whom, no doubt, the

[1] This name is wrongly derived from the English "crew." It was used in the seventeenth century in a way that makes it possible that the common form Krooboy was derived from Grebo. Curiously enough, "Crumanos," in Portuguese, denotes slaves; "Kroomen," in English, free labourers from Liberia.

old name referred, are now, cut off as they are from traffic, one of the roughest races—warlike, thievish, always armed. The lordship over them is claimed by the new people of the Liberians, consisting of genuine negroes, chiefly from America, of Congos, or blacks taken out of slave-ships. The two hold apart, the latter being distinguished as hunters. Since the first consignment of liberated slaves landed at Cape Mesurado in 1820—perhaps 30,000 were put ashore as years went on—thousands of negroes from the United States have immigrated, and have brought Christianity, the English language, and a varnish of European manners with an American flavouring. The free state of Liberia has been formed, and has encroached upon its black brethren—who once came down to the coast,—sometimes peacefully, sometimes with the same brutal force that is used by white men. We have already referred to the not very satisfactory results of this colony. The Gallinas, west of the Mannah River, are like the Veis, and those tribes of them which have pushed forward to the coast speak the Vei language. Inland dwell numerous smaller tribes, of which the Basi or Toma is perhaps the largest. To the north, in the district lying inland from Sherbro, follow the Mendis. Their country is, according to Menzies, divided into twelve large districts, containing towns of 3000 to 4000 inhabitants. On the coast, the English treaties of annexation, concluded in 1883, show only small chiefs. Probably it is with this tribe that the recent stories of man-stealing and cannibalism in the country at the back of Sherbro have to do.

We have spoken of an older settlement of freed slaves on the Sierra Leone coast. Here lived once the Timene and Ballom tribes, both of powerful, sometimes handsome negroes, with features getting more like the nobler Susu type than that of the southern tribes. The Timenes have split the Balloms into a northern and a southern half, and their distribution seems to point to an advance here also from the interior to the coast. One part dwells about Sherbro, the other reaches to the estuary of Sierra Leone. Here, in 1787, some English philanthropists obtained the peninsula of Sierra Leone from the Timenes, and settled fugitive slaves, or such as had been taken out of slavers. To-day, this colony, which has spread over the whole space from the French possessions to Liberia, harbours a most curious mixture of races. Thence come the "Sierraleoners," known all over the north of West Africa, who speak a "Nigger English," and do good work as artisans and tradesmen. They have also proved their quality in European expeditions. Freetown makes an incomparably better impression than Monrovia. Soudanese influence, expressed in the pleasing long knee-gowns of the women, and in the number of 4000 Mussulmans in Freetown alone, has, no doubt, more than the variety of population to do with this superiority.

BOOK V

THE CULTURED RACES OF THE OLD WORLD

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. MODES OF LIFE AMONG RACES OF THE OLD WORLD

The two great contrasts, nomadism and settlement—The persistence of culture—Its natural basis—Regions of nomadism and rest—The belt of culture.

In the following chapters we travel over almost consecrated ground, where, for thousands of years, culture in its highest developments has abounded, till, from the south-eastern angle of the Mediterranean right away to the Pacific, one region of culture follows another, tracing a noble girdle. Bordering upon, and interpenetrating one another, prairie and arable land, in a temperate climate have here united their powers of fostering civilisation.

In whatever of force and effort permanently exists in, and affects, the races of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the nature of the land of the Old World bears a great share. Characteristics which, owing to the natural permanence of the external conditions, remain and are repeated, have been stamped upon the historic movements by those conditions at their outset, and in the direction taken by them. This fact permits us to conclude backwards from what is historically established to that which completed itself in the darkness of the past, because it was so of necessity. Nature's life repeats itself uniformly; the forces of progress and reaction are imperceptibly active in it, while races quickly come and go. Contrasts in the life of races thus possess, in their natural basis, the guarantee of permanence or repetition.

Just as the soil of the Old World is marked by the great line of a band of plateau, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bordered on either side by fertile mountains and lowlands, so there runs through all its history the struggle between nomad and settled, between herdsmen and tillers of the soil. These two hall-marks of higher culture were borne not only by different races, but have modelled great racial groups. In the coincidence of Aryans and Ural-Altaic races respectively with the great groups of settled and nomad peoples in West and Central Asia, the race-creating force of social conditions lies as in its primitive cause. At the same time, it is just in this connection that something lies which enhances the contrast of forms of culture. How much of the mode of life stamps itself so deep on the organism that the smallest particles of this can transfer what they have received to foreign germs, that is, become hereditary, we do not know. That it happens is probable. We see before us the great simplicity of the apportionment of functions in the historical life of the Old World, and draw our conclusion. Antiquity probably knew Aryan nomads; more recent times have seen only settled folk of this stock. On the other hand, even to-day, hardly a single Turkic stock

can be designated as settled, or even only half nomad. The Osmanlis can show the Yuruks near Broussa, and the Turcomans near Sivas; of the Persian Turks only the people of Azerbaijan are settled, while in the north they are still roaming after two hundred years. The Ersari on the left bank of the Oxus, the Yomuts south-west of Khiva are feeble half-nomads. Even the Usbeks bear many traits of people settled against their will, and the Kirghis Cossacks on the left bank of the Jaxartes have adopted half-nomad customs at a few points only. Constrained by poverty and harrowing limits, the Kuramas on the Chirchik have mixed with Sarbs and taken to agriculture, and the history of the semi-Cossacks of Tashkent seems to be the same. A fragment of the Kara-Kalpaks has devoted itself to agriculture, while the rest have remained nomad. Agriculturists, like those on the south coast of the Crimea, though called Tartars, have nothing to do with Turkish descent. The persistency of the nomad mode of life is one of the most striking phenomena in the life of Old World races. Scythians, Sacae, Huns, Turks, Mongols, meet us in different ages. The impulse of their greater princes towards cultivation, and the efforts of Christian missionaries, alike failed to produce a deep influence; the former aroused discontent, the latter open opposition. Where no compulsion was exercised either through subjugation, which was seldom permanent, or through the only effective means, geographical enclosure, the nomads amalgamated but slowly with the settled folk; and where they did it, they always remained the fighting part of the nation, reserving to themselves the sovereignty, but as a warrior caste. Thus the Arabs appear in North Africa and Western Asia, or the Mongols in the North and East of the Old World, as far as the middle of India. A policy of dispossession and colonising, consciously carried out for centuries by the greatest power of the Old World, China, a task shared in later times by Russia, has only in our own time succeeded in winning any soil from the nomads, and decisively weakening their power; but the nature of those who remain outside on the steppe is that of the old Hyksos and Hiungnu.

The natural conditions of agriculture are broader and more various; but it long remains fast-rooted in the soil which it has once won. Its chief characteristic is constancy to the soil. In America, why did not California, in many respects more favourably furnished, take the place of Mexico? Why, after centuries of intimate contact, has Nubia not become a piece of Egypt? It is a great lesson of history that culture holds fast to the soil where it once is, however much the stream of races may pass over it, or else that it returns after a short flight. Agriculture makes a dense population; and dense populations are always more stationary. No doubt there are spaces of the earth the nature of which not only invites man to a stay, but by a certain regularity in all its operations tranquillises his whole being, keeps it in limits, and thereby makes the steady part of it predominate. Historians have noticed how, in the words of Curtius, "Euphrates and Nile year after year offer the same advantages to the dwellers on them, and regulate their employments, the steady monotony of which makes it possible for centuries to pass over the land without any material alteration in the established conditions of living; culture sticks in the valley of the Nile like a mummy in its coffin." Memphis, Rome, Athens, ever rebuilt anew after destruction and decay, symbolise this feature of permanency, which is only partially rooted in the value assigned to favourable natural conditions. An indefinable breath that passes over consecrated spots, revives and refounds. Nothing else could have made Jerusalem rise ever

again; nothing else have permitted the often-destroyed Ilium to have been rebuilt over Scamander upon its charred ruins. It is the same feature which has constantly recalled to life towns like San Salvador and Mendoza, at the most dangerous earthquake-centres.

Agriculture, however, grows not in rest but in labour; it needs stimulus and shocks, which require to come from without, all the more that in the nature of peaceful labour lies the tendency to seclusion. But next to countries which invite to repose lie others which, by their inhospitality, incite to wandering. And so the impulse to a separate development lies side by side with that to combination and amalgamation with other peoples. The former are to be sought chiefly in well-fenced fertile lowlands, or on plateaux which can maintain a copious population, or in broad mountain-valleys—in districts, that is, which allow of comfortable life, and easily-got food, and are yet not narrow enough to check the most moderate impulse to expansion. The latter we may expect to find in less fertile lands, where either the sea or limitless plains are everywhere within reach, or else in rough mountain-countries, which will feed only a few inhabitants.

The regions of culture, so far as they are continuous, form, beside the belt of nomadism, a comparatively narrow zone which only attains any breadth in Europe and the extreme east of Asia, where a varied configuration has allowed of tranquil development and a powerful diffusion of influence. This latter function was much earlier performed by the countries to the east of Asia than by those of Western Europe, which, indeed, were only linked to the zone of culture some thousand years later. In Oceania and America we meet with traces of a Pacific centre of diffusion on the shores of Eastern Asia. But between east and west, lands cut off from the sea, and thus deprived of the secure prop to freedom given by its vicinity, lie in relations of close interchange with the stifling surging mass of the inland races. Here is shown the connection between the independence of the individual districts of culture and the development of their culture. South Arabia and Syria, two narrow fringes to the nomad region of Arabia, have never attained for any long period to an independent culture of any importance in face of the encroachments of the nomads. Mesopotamia and Persia were more fortunate, not without reliance on each other. The older Assyrian culture rose in the northern part of this territory. The tranquil part of India is to the east, especially in the district of the Ganges; while the west was the field for nomadic inroads. Yet here, at the same time, the impetus was given to the display of power and the formation of great states. In Further India, again, the seats of culture were Burmah and Siam, far remote from the new Central Asiatic elements ever overflowing the teeming north.

Was it always so? We can hardly doubt that the extension of these pastoral races, who, from the beginning of history, have filled so great a part of Asia and Africa, and forced the more civilized agricultural races to an incessant conflict, had much to do with their disintegration. Their great preponderance in area is, perhaps, comparatively recent; it certainly is so in North Africa, where horses, and probably cattle also, were imported from Asia. That era in the world's history which immediately preceded the beginning of the historical period perhaps saw a decrease in the spread of these elements hostile to the higher culture, and a more connected broadening of culture among sedentary races. The conformity of the development of culture in the most remote parts of the Old World cannot

anyhow be understood, save on the assumption of an intercourse once more active, if only by way of islands and chains of oasis.

By the fact that henceforward we are to deal not with tribes but with states—often powerful states—we are reminded that nomadism is not entirely destructive as an opponent of sedentary culture. In the military character of the nomad lies a great state-creating power, which declares itself, perhaps, even more plainly than in the great Asiatic states ruled by nomadic dynasties and armies, such as the Turkish rulers of Persia, the Mongol and Manchu conquerors and administrators of China, the Mogul and Rajpoot states of India, on the border of the Soudan, where the blending of the elements, once hostile, then combined in peaceful co-operation, has not proceeded so far. Here may be seen, more clearly than elsewhere, how the effects of the stock of nomads in promoting culture do not proceed from peaceful activity in culture, but are, in the first instance, the efforts of warlike people to injure peaceable people. Their significance lies in the talent of nomads for energetically binding together the easily-disintegrable sedentary races. This does not prevent their being able to learn much from their subjects, as the Romans learnt from the Greeks, the Germans from the Romans, the Turks from the Tajiks and the Slaves. Thus, the Bassa and Affa tribes are unsurpassed in making mats and table-ware; the Musgu huts are better than those of the Bornu people; Baghirmi, weak and permeated with old indigenous elements, provides craftsmen, tillers of the soil, culture-bearers in general, to the warlike expansive Wadai; and the Fors in Darfour are ahead of their Arab lords in agriculture and handicrafts. But what these industrious and clever people have not, is the will and the force to rule, the military spirit, and the feeling for political order and subordination. For this reason the desert-born lords of the Soudan stand over their negro peoples as the Manchus over the Chinese. Thus is fulfilled the law which holds good from Timbuctoo to Pekin, that political structures arise with most advantage in the rich agricultural lands bordering on wide steppes, where the higher material culture of sedentary races is forcibly drawn into the service of energetic military steppe-dwellers with the capacity for ruling.

§ 2. CULTURE

The conditions of the growth of culture—Labour, agriculture, settlement—Increase of population—How culture travels—Freedom and fettering of the spirit—Science—Semi-culture—Writing and tradition—Decay of culture—Beginnings of culture—Stone remains—Ancient Egypt—Asiatic connections—China and the west.

IN regard to the growth and existence of culture, the condition holds good that culture is promoted by whatever fixes the movable human being; and the thing that most obviously has this effect is fertility of soil combined with a tolerable climate. The fixed man applies to nature a measure quite other than that applied by the man of fleeting abode; he asks, "Where have we the guarantee of a permanent stay?" Speaking of the Chaco, Dobrizhoffer says: "The Spaniards look upon it as the rendezvous of all wretchedness; but the savages, as their promised land and their Elysium." The Europeans who made their way to America, did not begin by setting up tents and making pasture-grounds on the

[illegible] built houses and cities of stone. Cortes conquered Mexico in [illegible] that year was laid the foundation of the stone cathedral; which looks [illegible] meant to stay. At that date mankind had long learnt on what soil [illegible] successfully take root. Mexico alone, with its plateau growing [illegible] Castile, received the honourable name of New Spain. In the warm [illegible] climate, and on good agricultural soil, it was hoped that a scion of [illegible] Spanish culture would most speedily take root. Thus with a deep, almost [illegible] knowledge of the necessity for a soil favourable to tillage, culture spread over the New World.

The material life of the peoples freed itself earlier than the spiritual from the

Japanese agricultural implements. (Munich Museum.)

bonds in which it had been held by indolence, insecurity, lack of necessaries, and of intercourse. A great list of inventions form the basis of what we call semi-culture. Weapons and tools of compound construction, like crossbows, removable armour, harpoons, ploughs, harrows, carts, drills, potters' wheels, rudders, sailing and outrigged boats, are found far down in the lower stages. They all involve increased labour, and labour gives them their value. Jacquemont prophesied that Spanish America within the tropics would relapse to its condition before 1492 "It will become a land without population, without wealth, because it can do without labour." Culture has ever retrograded where labour has slackened. The saying, "labour ennobles," is universally true; labour has created the nobility of mankind. The most laborious of the semi-cultured races, the Chinese, stands in every respect highest among the peoples of Asia. After labour itself, division of

labour is unquestionably the most important condition of progress in culture; and it resides primarily in the organisation of the uniform crowd according to social functions.

Early in our first volume we referred to the intimate alliance between culture and agriculture; its significance for the cultured races remains to be spoken of. From Japan to Egypt it affords the basis of the food-supply, and is in such esteem that the plough was not deemed unmeet for the hand of the emperor. The salvation of tilled land from the influx of nomads is the aim of endless fights between tillers and herdsmen. The efforts of civilised states are directed to the gaining of an independent food-supply for their people, and being indebted to no one for it. In China the highest praise given to an emperor is that he fed his people in peace. Everywhere the better tillage of the ground is what most marks the agriculture of the cultured races. Thus we get rotation of crops, manuring, terrace-cultivation, irrigation, the plough, the harrow. These implements obviously indicate a boundary line in culture. The plough especially denotes a different economical system, the large farm with slaves and draught cattle; it becomes necessary as soon as large areas are brought under tillage. In Eastern Europe the steppe-country still possesses heavier ploughs and knows the use of them better than the forest-country. But among all races which have the plough, spade-husbandry, gardening, is also found. The choice of plants also is different. Grain of all kinds, good for storing, predominates; rice in Eastern Asia, millet in India, wheat in Western Asia; also pulse everywhere. The banana, of which it may be said, as of the manna of the Israelites, "it tempered itself to every man's liking," and generally the whole family of fruits and roots, yielding easily and abundantly, but not highly nutritious, shows a marked decline. The varieties of grain come from the natural grass-lands of Asia; and the turf from which they spring was trodden by the progenitors of the ox and the horse.[1] The most important domestic animals and plants have been gained from the steppe. Generally the conditions of the Old World were the most favourable for the selection of cultivable plants and domesticable animals, and Asia could offer the more important kinds in largest number.

Compared with nomadism, agriculture is endowed with a share of the power of waiting which belongs in the greatest measure to the higher, the sedentary culture. The greater the capital of labour which is put into the ground which bears the crops, or the more toilsomely built huts and houses, temples and fortifications, the more firmly does the man cleave to it, first physically then mentally. Gunnar in the Njáls Saga refuses to leave his home now that "the cornfields are white to harvest, and the home mead is mown," and stays to meet his death. The nomad, even when he roams within narrow limits, has a new home at least in every season of the year; the farmer holds tight to his as the centuries go round. When the nomad puts 100 miles behind him between winter and summer, the tiller of the ground at most lays a new field to the old. Fixed frontiers come with a fixed station. How closely is the delimitation of landmarks bound up with agriculture! When Horace praises a country life, he does not forget the gods of the boundaries.

Agriculture serves the most immediate need, and leaves the creation of exchange-values and objects of luxury to cattle-breeding, hunting, fishing. It is

[1] [These conclusions can hardly be said to be universally accepted by palæontologists.]

cattle-breeding that first forms a capital; the herd is a travelling treasury. If agriculture produces the most important components of food, it does not provide each day for the day's consumption. The barn no less than the plough belong to agriculture, whether it take the form of the store-hut on poles, as found from the Niger to the Ainos, or the earthenware urn of the Kaffirs, or the baked underground vault of Arabia and Tibet. Field-crops ought not, like the millet of the negroes, to perish so soon that beer has to be brewed in order to utilise them. A peculiarity of all tropical cereals is that you cannot bake what we should call bread from them; only the *kissere* of the Arabs, leathery tough dampers that have to be toasted on an iron plate, can be made of the leavened dough. Bread in the European sense is indeed unknown to any Asiatic race. In place of it rice, in wet or at least moist preparations, appears as the staple of food in Eastern and Southern Asia. Yet however this may preponderate, there is no cultured race that eats rice and rice only. Meat and fish with other nitrogenous foods, for example beans, take their place beside it. Indeed among all cultured races the variety of foods is great, and the sense of taste appeals at a very early stage. A liking for insects and worms is no sign of low culture. It is not only among Arabised negro tribes that locusts, water-beetles, maggots, form much-prized dainties; the like is found in India and China. The Arab proverb says, "a locust in the hand is worth six in the air." Indeed the caprices of taste in ancient Rome and modern Europe have been known to go further.

The silently creative activity of culture is not measured by increased mileage, but by the growth of the number which can live permanently in a narrow area. On rich soil and with vigorous labour populations grow dense, and this is what culture needs. The great facts of the spread of mankind over the earth, in greater and less density, stand in cause and effect in the closest connection with the development of culture. Where the population is thinly scattered over wide regions, there culture is low. In the Old World the steppe-zone is everywhere thinly peopled, while the countries round the Mediterranean—Egypt, Southern Arabia, India, China, Japan—are thickly so. Six-sevenths of the population of the earth belong to-day to the lands of culture. China and India number 700 millions; a corresponding area of the Central Asiatic nomad region in Mongolia, Thibet, and Eastern Turkestan, scarcely a sixtieth of that. To the stage of culture corresponds the manner of its diffusion. When it becomes conscious of this, it also strives to disseminate itself. Europeans were allowed not only by their superiority in everything to do with culture, but also by the rapid increase in their numbers, to diffuse themselves rapidly over the earth; but it was by them too that the wish to leave no gaps in the land was raised to a principle of policy. Obstructive natives were simply shoved aside. Even a cruel "natural" race was never able to depopulate a country like Cuba in a few generations, and furnish it with a new population; but civilization managed it.

Agriculture occupies its territories otherwise than warlike conquest. The former covers tract after tract gradually but with permanent success; the latter stakes out a wide frontier. The former travels step by step, the latter flies swiftly over wide spaces. Hence the former is certain in its consequences, if only time be allowed it, while the latter is transitory, or at least incalculable. The average rapidity with which white men moved westward, until they made the mighty leap from the Missouri to the Pacific, was twenty miles a year. In three centuries

China has won for culture her territory outside the Great Wall, once the nursery of the most dangerous nomad hordes; and in the same time Russia has carried a band of culture all across Northern Asia to the Pacific. Before this slow but sure progress not only the "natural" races, but at last the nomads too, have to give way. The best land is withdrawn from them by agricultural colonies, the indispensable water comes into the possession of the settlers who therewith fertilise the sand and bind it together, the nomad is cast out of the grass-land into the scrub and thence into the desert. There he becomes poor and perishes. How and where he has accommodated himself to a settled life we shall have to show.

It is a law in the development of culture that the higher the point it has attained the more obscure are its beginnings. For it is always turning over its own soil, and their new life destroys the remains of the old upon which it has come into bloom. In the soil of the Old-World civilizations, stone implements alone testify of earlier conditions. But as we know not the age of the stone tools and weapons found in the earth, so we do not know the circumstances of those who used them. They give no clear answer to questions as to the age of culture. Living traces of a Stone Age at least make us acknowledge that the length of the interval and the height of the stage which divide the possession of iron from the use of stone must not be over-estimated. Even now, the Nubian Arabs find a stone knife specially suitable for circumcision, also for shaving the head. Pliny says that in Syria the balsam was obtained from the trees with knives of stone, bone, or glass, since the use of iron tools caused the stem to wither. Schweinfurth's view, that the small, hardly-used stone weapons found by Lenz and others in the Sahara, were only made in later times for religious or superstitious purposes, looks convincing. Discoveries of stone articles in India and Japan show that there the use of stone weapons and implements has not very long been extinct. Excellent stone implements in great numbers also lie in the soil of Egypt, so that we may safely assume a Stone Age for that country. The bridge from it to the epoch of culture passes through the dearth of iron which characterised ancient Egypt.

We are liable to over-estimate the effect of the metals in promoting culture. Peru and Mexico show how much was possible with a limited use of bronze and copper, and a total ignorance of iron. We undervalue the implements of stone, bone, wood, which preceded the iron, because we now see them only in the hands of poor and degraded natural races. The high level of social and religious development in Oceania was attained with an absolute lack of metals; and in the yet higher cultures of old Peru and Mexico metals were only ornaments, not the moving springs of progress. We must not therefore be influenced by the notion that the discovery of smelting and forging forms an epoch. No doubt the age of steel can show great things, which without iron had been impossible; but the spiritual foundations of our culture need no wielders of steel. The Iliad is the poem of an age which had not much iron, and the Babylonish kings wrote their cuneiform inscriptions on soft clay with wooden styles.

Culture goes much further back than these discoveries. The Babylon of 6000 years ago "on the threshold of history" gives quite a false perspective; and it is a superficial view which is always seeing "the dawn of human history" in the oldest age of which Egyptian monuments give record. Do we find, in the

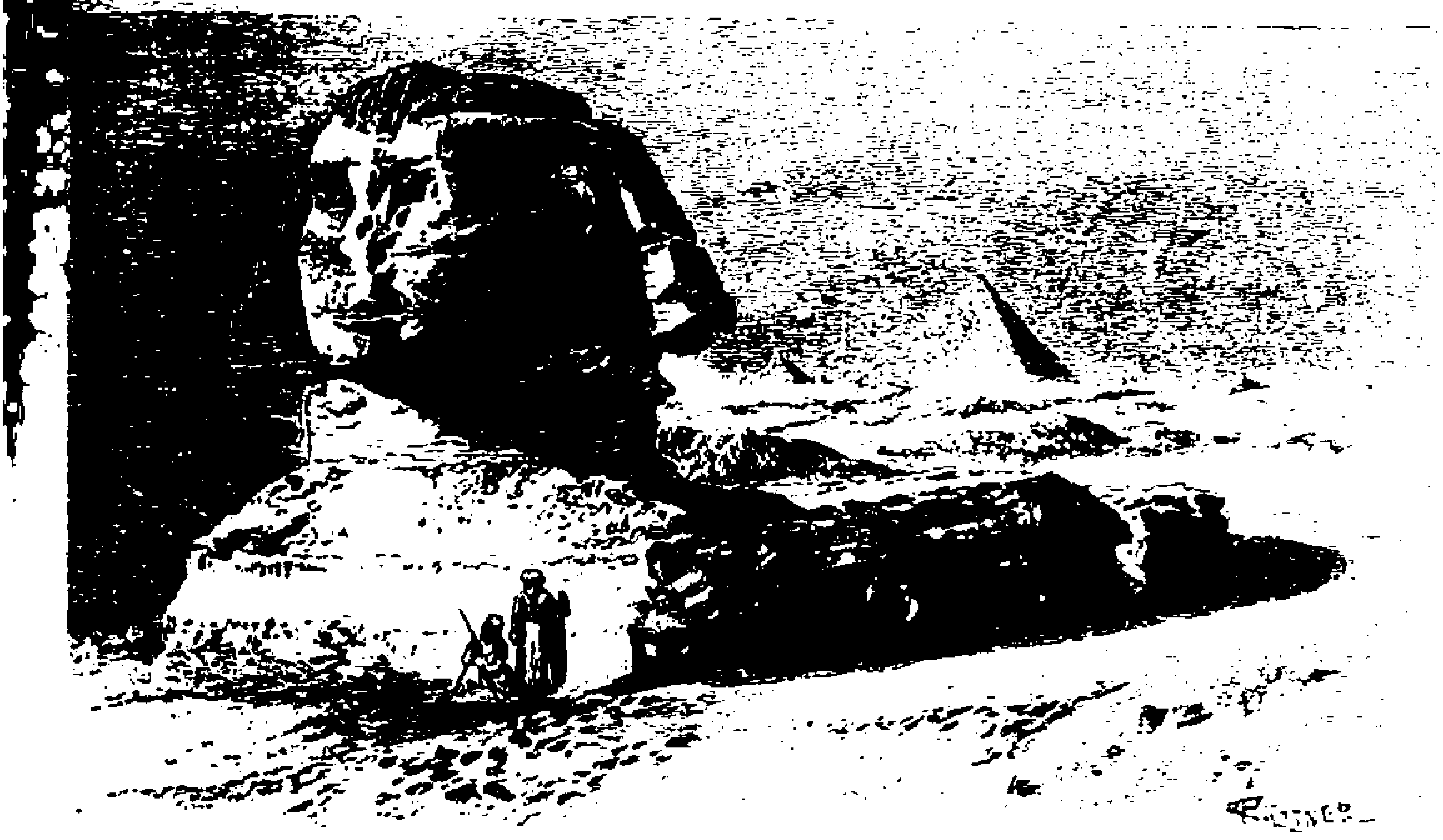
… Lower Egypt.—From a photograph.

oldest age of Egyptian history, the beginnings with their natural imperfections? The ascription by the Egyptians themselves of the origin of their culture to the fabulous servants of Horus proves no more than the legends of Heracles and Theseus among the Greeks. Definite statements, looking like reminiscences of facts, are rare. One of them, perhaps, is that in the Denderah inscriptions, how the first plan of the temple was drawn on a gazelle skin, and found again many centuries later; the historical Egyptians wrote on papyrus. The temple, with no inscriptions, close to the great Sphinx, built of mighty blocks of Syene granite and oriental alabaster, supported on square monolithic pillars without ornament, without hieroglyphs, looks like a transition from the megalithic monuments to the Egyptian architecture. King Cheops says in his inscription that the origin of this temple is lost in the darkness of ages; buried in the sand of the desert, it was casually found again in his reign. Of the Sphinx itself, we can only conjecture that it is older than the pyramids, of which it was no doubt the guardian; we know that even in the time of Cheops this mighty monolith was in need of repairs. From the second dynasty we have the step-pyramid of Sakkarah, and statues which strike the archæologist by the "coarseness and indecision" of their style. But after 455 years, during which the first two dynasties reigned, we see, in the sepulchral chambers of the third, Egyptian life in full development, and with all the marks of long existence; and as Lenormant says, "in the monuments of the first dynasty we meet with hieroglyphic writing in the same complication as in the last day of its existence. If we consider that it must have been preceded by pure picture-writing, and then by an improved form of this, in which symbolic indications expanded and fixed what it had succeeded in exposing, we see many generations, many centuries at work before the time of these monuments.

As early as the fourth dynasty, Egypt attained its highest point of architectural ability. It was then that Cheops erected his pyramid, up to that time the hugest creation of human hands. That dynasty has left gigantic works executed with a fineness and accuracy which yet excites admiration. At the same time pictorial art rises to the pitch of its perfection. It is not too bold to say that in art the culminating point lies nearer to the older than to the later age of the kingdom.

In the daily labour, again, of the husbandman, the craftsman, the official, the soldier, in the learning of the priests, and in the arts of the kings, the earliest Egypt is not so far behind the latest as the thousands of years which lie between them might lead us to expect. From the chambers of the pyramids oldest in age beam on us the pictures of a culture which in many respects is superior to that of the next few thousand years, until the contact with Greece and Rome. Religion and its science were at their highest. Priests and officials were identical, and all life was steeped in religion. Theology was enough and to spare. Each side of the pyramids is so accurately directed to particular points in the heavens that it is easy to see how architect and astronomer worked together. The land was surveyed and divided into fixed districts. The king (Pharaoh, "the high gate") was the sun-god incarnate. In his court appear councillors, chamberlains, officials of every kind. Clever boys of humble origin were educated with the king's sons, and rose to the highest positions. The family was based on monogamy; throne and sepulchre of the king were shared by one queen only. The pictures show an intimate family life, and the inscriptions contain many pet names celebrating the wife's charms. Children are named after the mother first, then

; the wife is the husband's heir where there is no son, and even the ... to a daughter. Wealthy men's houses, light and elegant in ... the massive temples, had several stories, and were furnished with ... and terraces still common. But the lower classes dwelt as now in ... and the herdsmen under temporary roofs of leaves and brushwood. ... enough, one of the most costly relics of ancient Egyptian industry is a ... ssed leather, ornamented with gold. Coin is not known to have existed. ... men were landowners; wealth consisting of fields, papyrus thickets, ... The ground was scratched with a hooked plough and the seed trodden ... Oxen threshed the corn by treading out the ears. The vine was a favourite



The Sphinx of Gizeh. (From a photograph.)

object of cultivation. Handicrafts were the task of the serfs; cabinet-making, pottery, glass-blowing, weaving, paper-making, gold-washing, metal work. By every group stood an overseer with a long staff, who also kept the reckoning. In the counting-houses were scores of clerks. Politically and economically this life was strong enough to extend over the frontier. It may be regarded as certain that the working of the copper mines of Sinai had begun by the time of Snefru and Chufu; and there is a column of the time of Amenemha, the twenty-fourth century B.C., mentioning gold mines in Nubia.

A testimony to the high antiquity of literature is the fact that mention of an "overseer of the house of books," occurs in a grave of the sixth dynasty. The chronology presumes star-catalogues and continuous observations of the visible stars, especially Sirius, as well as a record of these observations. Treatises on geometry, medicine, philosophy, have come down to us. Poetical literature is predominantly religious and solemn; and the historical compositions are similar. The division into verses of parallel structure recalls Jewish poetry.

To the idea of immortality, which penetrated deep into the being of the ancient Egyptians, was wedded the feeling for the importance of a firm tradition.

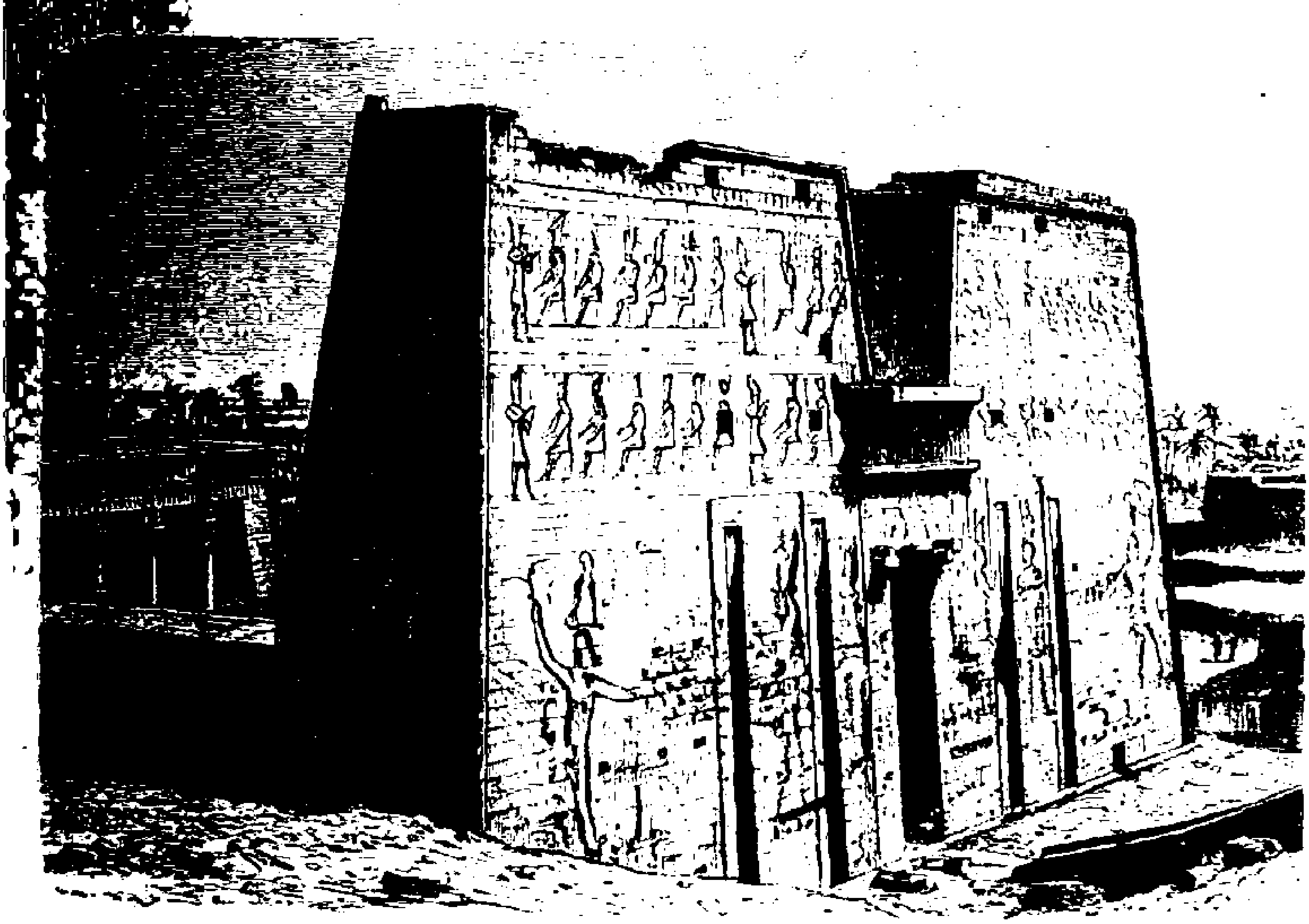
They attained their aim; the cities of the dead are preserved, those of the living are dust. Within the circuit of the old Memphis eighty pyramids look down on the ruins of a city of the dead, which covers a tract 45 miles in length. But the city itself is destroyed all but a few miserable remains, and we know little of the date or the nature of its ruin. Yet this place, the residence for a thousand years of the monument-loving Pharaohs, must have bristled with carved work; though nothing in the Memphis of the living could have produced such an impression on all generations as its gigantic pyramids. It is hard to realise the significance of these unique edifices. Solitary in time as in place, they are the most impressive symbols of permanence amid transition. The centuries that lie between us and them are insignificant in comparison with the thousands of years that lie behind them. It is not the two or three dozen of centuries which we can reckon since their building, but the incalculable earlier ages needed to bring conception and execution to such a grandeur, that look down on us from their tops. No other monuments so magnificently testify to the duty of recollecting the dead, to belief in future life, and generally to the high estimate of the duration of things, and therewith of past time. Besides the rows of small pyramids which cover the remains of kings' sons and daughters, eastward of each lie the ruins of the temple of Isis where sacrifices were offered to the departed monarchs' souls.

The Pyramids of Gizeh. (From a photograph.)

The living transmission of thoughts from generation to generation is the most natural way to propagate ideas. But what more effective contrivance could be found to secure such inalienable fundamental thoughts than these mighty, awful, lasting monuments? But they were meant to preserve much more than this. In their accurate orientation in their definite numerical proportions, is deposited a great part of the science of the priesthood. It has been very

the calendar may pass for the chiefest relic of old times; and in ts, of geometrically simple and beautiful plan, we undoubtedly have of the numbers on which the Babylonish-Egyptian reckoning of ed.

t of the morality that accompanied this religion of B.C. 3000? punishment from the eternal judge are the great moral forces; good ulfilling of the law, their motive causes. Obedience to the government h paternal authority, stands first. "The obedient son will be fortunate is obedience, he will attain old age, he will win the favour of all men,"



The Pylons of Edfou.

says a book of the fifth dynasty, a book beside which the Bible is recent. Can we suppose so self-contemplative a society to have come into existence with Manes? And is it a mere accident that the same moral teaching recurs with Confucius? May not the origins of this culture have lain elsewhere? The further we go into the inner nature of Egyptian culture, the more clearly it is manifest that it must not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Special as may be the stamp of it, its fundamental ideas agree with what meets us further eastward. Writing, religious conceptions, astronomical and mathematical science, and technical capacity, the theocratic government, the organisation in castes, the forms underlying architecture and sculpture; all equally underlie the culture of Mesopotamia, of Eastern and Southern Asia.

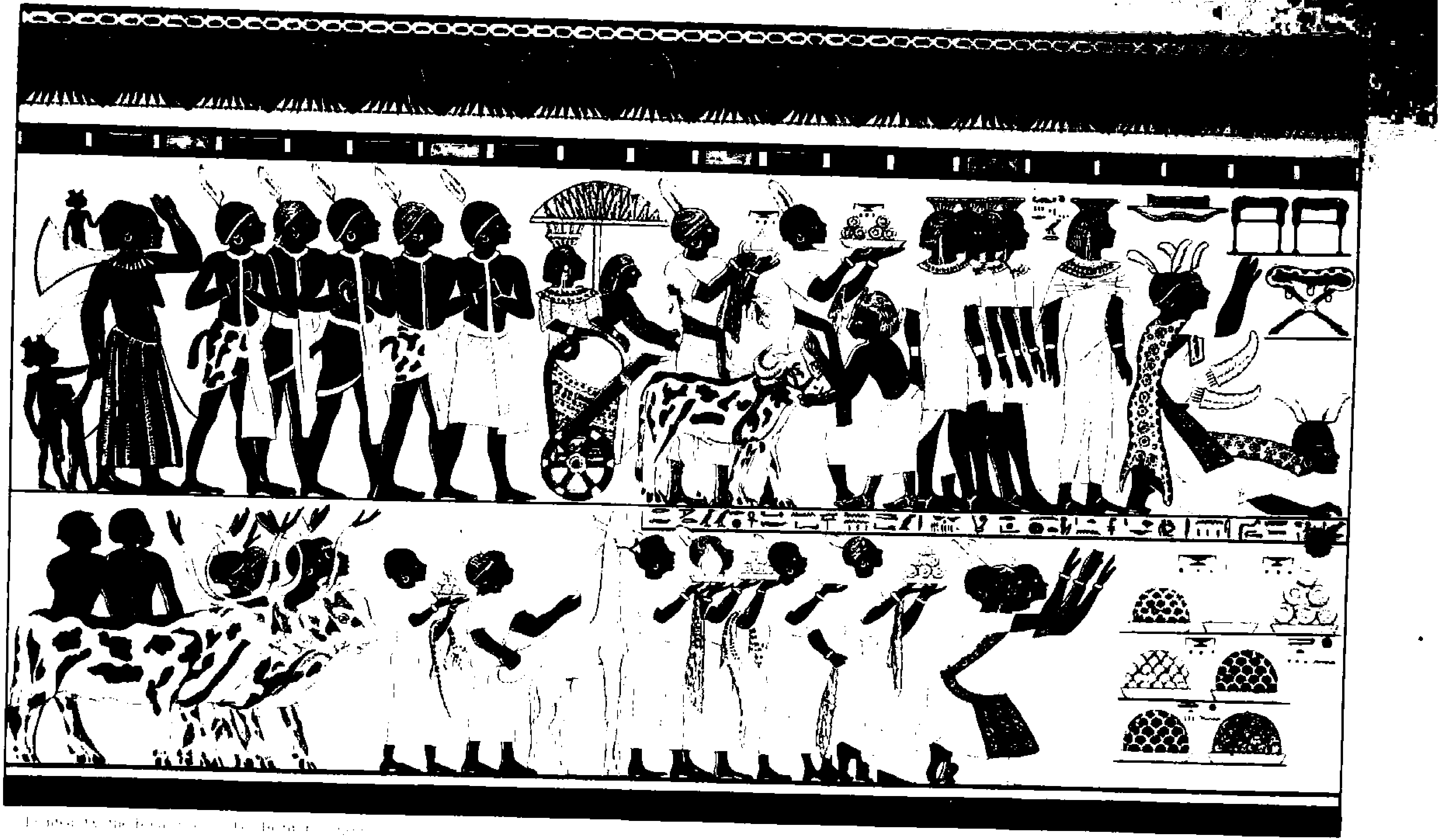
Three groups of facts combine to prove an extra-African origin for the Egyptians. Physiological characteristics point to a connection with the races of Western Asia and Southern Europe. In their paintings the Egyptians distinguished themselves from all other Africans by the colour—black for the southern

men, grey for the older Libyan, white and reddish for the younger. Again, neither in the oldest monuments, nor in the post-Christian Coptic manuscripts, does the language show any trace of African affinities; nay, it is almost impossible, says Brugsch, "to mistake the close relations which formerly prevailed between the Egyptians and the so-called Indo-Germanic and Semitic races." Lastly, the oldest abodes of culture lie in the Nile delta, in the outward parts, or Lower Egypt, which looks towards Arabia, Phœnicia, Palestine—that is, towards Western Asia and the Mediterranean, and in the transition-country between Asia and Africa. The further we proceed up the Nile, while the stamp of antiquity disappears upon the monuments, the more apparent is the decline in style, beauty, and skill. And when we finally advance to Ethiopia, where, according to the old notion, the cradle of the Egyptian race was to be sought, we find, to quote Brugsch again "as the culmination of intellectual faculty and artistic development in Ethiopia, a helpless imitation of Egyptian knowledge in all that concerns science and art." Asia alone, in various favoured spots, can point to early developments of culture; while Africa, even to the most zealously-enquiring observation, can show only beginnings, and even of these the originality is still doubtful.

The difficulty of the question lies in the fact that at the moment when the Egyptians step into history they are already so decisively linked with their soil as practically to justify their own tradition that they are aboriginal. No trace is found of the instability of immigrants. "Immigration," no doubt, is not applicable to whole races, only to fragments, who find people at home there before them, and impress their stamp on these in proportion to their own number and force. This is colonisation. The conclusion is not remote; that a race, already settled, extending over a great part of North and East Africa, received the germs of its culture through immigration from without. The question of descent may, therefore, be solved thus: that a foreign origin is not provable for the major part of the people of Egypt. But the connection with other cultures presupposes partial immigration from Asia, and permanent intercourse with it. Since, in ancient times, so copious elements of culture only entered in company with men, an admixture of Asiatic blood became also certain.

The voyages of the Egyptians to Punt, the land of balsam, whence they themselves traced their descent, preceded by centuries Solomon's voyage to Ophir. Egyptian culture was not always a thing apart. To the northward it had the most expansive race of the world at that time—the Phœnicians—and Phœnician settlements to the north and west. As for Southern Arabia, there is no doubt that the herdsmen of the Arabian plains did not always exercise the influence that has made the land lie idle. The fertility of the soil, the favourable position for trade and sea-faring, the denser population, could once have freer effect. The people of Katanieh, in South Arabia, bore, perhaps, the greatest resemblance to their nearest neighbours in Mesopotamia. They had a complicated system of worship, religious monuments, written and pictorial, political institutions, flourishing cities, an elaborate social organisation. On the coast of South Arabia once lay marts for Indian and East African goods.

But the history of the interaction between Egypt and the neighbouring people is obscure just in those departments that are of most importance for our insight into the course of the world's history. It was only in comparatively recent times that Egypt came into contact with the states of Mesopotamia, which



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WALL-PAINTINGS IN A TOMB AT THEBES Circa 1380 BC

(After Lepsius)

Nubian Chiefs bringing presents to the King of Egypt

[illegible]gard as connected of old by access to a common store of culture. But [illegible] of its culture [illegible] people leads [illegible]. Not only [illegible] endmost link [illegible] chain of Old [illegible] civilizations al[illegible] to be joined [illegible] the rest; an ex[illegible]tion of its exist[illegible] is possible only upon this supposition. At the other end, simi[illegible] apart, we find a region of similar, perhaps even older, culture in China, and its daughter-states Corea and Japan. Some have seen in Buddha a fugitive priest of Isis, and thought that close bonds must have united Egypt and China; while others have assumed for China a wholly independent development. The former notion, though fabulous in form, has a germ of truth; the latter, expressed in Peschel's commendation of the Chinese as self-taught, in contrast to the European "pupils of nations historically buried," is not only unhistorical, but most of all ungeographical.

The so-called "village beadle," an ancient Egyp[illegible]
(In the Museum [illegible])

Curiously like the country of Egypt is that which lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris—a great oasis, surrounded by a most desert region, rising in the north and east to heights which form its limit; lying, too, in a kindred climate, and a gift of the

waters in both senses, namely as an alluvial land, and as a land whose fertility must be called into life by inundations and artificial irrigation. The resemblance is so great that the idea of kinship forces itself on us. Here, too, culture has travelled up the river, after both mythically and literally rising out of the water. In the oldest times, which lie even further back than those of Egypt, it had its seat in Babylonia, not reaching Assyria till later. In the very oldest traces we meet with hieroglyphic writing, like that of Egypt the result of allegory, evolved in the single form of cuneiform writing, and with it the same delight in recording, the same care of tradition, even monumental tradition, which builds pyramids to put temples on—less durable, however, than that of Egypt, for Mesopotamian culture works only in clay. Examining the inner life we find a numerous priesthood, no less powerful, to whom in a sense the thing belongs, whose verbose reports of victories and triumphal butcheries remind us in their very style of the historical tablets of the Pharaohs. Religion—dispersed among the powers and phenomena of nature with the sun as supreme,—astronomy, surveying, were the priest's affair; nor could science here, any more than in Egypt, set itself free from their astrology and magic, even though in observation it made progress.

We have less information about ancient Babylonian art than about Egyptian; but we know that here, too, the best work in art is the most recent. In artistic endowments the Babylonians and Assyrians are far behind the Egyptians, but their enormous luxury favoured the lesser arts. The question of Accadians and Sumerians, the alleged Turanian forerunners and creators of Babylonian and Assyrian culture, must be left to historical enquirers. For the Hyksos, too, a Central Asian origin is held probable. For the present we have to do only with Semites, either settled as in Babylonia and Assyria, or as nomad invaders like the Chaldeans, who conquer, and build on with the copious materials amassed by their creative predecessors.

In the south and east, Asia has ripened yet other civilizations—the Indian and the Chinese—the former borne by Aryans, the latter by races of Mongol stock; nor are these dead. Chinese culture stands next in age to those of the Hamites and Semites; and in its deeper layers much remains, in vestiges hidden under the guise of a certain originality, to recall Babylon and Memphis. It is misleading to seek the chief characteristic in the history of Chinese politics and culture, as in Egypt, in their seclusion; nor must we too rashly emphasise the contrast between the Chinese and the inhabitants of the borderlands on the west and south of the continent. It is said that beyond the Belur Dagh everything, conquest and commerce alike, pushes westwards, as the Phœnicians, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus; on the hither side people are content with themselves, and here, therefore, culture, furthered by nature, develops far earlier, more abundantly and completely, but remains stationary for lack of rivals or dangers. At any rate, on the eastern side of Asia, there is no question of the separation and reunion of Aryan, Chaldean, Egyptian culture, of a fertilising exchange, such as has woven the most abundant threads in the web of our civilization. The Chinese saw no race near them which they could recognise as their equal, or to which they did not feel themselves far superior by what they had achieved. Japan and Corea were only outliers of Chinese culture. Something of the same kind occurred temporarily in the west—in Egypt; but Egypt could not remain so long aloof.

The Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans are the only peoples whose exclusiveness has lasted almost till to-day. Undoubtedly it has had a profound influence not only on what the Chinese have done, but in a degree on what they are.

They did not, however, shut themselves up from the first, and with conscious purpose. There was a period of active intercourse with the west and the east, which is not wholly prehistoric. Great powers in Chinese life have made their entry from without, if not with pomp and sound of trumpets. All the same, they came. We see Buddhism and Mohammedanism become powerful in the secluded land; Christianity, yet more powerful, in the Nestorian time; and, again, at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty, in the victorious missions of the Jesuits. When we look at the facts we see that what is important in Chinese culture is not isolation but connection. The Chinese of the last thousand years or so have lived in tranquil seclusion, but ideas which in common underlie the old culture have become great in combination and union. They belong to an age so remote that the history of the cultured races does not reach back to it. But their recurrence among the poor stunted possessions of the "natural" races indicates the old combination. Not only in this case, but in the study of every sphere of culture, even the Egyptian, the highest place among the great problems is always taken by the enquiry into its connections and relations, its give and take in the ebb and flow of the current of culture and intellect. Here the interest of the special history passes into that of the history of mankind. All other questions are for us of only preparatory significance.

Among the instruments of culture, of which the acquisition is, by Chinese tradition, ascribed to the Emperor Hwang-Ti, many point to Western Asia. Like Nakhunte, the god of Susiana, this mythical sovereign founded a cycle of 12 years, and settled the year at 360 days, divided into 12 months, with an intercalary month. The names of the months have the same meaning as in Babylonia. His observatory recalls similar works in that region. With those astronomers of Western Asia, ancient China shares not only the pre-eminence of star-gazing among the sciences, but also the intimate way in which, as astrology, it is interwoven with all affairs of life. The Chinese are the only nation of the present day among whom may be seen the preponderance with which this science of superstition was invested in Mesopotamia of old. They also know five planets, four of which have names of equivalent meaning to those assigned to them in Babylonia; and about them was entwined a web of prognostics and prophecies which again recalls Western Asia. In considering the common store of culture, great weight has always been rightly attached to the remarkable agreement of astronomical notions which connects East, South, and West Asia. In the common subdivision of the ecliptic zone into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts, designated, with reference to the intricate path of the moon, as lunar "stations" or houses, lies a strong proof of an exchange of ideas. The stars of this zone leave wide room for caprice in the selection of constellations; yet the subdivision is so alike among the three races as to exclude the assumption of an original difference. The Arabic lunar circle, which varies from the other in very few cases, is mentioned in the Koran as known to every one. Among the Indians, whose lunar circle shows the most peculiarities, there is no mention of it before 1150 B.C. In all the old Chinese literature, a general knowledge of it is presumed; and it was certainly known by 2300 B.C. May we, with Richthofen, assume that these "stations" had a common

origin in the ancestral abodes of Central Asia? For the moment let us only call attention to the fact, that this authority does not look for the first beginnings of Chinese culture on Chinese soil, except as concerns an imperfect tillage of the ground and the silk industry. But the question "whence?" can look for an answer only in the West; and this pushes the origin of this so-called peculiar civilization nearer to the roots of that of Western Asia. We have little information upon religion; but the appearance of Shang-Ti, the supreme, after whom sacrifices were offered to "the six honourable ones, to the mountains and the rivers, and all the host of spirits," reminds us how, in the Susianic texts, six lesser gods stood below the supreme one. The tale of a great flood may be referable to an outbreak of the Hoangho, but it is impossible not to recognise many reminiscences of the Mesopotamian story of a deluge which we have in the Bible. But the great Yu—who leads the waters in their courses, and, as he wanders over the land, unresting, for this purpose, thrice passes his own door without entering—corresponds to the idea of a god of secondary rank, who finishes creation, or brings things back to the path whence they have strayed.

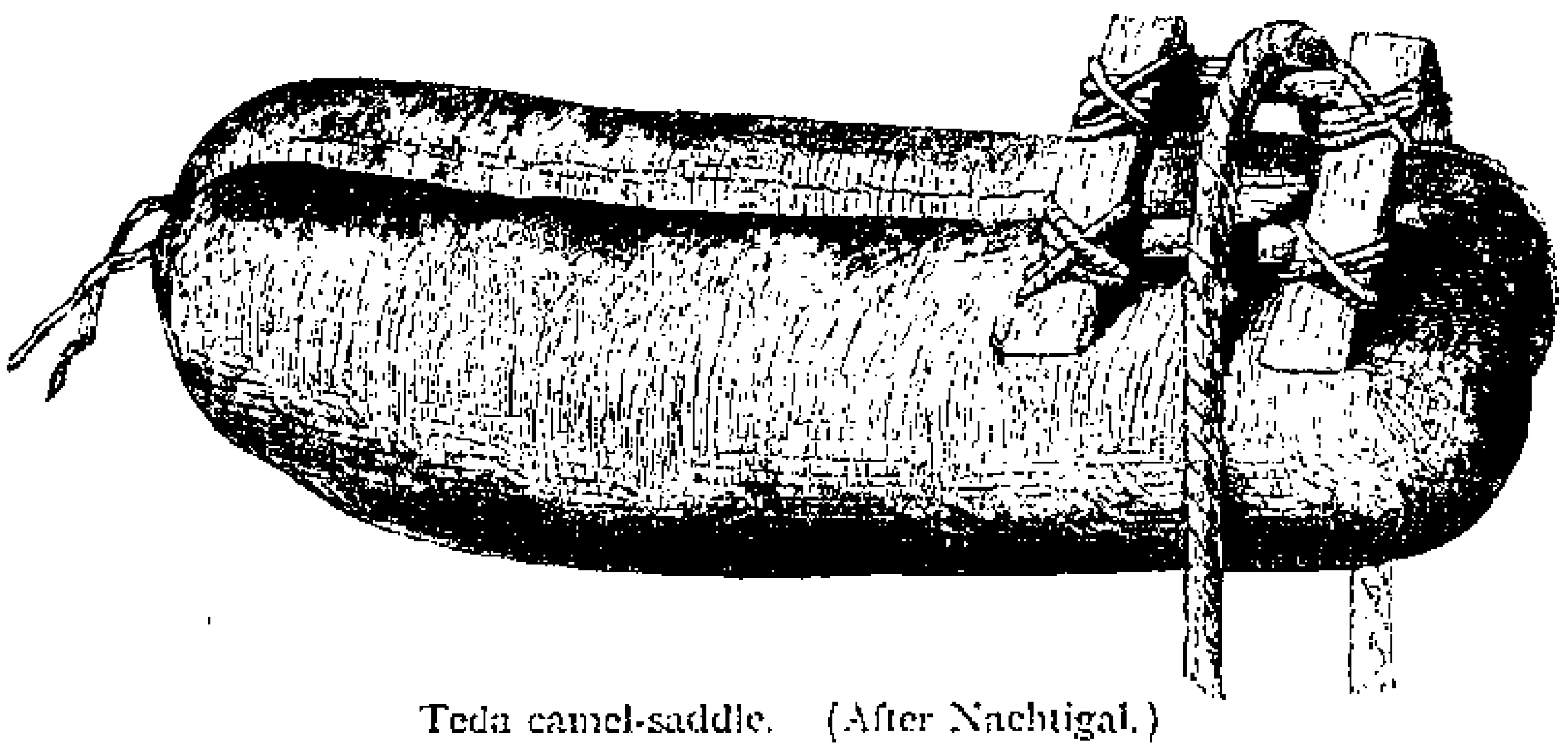
The Chinese are a people equalled by none in their exclusive devotion to agriculture. Their old chronicles often speak of the "six fruits of the field," the basis of husbandry. They are said to be three kinds of millet, rice, barley, and beans, to the greater number of which botanists assign a home in Western or Southern Asia. Other crops now cultivated in China were either imported later, like maize and buckwheat, or occur only within the narrow limits to which certain immigrants extend, like oats in North China. The Chinese in general seem unanimous in recognising in the "six fruits of the field" the original possession of their forefathers in the way of crops. Certain elements of Chinese writing also point to another kind of husbandry, as carried on later in the loess-districts of Northern China and the lowlands of the Yangtse, blessed with tropical summer rains. In the oldest "ideographs" for a number of common objects, we find references to water, to ditches, to flooding, from which it has been concluded that a high importance was attached to water in older places of abode on steppes which have to be looked for to the westward of Eastern Asia.

§ 3. THE NOMADISM OF THE PASTORAL RACES

The steppe-zone—Overlapping of the domains of nomadism and culture—The natural soil of the nomad, and its gradations—Migrations and extension—Forced displacements of whole races—Homes and frontiers—Rapid changes in number of population—Mixtures—The economy of the nomad—Wealth and poverty—War and plunder—The fugitives from culture—Politics of the steppe—Transition to the settled state—Nomadism and civilization.

In a zone crossing the Old World diagonally between 10° and 60° of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, lie the deserts and steppes within, or in contact with, which the old domains of culture are spread out like oases. In them dwell races widely distributed, of great mobility, having great influence upon their neighbours on whose domains they are constantly encroaching, whose borders they disquiet, into whose midst they thrust themselves, among whom they fix themselves, whom they reduce to subjection, whose culture they

disturb and destroy, while they themselves slowly acquire culture in the process. Most important consequences for the education of mankind have resulted from the fact that, in the Old World, the domains of the pastoral races have been in so intimate contact with those of culture that the history of the two is inseparable. In these steppes the migration of the nations is permanently illustrated. They are pasture grounds where nomad hordes roam about without fixed place of abode, but with an organisation all the more fixed for their need of cohesion. We may think of the plains of South-eastern Europe, where one race constantly pressed on another, where the Scythians pushed the Cimmerians before them, followed in succession by Sarmatians, Avars, Huns, Tartars, Turks. As one views this ebb and flow, one thinks of Heinrich Barth's words in presence of the ruins of the old Songhay capital, Garo: "I was deeply struck by the spectacle of those wonderful, mysterious waves of peoples, incessantly pursuing and devouring each other, and leaving hardly a trace of their existence, without, so far as appears, showing any progress in their collective life."



Teda camel-saddle. (After Nachtigal.)

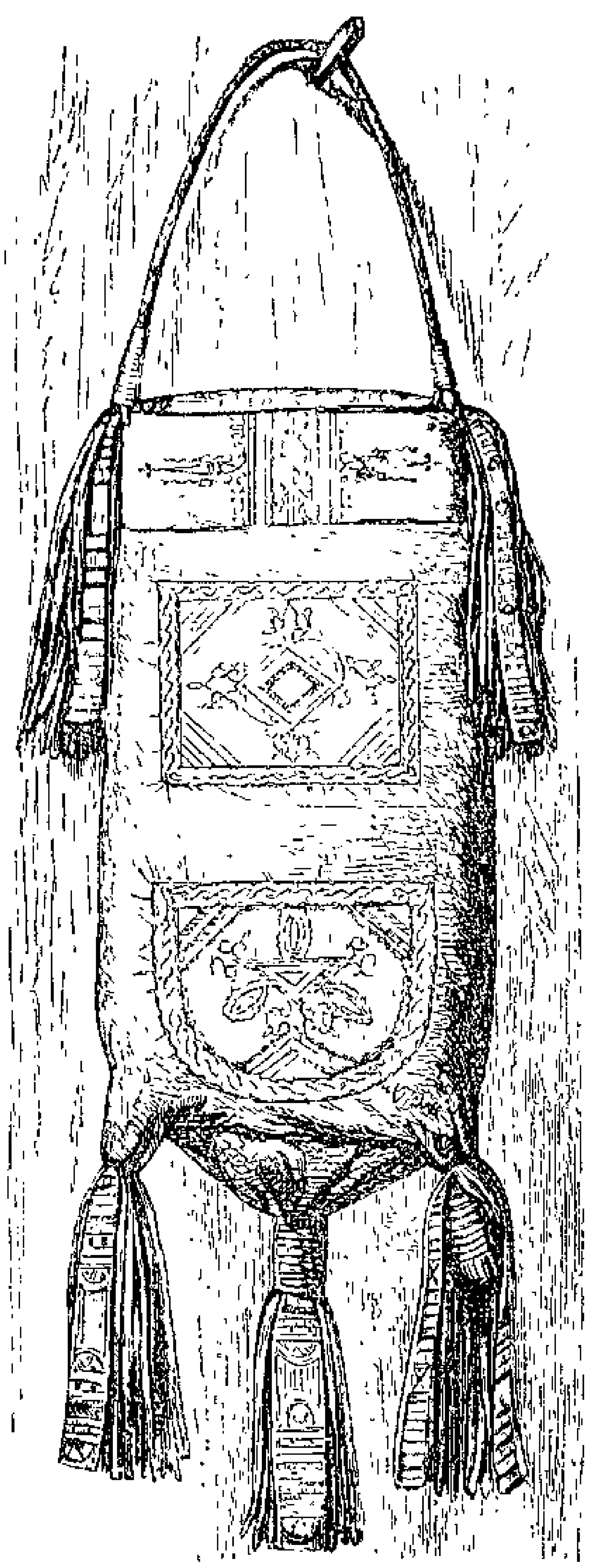
We have already, in the first volume,[1] cursorily touched on the problem of nomadism, and there gained, as it seemed, a clearer view of it from the consideration that a necessary task is allotted to it in the development of great political powers.

The term nomadism embraces a good deal. The roamings of a horde of Bushmen hunters are different from the pastoral life of Masai or Arabs; and the Tehuelches of Southern Patagonia are, in spite of their horses, quite different from the migratory Abipones or Tobas, still more from the Kirghises. We have in view here only the nomads rich in herds, a great motive power in the history of the Old World. They are pastoral peoples, whose numbers are increased by their mobility, with the virtues and vices of tribes inured to war. Their equipment, with the essential elements of the store of culture possessed by their period, does not prevent them, when driven by want, from overstepping their boundaries and devastating the soil of civilization, like the shifting sand of their own steppe.

Though under the constraint of the necessity, felt even in the better districts, for shifting its quarters five or ten miles every few weeks, nomadism asserts itself in degrees varying according to the opulence of its territory; there is no absolutely fixed hold on the land. Onslaught of strange tribes often compel the relinquishment of good pastures, or at least prevent their being made full use of. The Hassanieh Arabs of Sennaar, who possess the most flourishing pasture-land along the river bank, and own so many goats, sheep, cows, and camels, that horses and camels of the finest breed are given only milk to drink till their third year, have, in many years, had their whole country fed-off by Kabbabish Arabs from the west.

[1] Vol. i. p. 90.

It happens not uncommonly that individual groups of nomads have their whole possibility of pastoral life cut off by hostile tribes. The Ababdeh tribe dwell between the Nile and the Red Sea in Upper Egypt, Sennaar, and Takka. They it was who formerly attended to the camel service between Keneh and Kuser, Korosko and Abou Hamed, Debbeh and Khartoum. Fragments of the tribe fish in the Red Sea, and themselves hawk their salt-fish in the interior. Others go round as pedlars. Those who are settled in the Nile Valley live together in villages, and till the ground. Charcoal-burning, wood-gathering, collecting drugs in the desert, are the occupations of others. Those settled in towns are artizans and traders. Several again actually are in the service of the telegraph across the Arabian Desert.



Goatskin provision-wallet from Timbuctoo—one-twelfth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Only the rapid increase of the herds makes nomadism economically possible. In its essence it is extravagant, costing time, sacrificing power in useless movement, and wasting useful things. Waste land and pasture land are very different in their capacity for feeding peoples; but the herdsmen are all the less competent to convert the greater wealth of pasture land into a basis for more secure existence, that they are placed amid natural conditions which play havoc with the works of men, if patient labour is not opposed to them. The herdsman is everywhere marked by an easy-going way, which even in the best specimens forms a contrast to the industry of the husbandman. The fatalism of Islam has its root in the pastoral tents of the Arab. Undoubtedly, much of the labour of culture is brought to naught by the indolence or the pugnacity of the nations. Nature meanwhile takes charge in her old fashion. In many parts of Central Asia and North Africa the belt of shifting sand perceptibly advances. On the road from Karshi to Buradalyk, sand is gradually covering the land, and on the right bank of the Oxus all culture is threatened with entire destruction at no remote date; great poplars and tall tamarisks are already half-sanded up.

Deserts and steppes must have been uninhabitable to men in the earliest stages of culture. At the few spots where the steppe-land offers fertile soil, it requires the importation of plants to make it available for human purposes, it requires artificial irrigation, vigorous tillage, and in general an advanced agriculture and brisk traffic. But where the desert appears in its true unfertile form, it forbids any man to live on it who has not found out how to place at his service the endurance of the camel or the speed of the horse. While it still

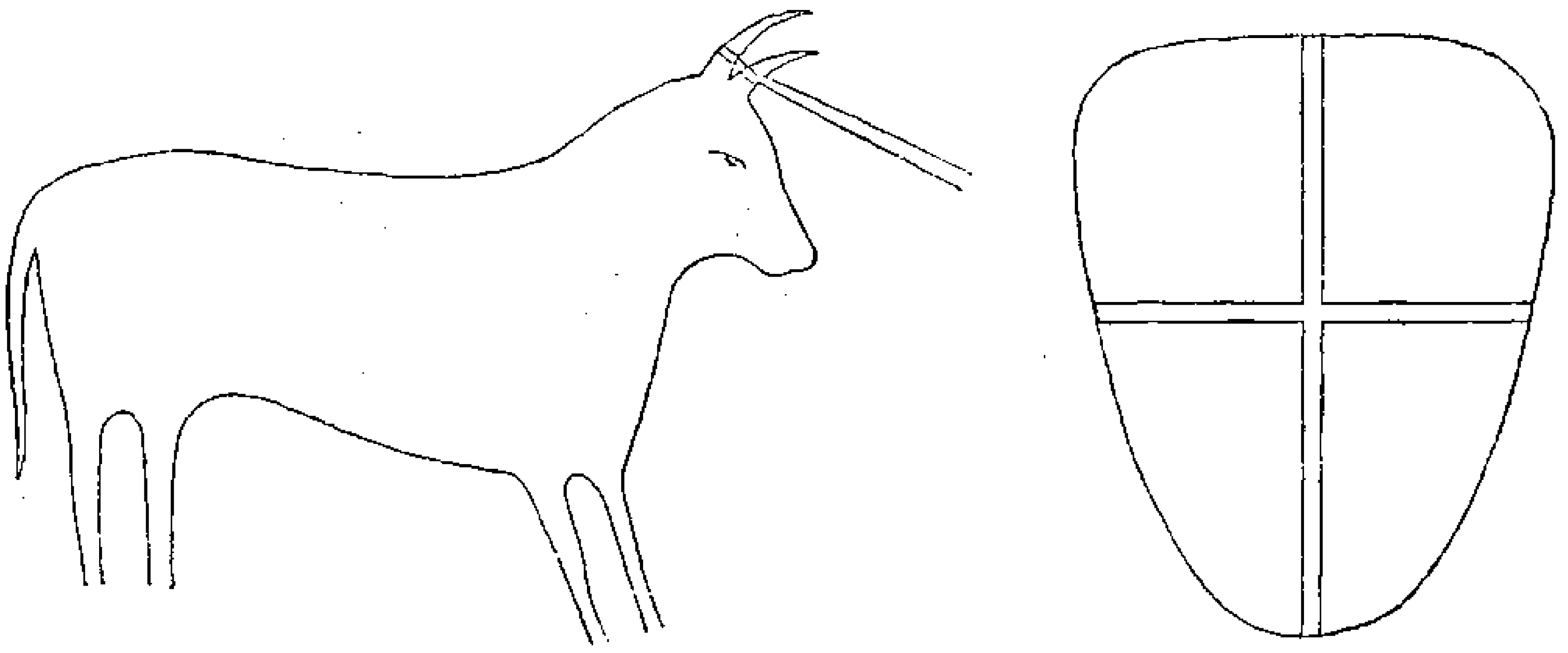
presents completely untraversable tracts, it is in many parts never accessible during the height of the dry season to any but the best equipped camel-riders. We have no historic evidence as to the length of time that the Sahara has been inhabited; but as neither horse nor camel is of African origin, it cannot have begun until an active intercourse with Asia brought in the "ship of the desert." The oldest Egyptian monument in the Libyan Desert is of Tuthmosis II, and there were Berbers there before the Egyptians; but that is one of the most accessible parts. The Romans found Fezzan, and perhaps Tibesti, inhabited, while the Carthaginian cavalry was recruited from desert tribes. Thus all these data put us back into prehistoric times. Stone implements have undoubtedly been found in the desert in most various parts, and in great number. Chipped splinters of flint occur in quantities in the depression between the Atlas and the Haggar Mountains, and they have been found by Zittel in the interior of the Libyan Desert. From the Shotts and the neighbourhood of Tlemcen, southward to 27° north, and from Dakkel and Kufra westward to Western Morocco, stone implements are recorded. On the line from Biskra by Tuggurt to Wargla, Rabourdin found 367 flint implements at eighteen spots between 32° and 27° north. We have also polished stone articles from Taudeni. In many places where the Sahara is now completely desert, other traces of permanent habitation are found. Advanced forts, watch-towers, castles, are known as having existed since Roman times; while near Wargla, and in Wady Midja, ruins of cities have been discovered dating from the days of the Berbers. What results might be obtained by providing wells in the desert has been abundantly shown by the French. More than a thousand years ago culture was certainly more energetic in Cyrenaica and Tunis; devastation of forests, and destruction of the old arrangements for irrigation, have been the cause of the shrinkage in the cultivable land. Some significance must certainly be assigned to the rock-sculptures, which show the buffalo, the common ox, the ostrich, and the elephant, in districts where none of these animals is now known. Barth found great numbers of such sculptures in Western Fezzan, between Murzuk and the Air country. Nachtigal, again, has accurately described rock-figures from Tibesti, the heart of the Tibboo country. We will not straightway draw the conclusion that oxen were exclusively used here in old times as beasts of burden in the place of camels—as in the ancient Egyptian sculptures, the camel is never found in these,—but will merely point out that the presence of cattle would certainly presuppose a different climate and other conditions of life.

Nubian camel-saddle—one-eighth real size. (Hagenbach Collection, Hamburg.)

Herds of reindeer, cattle, horses, increase rapidly, and no less rapidly decrease through pestilence or famine. This helps to explain the fits and starts in the history of nomadic races. There were no pastoral races in America before the Europeans came, yet by the beginning of the last century the plains of the River Plate country were described as swarming with horses. The rapid increase of the wild horses led the people to try and utilise them; and whoever wanted to increase his stock, sent out mounted men, who in a short time would drive in a

thousand or two of horses. Dobrizhoffer saw a herd of 2000 horses sold for a piece of cotton cloth. In North America, too, where at the beginning of this century the Pawnees alone among the Platte River tribes possessed horses, the use of them has spread with extraordinary rapidity.

Meat and milk practically form the diet of herdsmen. Beside these there are in Africa and Western Asia the dates which many oases bear in abundance; though these often go to predatory neighbours rather than to those who grow them. In Central Asia they get poor crops of millet and barley. Famine and great shrinkage of population are far too frequent. Thus the great ultimate motive force of all this roaming and shifting is again the insufficiency of sustenance, whether permanent or temporary, general or local. Men no less than plants have to live frugally in the desert. Narrow limits are set not only to their prosperity but to their victual. Everything depends on the scanty moisture. The



Rock-sculptures in Tibesti. (After Nachtigal.)

farmer in the Sahara is tied down to the definite amount of water which his spring or his waterhole affords. Rain does not advantage him immediately; it is too irregular to rely on, and is even undesirable from its habit of washing down mud-huts and irrigation dykes, damaging the date-palms, dissolving the salts in the soil and bringing them to the roots in a too concentrated form. One can understand how it is that desert-dwellers speak of rain-water as dead, spring-water as living. The amount of water that can be drawn from within the earth is not unlimited; it varies according to the contributions brought by rain or mountain-brooks, and the care which men take of it. The failure or destruction of a spring may destroy the existence of a whole population. Nowhere does the chain which binds man to nature weigh so heavy as in the desert. Prjevalsky mentions that a former population of 550 families in the Lob-Nor district had diminished to 70 families, numbering 300 souls distributed into 11 villages. But even with these reduced numbers, the fertility of families is not great owing to the unfavourable conditions of life. Troops of children and grandchildren like those of the Patriarchs are rare even under favourable circumstances. Artificial restriction of population is a much more frequent policy among desert-dwellers, though it does not always appear so plainly as in the Libyan oasis of Farafrah, where, according to Rohlfs, the male inhabitants never exceed 80, "because this number was fixed by Sheikh Murzuk." It is conceivable that in a narrow area the eye is sharper to detect disproportion between territory and population. Among those, however, who roam within wider boundaries the dearth of resources becomes a limitation,

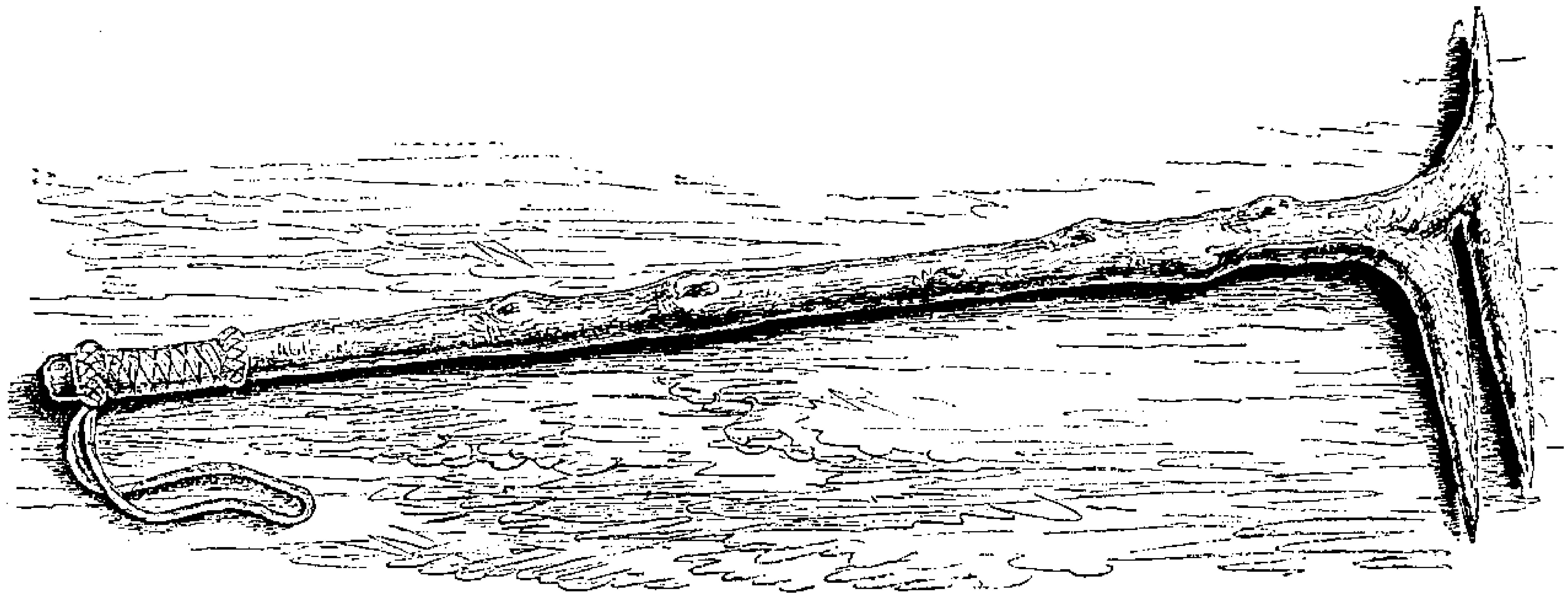
which explains the small number of children in the Turkoman tribes, the sweeping decline of the Mongols, and perhaps also the ease with which celibacy has found a footing among the Buddhistic nomads, favoured as it also is by the Chinese on political grounds. The continual wars also certainly conduce to a decline in the population.

The purely mechanical change in numbers is connected with internal movements. Before their subjugation by Russia the Tekkes of Merv numbered 50,000 *kibitkas*, or some 250,000 souls. In the 'thirties not more than 10,000 kibitkas used to be spoken of; but since that time they have compelled the Salyrs with 2000 families to join them, and have kept up an influx of numerous Turkomans from Akhal. With all their experience in the politics of the steppe, the Russians were amazed at their number. The history of the Ili country offers an example of sudden diminution. When the Chinese conquered it, about the middle of last century, they found it almost uninhabited; they then set to with special energy to colonise, and in a short time actually brought together a congeries of humanity such as can rarely have been collected in one place by artificial means. The forts were garrisoned by Chinese and Manchu troops; Tartar husbandmen, here called Taranches, were brought from East Turkestan; then Shebays and Solons of Tungoose stock were fetched from Northern Manchuria, and formed a military frontier under Manchurian command. Many criminals were also banished hither from China, and also the Dungans, or Mussulman Chinese, who presently became dangerous. The most despised element were the Champans, exiles from South China. In 1865 the Chinese population was, for the second time within a century, slaughtered by thousands. The rising of the Dungans was in 1871 followed by that of the Taranches, and 2000 of the former were murdered in one night in and around Kuldja. If we compare the Russian statements as to the population in 1871 with Radloff's estimate in 1862, we find that it was reduced to one-tenth. In the last few decades, East Turkestan also has been subject more than once to similar vicissitudes. In the 'sixties its emancipation from China began with the murder of Chinese colonists *en masse*, and when the Chinese reconquered it in the middle of the 'seventies, hundreds of Tartar villages were uninhabited.

Deserts and steppes are not wholly inaccessible to individuals. A merchant, a messenger, a robber, will cross them on a swift horse or camel. But this kind of traffic is difficult, and the roads traced by it across the desert are few. Even to this many stretches of desert are obstacles, being, as they are, conceived as untraversable. We may think of the sandy tract between the Libyan desert and the road from Tripoli to Murzuk; or the Tarym steppe, which has only lately been crossed by bold travellers. A contrast to this drop-by-drop cautious movement is the march of the great nomad hordes, with whose terrible power Central Asia inundated the neighbouring lands. The nomads of this region, as of Arabia and North Africa, combine with their movable mode of life an organisation which welds together their mass in a common aim. Hence arise mass movements, which stand to other movements that take place among mankind as does a flooded river to the constant but scattered trickle of a spring. Their historical importance is no less conspicuous in the history of China, India, and Persia than in that of Europe. Just as the nomads roamed round their pastures with wives and children, slaves, waggons, herds, and all their goods, so they burst upon the lands

of their neighbours; and what all this baggage took from their speed it added to their momentum. They drove the terrified inhabitants before them, and rolled over the conquered land, sucking it dry. Carrying everything with them, they settled down in a new place just as they were; and thus their establishments gained in ethnographical importance. We may think of the Magyars in Hungary, the Manchus in China, or the Turks in all lands from Persia to the Adriatic.

A tribe will go to and fro in the regular round long before the habit of wandering is suddenly directed to a new goal. As for the reasons of it, we need only point to the frequency with which the best countries have been the goal of migrations which acted like convulsions of nature. Such were the "Black Earth" steppes of Southern Russia for the nomads of the salt steppe to the east, such the fertile plains of China for the inhabitants of inclement Central Asia, India for the



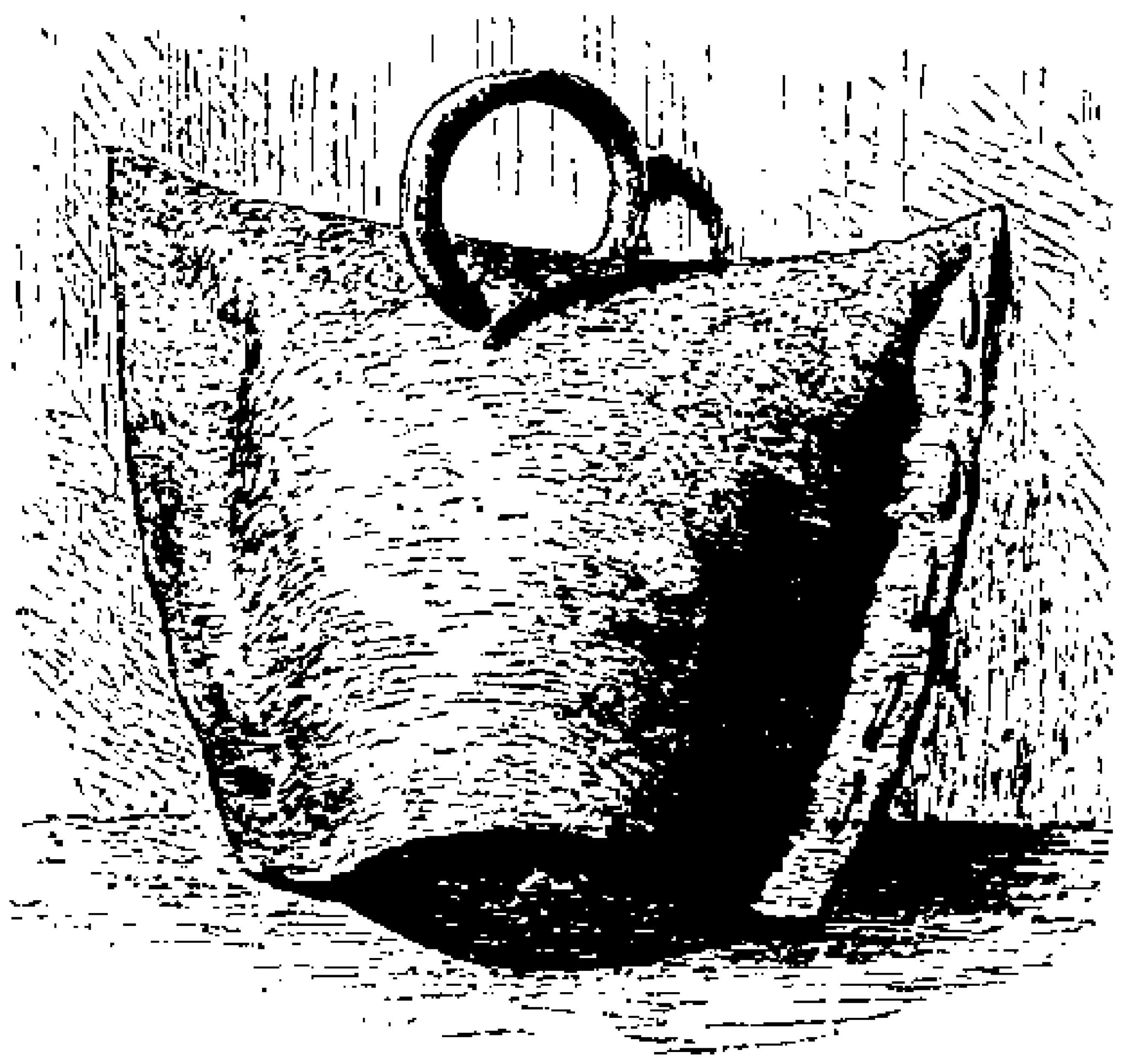
Shepherd's crook and club from Nubia—one-tenth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

Aryans and Turanians of the west, the sunny fields of Greece and Italy for northerners of Gaulish, German, or Slavic stock. History shows plainly enough some cases of rapid displacement. Fifty years ago the Tekkes of Merv dwelt on the Heri-Rud, but when they were driven away by the Persians on account of their plundering raids, their centre of gravity shifted to Sarakhs, and at the end of the 'fifties they again retreated thence and threw themselves upon the Saryks of Merv, now weakened, chased them away, destroyed or absorbed them, and established themselves in Merv, where it is not improbable that they had formerly dwelt. Merv had often seen similar change. While it belonged to Persia, at the end of the last century, the whole population was deported to Bokhara, while the Saryks who then settled there had already been driven from their former abodes by the Tekkes. These at the beginning of the 'seventies reinforced themselves with the Salyrs, and were in turn compelled by them to migrate to Merv. Such compulsory displacements were always a powerful instrument in the hands of the potentates on the borders of the steppe. Khiva in former days attempted to fasten portions of the Kara-Kalpaks to the soil on islands in the Sea of Aral, and later in the delta of the Amu Daria. Somewhat similarly, after the retrocession of Kuldja to China, the Russians selected eight hundred families from the Cossacks of Orenburg and Siberia, and settled them on the new frontier along a distance of 2000 versts.

The appearance of a nomad horde on the western border of the steppe may

be due to dislocations in the far east. That a shock of this kind should vibrate through the whole chain of nationalities from the Amoor to the Volga would hardly be intelligible if the whole Central Asian region was inhabited by them ; for in that case an impulse given in the far east would be like a blow upon a vessel which readily yields in all directions. But the nomads of Central Asia inhabit compactly only a chain of territories separated by deserts, mountains, and oases of culture ; and as this is contracted chiefly on the north and south, the propagation from east to west is easily conceivable.

The history of these nomads shows that they have been induced to overstep their bounds less often by their own wish than by an impulse from without. The interpenetration of the waves has caused a motley blending of breeds. Where endogamy is not the custom, as it is with the Galches, the mixtures are so numerous and extensive that the most thorough observers long despaired of meeting even here with any pure breed. Among the so-called "pure Bashkirs" are found Tyaptyars, isolated groups among whom now Bashkir, now Turco-Tartar blood predominates. A district comparatively so small as that of Ili contains, beside Chinese, Mongols, and Kirghises, no less that three hybrid races : Taranches (Tartar and Aryan), Dungans (probably Uigurs and Chinese), and Shebays (Mongols and Chinese). Further, the Kara-Kirghises are very Mongol in appearance. All Turcoman peoples show traces of mixture ; and the capture of women does its share in levelling up racial differences which of themselves do not go very deep.

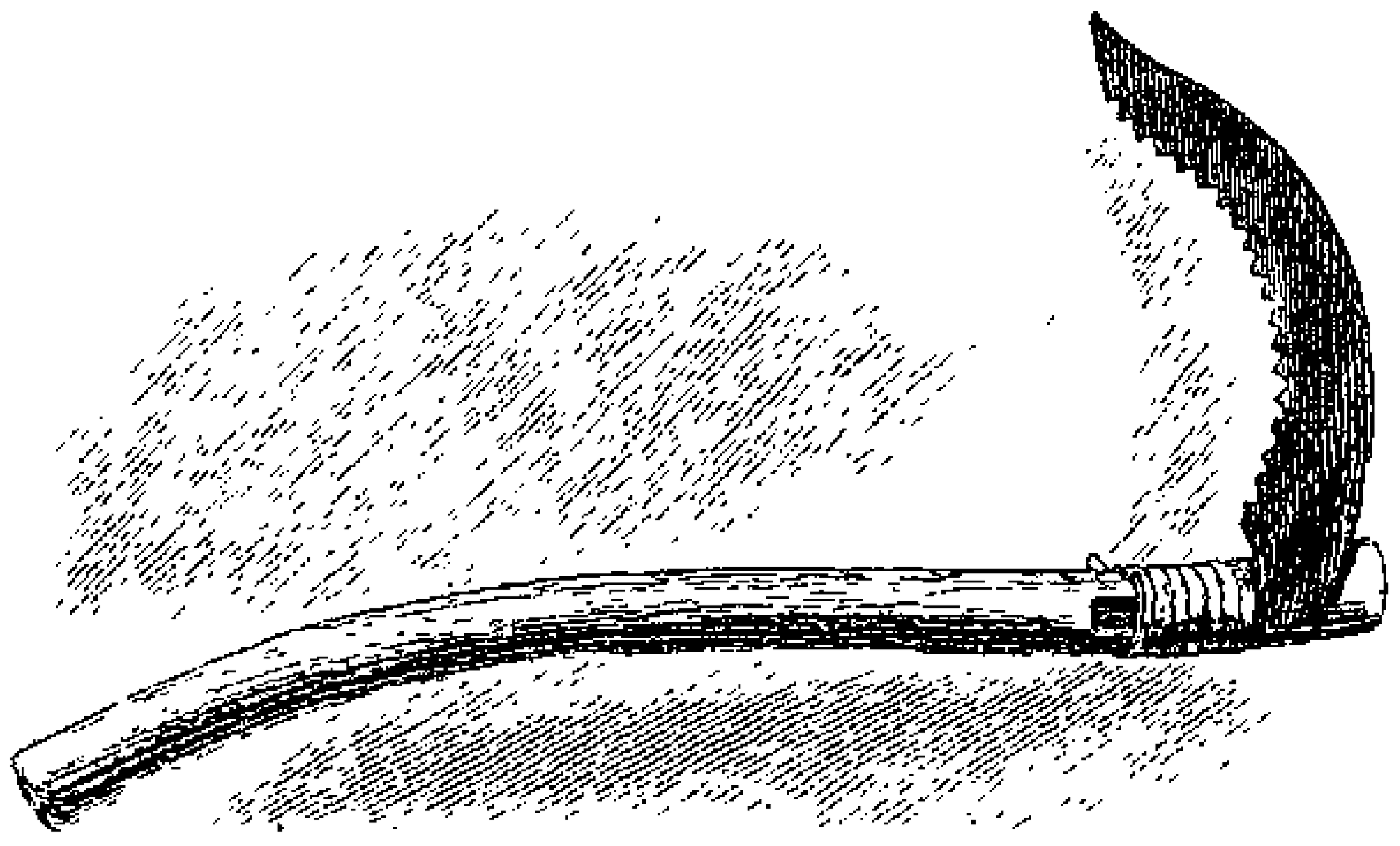

A caravan bell from Kordofan—one-fifth real size. (Christy Collection.)

Well founded as is the notion that the steppe in its whole extent is the home of the nomad, we must not deny him the consciousness of an idea of home corresponding to that of the settled dweller. Conquest or tradition has allotted tracts of pasture to individual tribes or families, in which they roam from one year's end to another, and find their meadows, their arable ground, their springs, their gathering-places, their hunting-grounds, their areas of plunder, and last but not least, of sanctuary. Even the liberty-loving Turcomans of the steppe have to recognise the power of common interests in the use of the appliances for irrigation and the cultivated land which they nourish. Nevertheless, water, the first condition of life in the desert, remains the object of frequent fights.

The Cossack Kirghises have not extended their wanderings beyond the Altai in the north, the Alai in the south-east, the Oural River in the west. A pretty secure southern frontier was formed by the hilly country to the north of Khokand and Bokhara. Among the Mongols the Ulus have defined districts in which small subdivisions roam over the pastures that have long belonged to them, within which, however, we can have a distance of 150 miles between summer and winter pastures. Thus not only has the Kara-Kirghis stock been established since the sixteenth century on Lake Issik-Kul, but the individual families have for many

decades used the same pastures. The boundaries of these, however, are sharply defined where nature has provided mountain-ridges, rivers, or chains of sand-hills.

Economically regarded, the nomad is a herdsman: politically he is a fighter. It always comes easy to him, whatever his occupation is, to pass to that of warrior and robber. Everything has for him a peaceful and a warlike, an honest and a predatory side; and he shows one or the other according to circumstances. In the hands of the Turcomans to the east of the Caspian, even fishing and navigation turned into piracy. Formerly every pasture-district of a Turcoman tribe was bordered by a wide zone which might be called its plunder-district. For many decades the whole north and east of Khorassan belonged more to the Turcomans, Yomut, Goklan, and others of the adjoining steppe, than to the Persians, its nominal masters. Similarly border districts of Khiva and Bokhara were exposed to the raids of the Tekkes until the successful wedging in, either by force or bribery, of other Turcoman tribes to serve as buffers. The history of the chain of oases which connects East and West Asia across the central steppes (where the Chinese have, through their possession of keys famous in the history of the world like the oasis of Kami, had the mastery since ancient times) gives countless other instances. The nomads from south and north were always trying to get a footing on the patches of fertile soil which may have seemed to them like Islands of the Blest; and to every horde, whether it retired successful or beaten, the sheltering steppe lay open. The most serious menace may have been removed by the persistency with which the weakening of Mongoldom proceeds, and by the effective lordship over Thibet; but the last Dungan rising has shown how easily the waves of a more mobile nomadism break over these islands of culture. Only the extinction of nomadism, impossible so long as there are steppes in Central Asia, can make their existence perfectly secure.



A Tartar sickle. (Leipzig Museum.)

The ways of the pastoral life, peaceful as it appears, induce those of war; our illustration on p. 172 shows how the crook becomes a weapon. In autumn, when the horses come in fresh from grass and the second sheep-shearing is finished, the nomad begins to think what raid, whether of vengeance or plunder (*baranta*, "cattle-making") he has postponed till then. Club-law looks naturally for its damages to the most valuable animal in the adversary's herds. Young men who have never been on a *baranta* have to earn the title of *batir* or hero before they may claim honour and respect. The joy of possession unites with the delight of adventure; and thus are developed the three stages of avenger, hero, and marauder. On the lowest certainly stand the *alamans*, organised raids by Turcomans into Persian territory, which interest us as debased offshoots of the thousand years' blood-feud between Iran and Turan. The historical past of the most warlike Turkish stocks has almost entirely been accomplished in efforts to break into the circle of Iranian culture. The troops have become smaller, while kidnapping and

theft have come more and more into the foreground. A nobler motive may have been at the bottom of the *barantas*, but the *alamans* show how all nomad customs on the border of culture, where plunder is an enticement, have a tendency to degenerate. We may say that the position of the Turcomans in one of the most wretched corners of Central Asia, shut in between Russia, Persia, and the Khanates, with a warlike multitude of Kirghises from the Great Steppe at their backs, was a desperate one; but this does not apply to the predatory neighbours of China, who had excellent pastures of their own outside the Great Wall. The attraction exercised by the wealth of cultured regions, together with idleness and visionary love of adventure, has turned the nomads to ordinary robbers throughout these marches.

Fugitives from civilization, with cogent reasons for leaving their own country, retire to the steppe, and often dangerously increase the numbers of the roaming population. Beneficent, culture-bringing immigrations, such as that of the Russian "Old Believers," who in 1861 came as far as the Tarim in their search for their promised land Bielovodye or "Whitewater," are rare enough. Since the cultivation of opium has been forbidden in China the opium-growers and smokers of Mongolia have contributed to the wave of westward wandering; but these migrations of agricultural Chinese include or proceed from numerous less favourable elements. Roving Chinese, homeless folk, deserters, fugitive criminals, come in swarms every autumn to Lake Dalai-Nor to catch a winter provision of fish. Outlaws form little communities, bound together by similar fortunes, who dare not enter a town, or travel on the public road.

The sources of the strength and permanence of nomadism have lain and lie in the direction of the open country behind it, offering a place of retreat. In Asia the whole north of the continent lay open to it before the Russians had settled in the fertile river-lowlands of the Yenisei and Obi. The poor scattered hunters and reindeer-herds of Tungoose and Turkic stock could offer no barrier to an eventual back-flow of the nomad wave, which then felt its rear completely free. Hence the course of Old World history has been hardly less altered by the Russian conquest of Siberia than by the Chinese conquest and colonisation of Mongolia. By the fettering of these incalculable forces Europe has perhaps gained as much in South and East Asia. The great inroads of Huns, Mongols, and Turks, have for two hundred years been erased from the history of Europe. In Africa and Western Asia the spread of nomadism is stopped by the Mediterranean and the states which have grown inland from its shores; on the other hand, to the south the sheltering desert stretches far, and beyond, weak races without government form a booty for its conquest. Upon these it has thrown itself in full strength, until there too its own creation, the broad belt of the Soudan states, built an ever stronger barrier to it.

The reaction of the temporary political preponderance of the steppe-races upon their own history and civilization has no profound meaning. The Mongols conquered China and were conquered by Chinese culture. Culture strengthens those who serve it, weakens those who oppose it. The latter, if they have never learnt to know it, may not like to go without its luxuries, but they lack the counterpoise, the regular labour by which the tasks of culture are accomplished. The colonisation of Mongolia received its most powerful impulse through the dominant position taken by the Mongols in China from the time when they

conquered the northern kingdom until the fall of the Yuer dynasty, from 1234 to 1368. Kublai Khan, the founder of that dynasty, was as great a friend to Chinese culture as was afterwards Kang-hi, the great Manchu emperor, and like him tried to spread it among his wild countrymen. From this effort sprang a systematic policy of assimilation, which, as finished by Kang-hi, became to this day a rule of the policy of the steppe. We may express the elements of it in the words of a contemporary witness, Father Gerbillon: "The Manchus invested the most powerful Mongol chiefs with rank and titles, assigned payment to every head of a squadron, defined his boundaries, and gave him laws. They instituted a superior court, before which appeals against the chief's decisions could be brought; and all Mongols, princes or common people, are bound to appear when summoned by this court. The Emperor who then united Chinese and Mongols under his sceptre, did more for the security of China than he who built the Great Wall." To this momentous influence the Mongols most decidedly fell victims. The culture with which they came into contact was no less powerful than injurious and pitiless. In the first stages its effect was more demoralising than civilising. The judgment that a Chinafied Mongol shows neither Mongol straightforwardness nor Chinese industry, is true of the transition state. We may perhaps take it that the Mongol will some day adopt Chinese culture as healthily as the Uzbek has adopted Iranian culture; only then he will not be a Mongol but a Chinese.

As regards the mind, the training which the desert bestows on its mankind is penetrating and effective. Eye and ear are incredibly acute, and the man's sight and hearing are his most trusty guardians. His intelligence is brought to bear only on the most immediate concerns of his monotonous life, and therefore his mind is made up and his decision is swift. Trained by nature to achieve difficult tasks, he is capable of more than his compeer who lives in a softer climate and on a more genial soil; and thus the contrast between his poverty and his strength inevitably extends his fancy no less than it narrows his intellectual activity. The three great monotheistic religions are connected in their development with the deserts of Arabia and Syria. The stimulus to fancy, and the restraints at the same time imposed upon it, have had important results in fostering the religious sense among the desert-dwellers. The desert, again, is a training in political force and independence. There is the master, and there is the slave, and nothing between. A govérnor of Ghat said: "The Sahara is a country full of sheikhs." The desert races are split into factions to an unusual degree, which does not facilitate the growth of a strong authority. In this comparatively small town of Ghat there were, in Richardson's time, three factions, whose traditional rivalry was the strongest motive force for what one may call the internal political life among the peoples. But it is personal or tribal quarrels that keep them apart. The personal freedom of such members of the community as are born free is practically little limited; while those who are not called to freedom have no impulse to strive for it. The difficulty of feeding slaves makes it difficult to keep many. Thus whole populations are kept in subjection, from whom everything in excess of their absolute needs is taken. Whole oases are turned to estates, which are visited in the time of harvest in order to plunder the inhabitants; this is quite the desert idea of sovereignty. Thus the inhabitants of the Borku oasis, in spite of its famed fertility, are poorer than their fellow-tribesmen in the mountains to the north.

Beside these permanent subjects, caravans and traders are a source of revenue for the greedy lords of the desert. Small as are the sums to be earned from tolls and safe-conducts, they are important objects to the Tibboo, Tuareg, or Arab sheikhs. The fiercest fights have been waged over them; in 1876 Bary found the whole Tuareg people in commotion over a quarrel of the kind.

So long as nomadism was dangerous even to Europe, it was to the interest of every settled power to check it. Now the task is divided chiefly between Russia and China; as Venyukoff says: "While we hold down the Turcoman tribes, we must leave the Chinese to bear the burden imposed on them by history, that of the Mongols." The practical principle of steppe policy, pursued energetically by the Russians, surreptitiously by the Chinese, is the compression into an ever-narrowing space of tribes inclined to overstep their limits, which first takes away their area of plunder, and at last so reduces their pasture-grounds that nothing remains for them save to emigrate or to come over to settled life. Since the occupation of Krasnovodsk and Chikishlar, the Yomuts of the Caspian have been compelled, between Russians and Persians, to give up their old mode of life. They cannot plunder any more, and must needs till the ground and breed cattle. The Goklans, squeezed between the Yomuts and the Akhal Tekkes, had already found themselves compelled to make friendly advances to the Persians; and they have become to some extent husbandmen. The Ordos country was for centuries the nursery of inexorable and ineradicable foes to the Chinese empire. Now China is master of the whole curve of the Hoang-ho, which embraces this steppe-country, and Chinese settlers grow their opium and get salt close to the banks of Lake Urgun Nor, or transact financial affairs at the courts of the petty chiefs; and there is no more said about the intrinsic independence of Mongoldom.

On soil that is capable of being tilled, the nomad in the deeper sense is only a usurper. Where he does not voluntarily take to agriculture, Vambéry's terrible prophecy will be fulfilled: "The only lurking-place of the inveterate nomad will one day be afforded by those parts of the steppe where bottomless sand or waterless desert defies the researches of civilized man; on this accursed soil the last nomad, timid as the wild ass and the antelope which he has hunted out of existence, will end his wretched life." Agriculture, being the mainstay of this repressive tendency, is treated by the nomad as a foe, wherever it tries to force itself in energetically, perhaps under the escort of a foreign nationality, since in the contest for the soil it is sure to win. The ancient process by which a pastoral economy, based on the possession of wide tracts of land, is supplanted by agriculture, more narrowly limited, but cleaving closer to the soil, may still be seen in operation in the west, where, in the valleys of the San Joaquin and Sacramento, since the occupation of California by the United States, a great pastoral industry, mainly sheep-farming, has developed itself, in continuation of the existing *hacienda*-business of the Spaniards. But when agriculture also established its footing here in the 'sixties, the old conflict at once appeared; farmers tried to fence in as much land as possible to keep the flocks out; while the owners of the flocks had on their side the strength of their powerful land-ownership. Quietly and gradually, however, they were driven back by an invisible foe, the higher profits of the agriculturist. The struggle is essentially the same in the steppes of Central Asia. The plough and the ox seem weak and

slow in comparison with the nomad's spear, arrow, and horse. The herdsmen are for ever violently encroaching beyond their own borders, the steppes; and though culture grows, it often has to win back again the land which nature destined for it. In this struggle the nomad rightly sees the struggle for existence. He knows well that land which has once become arable seldom turns back into pasture; and he fights all the more fiercely because in the end he always gets the worst of it if he does not voluntarily take to agriculture. The advance of the Chinese into Mongolia mostly wears at the present day a peaceful garb; yet the flames of the contest between two forms of culture often shoot up afresh where agriculture and the herdsman come in touch. "But in vain," says the Abbé David, "do the indolent nomads of Central Asia fight against the overwhelming population of China. The country is being dispeopled from day to day by misery and by the great number of celibate Lamas. The Chinese are called upon to repeople it, absorbing the remainder of the Mongol population into themselves."

Three ways have always been seen in which the transition from nomadism to settled life has come about. Either a wandering race has been compulsorily confined within so narrow limits that the roaming pastoral life was out of the question; or it has lost its herds in war; or, lastly, it has lived so near a region of more stable, and therefore higher, culture that it has voluntarily given up a life free, indeed, but full of privations, in exchange for the repose and luxury of a more steady existence. This process is gradual but thorough. It begins with a taste for the luxuries of culture. Tea, opium, spirits, fine clothes, fine weapons, will corrupt the most hardy nomad. Trade plays a great part on the steppe. It becomes a factor of policy and ultimately of culture by satisfying wants, and arousing them again or creating new ones, until the nomad is no longer as a simple herdsman equal to meeting them, and has to allow his wives and daughters to take up agriculture or industry. The Chinese, born politicians and traders, employ trade with the greatest success as a powerful implement of policy. Trade, as a civilizing power, can only be fully estimated by him who has observed it on the steppe. Even if the sword of China had been more victorious against the hordes, she would have attained nothing so permanent as she has done by buying out the Mongols, impoverishing them, and making them in a limited measure more industrious and active. Even in such parts of Mongolia as China governs without official representatives, Chinese traders are, after the Ambans, the first and most influential personages at court and in the government, and the nomad is glad when he is allowed to conduct the transport-service by means of his own camel's back; like the honest Kirghises, who convey goods from Samarcand to Troitzka and elsewhere, a journey often lasting from autumn till the next summer. When the nomad accommodates himself willingly to the settled life, his first step is to build a store-hut, which stands beside his tent as a symbol that he is beginning to cleave to the soil. The wife uses this hut before the husband, who is away with his herds. As time goes on, a hut becomes the standing winter dwelling-place; the summer tent becomes more flimsy, and at last represents merely a temporary interruption to a fixed abode. A good example of this semi-nomadism is supplied by the Bashkirs of the southern Oural district. They were not always settled in that hill-country, but once inhabited the steppes of the Lower Volga. Driven into the hills, they have adapted their mode of life to its new conditions, without quite being able to lay aside their old nature. Even the acuteness of

their senses is said to distinguish these former rovers of the steppe from their neighbours who have been longer settled. Agriculture has not yet passed into their flesh and blood. Even where it might be profitable, it is only carried on as a secondary occupation. The Bashkirs of Verkhni Uralsk, though long settled, are wretched husbandmen, and, as such, are in general far below their Chuvash neighbours. Their horse-breeding fellow-tribesmen stand higher. If we compare more recent descriptions with that of Pallas, we see how little they have changed. Where they roam in summer over the southern spurs of the Oural with great herds of horses—the animals, indeed, remain out even in the depth of winter and seek their food under the snow—they have retained the same nature, the same customs, unaltered; and the hunters and fishermen have done the like. Nowadays, however, all retire into winter quarters, which show some progress in building and fitting up, but are still the simplest and narrowest wooden huts imaginable. Even the Takhtadjis of Asia Minor, the Tchepnis of the Turks, of whom Humann says—"They stand half-way between gypsies and Yuruks," are an example of true semi-nomads, living during the winter in fixed huts, but during the summer in tents like the Yuruks, who are purely nomad.

B. THE CULTURED RACES OF AFRICA

§ 4. SURVEY OF THE RED SEA GROUP OF RACES

The races around the Red Sea—The Nubas and the idea involved in the name—The Egyptians—The *fellah* type—The dark element in Abyssinia—Foreign admixture—Semites; urban and rural strains in Egypt—Turkish and other blends—Connection of Nubia with Egypt—Egyptian art a culture in its Nubian variety—Meroe—Barca—Later bloom and decay—Smaller independent polities—Transition to the present time—Abyssinia—Greek influences—Isolation of Mohammedanism—The Arabs in Equatorial East Africa—Slave trade—Hybridism—Colonising and conquering Arabs.

FROM the Isthmus of Suez to the southern tropic, East Africa forms a region of exchanges between Africa and Asia. Both by situation and by distance the east coast has been ordained to be the place on which should break the waves of Asiatic race-shiftings. The invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos is an old link, the march of the Arabs to Lake Nyassa a new one, in the chain that extends from the north almost to the south end of the continent, and from 2000 B.C. to the present time. In certain favoured spots, such as Egypt, Abyssinia, Nubia, Zanzibar, the Semitic incursions have had remarkable fortune; but besides these, hundreds of smaller points can be named where the same forces were operative. We hold with Brugsch that the leaning of the Egyptian spirit in the direction of Semitism can only be explained by a long life together and by early conditions of exchange between the Hamitic and Semitic stocks. Nor above all must we leave out of account the trade extending from the Nile to the Euphrates, which, before the Greeks, had crossed the Equator on the east coast. Nor, again, did the impulses in the direction of the eastern edge of Africa come to rest there; in the wide desert they found space to spread, even to Lake Chad and the Niger. The profound natural affinity between the Arabian peninsula and the North African deserts promoted the racial exchange; but in this Africa was to all appearance even in early times the more passive party. That the Mediterranean border of the peninsula with its Syro-Phœnician coast overlooks Africa was a further support on the northern side to the assimilation of the racial elements. Such strangers as came in, came in by far the greatest part from the south; floods of negro peoples, streaming in ever-increasing extension towards that sea of races which, from the position of its greatest and most important movements we call the Erythræan or Red Sea group—not forgetting at the same time how great a part was played in trade by that narrow basin through which the Ophir fleets sought their way, binding Egypt and Phœnicia with India, Arabia, and Africa.

Two great groups of races, physically often inseparable, and no less akin mentally than by language, Hamites and Semites, dwell in this region side by side and intermingled. The districts where Hamitic peoples have maintained

[illegible] far behind those where there has been a mixture; even in [illegible] they have been seen to retrograde, especially in North Africa. [illegible] their original position and extension, the Hamites always appear [illegible] East Africa, west of the Semites, whose seats are in Arabia, Syria, [illegible]tamia. Semites early appeared on African soil, but always as [illegible]. Formerly the Hamites formed a wall between Semites and negroes, [illegible] but exercise a great effect upon the negroes, as the Semites did [illegible] the Hamites are the aborigines of Africa, who even now in many [illegible] cannot be [illegible] separated [illegible] the negroes. [illegible] geographical site [illegible] the older habita[illegible] of both groups [illegible] an eastward [illegible]ing of the territory inhabited by the Hamites, till the Red Sea became their boundary. But there are indications which carry us beyond that. The Egyptians, the oldest Hamites of history, assign their own origin to the south-east, where their *Punt*, of which so much has been written, is sought. In any case the Red Sea lay quite in their field of view, and it is improbable that the Greeks were the first to carry them over the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The tales of old writers about the troglodytes on the Red Sea recall Gallas or Nubians more than Arabs. Mesopotamia and, perhaps, Southern Arabia show traces of an old Semitic culture.

A Bedouin of the Arabian desert. (From a photograph.)

Close and long-enduring contact with negroes has physically altered the Hamites in so many cases, that, when calling attention (p. 246) to the mulatto characteristics, we said nothing about the original racial type. The primitive Hamites may have been, probably were, much fairer than the old Egyptians. The increase of negro characteristics in the Nile district as we go further from the Mediterranean, so strongly emphasised by Hartmann, which is yet so gradual that, as Munzinger says, "the candid traveller does not know where the negro proper begins," points to an influx of dark blood, which in the course of thousands of years made its way slowly northward, and is always continuing. In limited districts, like the Lybian oases, the population is seen to grow darker with each

generation. One may assume that it was once lighter throug[illegible] East Africa.

No doubt can exist as to the deep-seated affinity between the [illegible] Semitic languages. There is, too, a kindred strain in the mo[illegible] qualities, which nothing testifies more clearly than the way in w[illegible] graft thrives on a Hamitic stem. Since the arrival of Islam the [illegible] become "Arabised." They are, indeed, more ponderous, more pow[illegible], enterprising to the point of venturesomeness, valiant soldiers, but over [illegible]

Nubian man and girl. (From a photograph.)

effect of contact with Semitism going back before the period of Islam. In the ancient Egyptian lay a religious strain like that in the Babylonian; but a strong delight in form developed what was plastic in the husk rather than what was religious in the kernel; and there is no greater contrast than between the idolatry of the Egyptians and the Hebrew or Arabian prohibition of images in worship.

Agreeably to the nature of the country, the Hamitic tribes of North Africa have submitted in the north to other influences than in the south. In the north they were called to great destinies, to the east as Egyptians ("Retu" of the hieroglyphs), and afterwards as Copts, to the west as Berbers, but in the working of history they have been thoroughly transformed; in the south the Tuaregs and Tibboos, true sons of the desert, the Barabras, and numerous smaller pastoral tribes up the Nile, were less deeply touched, and remained more faithful to their former

conditions. Arabs and Turks have turned the dwellers on the North African coast into Moors and Egyptians, comporting themselves with much resemblance to the tribes of the south. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt have always found it easy, when occasion served, to lay a light yoke on their nomad kinsmen of the southern steppe or desert; but equally they have always found how hard it was for culture in its most essential form to reign permanently in the desert. For a short time, indeed, the more vigorous nomaddom pressed northward from the plains down the Nile, and brought Egypt into bondage to Nubia.

An Egyptian Arab, negroid type. (From a photograph.)

In the two great groups, Hebrews and Arabs, the Semites are still living and active members of mankind; while the Syrians and Abyssinians who correspond to them lead an isolated life, living unconnected with any culture, and the share of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Phœnicians in the work of culture belongs wholly to the past. Like the Hamites, the Semites belong to the transition links between white and black, to which their position on the earth's surface corresponds. Mentally and spiritually they are highly gifted, and some of the greatest achievements which history records belong to them; the greatest of all being their work as teachers of monotheism. Judaism, Christianity, Islam, all arose on Semitic soil. The Hebrews are distinguished above the Arabs by deeper feeling and richer fancy; and both excel Hamites and Indo-Germans in the greater energy—narrowness, if you will—of their religious perception. Violence and exclusiveness, fanaticism in short, belong more to other branches of the stock, but are in general distinctive of the Semites. Nowhere are religious extravagances, to the point of human sacrifice, so widespread. The Mahdi's general who conquered Sennaar had his prisoners baked alive. Spiritual cosmopolitanism, such as Christianity has approved, belong rather to the Greek than to the Semitic element in it. The Semite is an individualist, holding faster to religion and the family than to the state. The eldest of the great empires were no doubt Hamitic and Semitic, but it was only by unlimited despotism that they succeeded in holding the tribes together. The Semite does not make a good soldier, and they were accordingly

obliged to win their victories with foreign mercenaries, a weak point in Phœnicia and Carthage even in their flourishing days. Religious struggles alone called forth the full valour of the Semite.

In the Arabs of the desert aristocratic traits are conspicuous, founded, no doubt, in their nomad life and the patriarchal system. Though, in the earliest times, the Semites of Babel and Asshur may appear to have achieved great things in science, it is possible that the Babylonish astronomy, calculation, and mensuration were of foreign origin. In later times they fell far behind the Aryan races in this line. Here, again, their greatest achievements are in the religious field. The Bible and the Koran have been for more than a thousand years the most widely-read books. In the plastic arts we may signalise the performances of the Mesopotamian peoples. The Phœnicians, too, attained a high level in art, and much pre-Hellenic work of the Mediterranean region may be traced back to them. In their poetry, as in that of the Hebrews and Arabs, passion and deep emotion are conspicuous.

In the fragmentary history of Arabia there is nothing that we can compare to that of Egypt and Assyria. Rest and stability, essential to the development of a high culture, were absent from a country over three-fourths of which permanent habitation is impossible. Southern Arabia may have retained culture for a while, but it always fell back under the domination of the more energetic peoples of the north and centre, and when any purely Arab polity or body of culture came into being, it was always upon the ruins of more independent developments on the richer and more fortunate culture-ground of Southern Arabia. It is not this culture, ever menaced, frequently destroyed, whose sway has spread far beyond its borders; it is the people of Arabia, sunk in nomadism, strong in faith, warlike, poor, independent. Since Islam arose to show beyond question what the influence of Central Arabia could do, the country has been even less known than in ancient days. Of all the lands of Western Asia, Arabia has least felt the contamination of the Turk. Arabia is far from having submitted to the rule of the Stamboul Portes, which only maintains itself against its nomad subjects as a military monarchy. The Southern Arabs of to-day are so completely under the influence of the central element, and the fanatical views of the Koran, that they deny their own descent, and take a ridiculous pride in ascribing to themselves a Central Arabian origin.

The Arab, important as he is in history, and conceivable ethnographically, is anthropologically a vague idea. In a land like Arabia, fractions may no doubt have for centuries held aloof from all mixture, and have developed to a close type; as we find wherever the Arab has set social and religious barriers between himself and other races, a task rendered easier by his aristocratic temperament. While in all Arab towns a medley of breeds confuses the population into a tangle which the anthropologist cannot undo, the strong negro blood being especially prominent, among the Bedouins or nomad Arabs mixture is still exceptional. They regard it as a disgrace, even where the nucleus of a town population, as in Yambo, the port of Medinah, consists of temporarily settled Bedouins. French writers lay emphasis upon the difficulty of their colonial government owing to the absence of half breeds to facilitate the approach of the colonists to the native population; and we are reminded that the Arab population of Algeria is essentially composed of nomads. The so-called Moorish town-population of North Africa has not

shown this inaccessibility toward foreign elements; it is one of the most mixed populations known. Besides this, much Berber blood has in course of time passed into the North African Arabs. We need only recall the prismatic picture which the anthropology of the so-called Arabs of the Nile presents. Many Hababs remind us of Shohos, others of Bedjas; others show decided Arab and Yemenese features with light coffee-brown colouring, and few only recall the Abyssinians, their kinsfolk in language. In these circumstances the fairest division seems to be into lighter and darker Arabs.

Dark colour is the rule among the Southern Arabs, the few exceptions being intruders from the north. In Yemen we are often reminded of South Italian types; but in the mountains inland from Hodeida there is an almost black Bedouin stock. The people of the south coast are dark, but not so dark as the Somalis, who are often as black as negroes. The beauty of feature among the Himyarites, which recurs with a coarser stamp among the Sabæans, recalls Munzinger's account of the Beduj: "Africans in colour, Caucasians in feature, Semites in speech." The same may be said of very many inhabitants of Arabia. In the country itself the distinction is into "red men," viz. Turks and Europeans, and dark red, that is natives and black. Munzinger thinks there may be a Greek admixture, the Greeks having once had flourishing trade-colonies on these coasts. The people of Upper Mensa boast of being children of the Turks. The expression of the eye and the mouth alone troubled that enthusiastic friend of the East African: "The physiognomy remains, but eye and voice change their expression with the age of the individual or of the race." The population of Socotra, less affected by continental influence, stands, Schweinfurth tells us, in language and physical frame near to the Maturas of South Arabia, but seems to have received Malay and Negro admixtures.

Another Arab type is offered by the great majority of the nomad Arabs in the north and centre of the peninsula and in North Africa, in regions where nature enforces a different mode of life and occupation, and mixture especially is less easy. The true Semites of the desert are sinewy men of middle stature, with small hands and feet, narrow head, lips moderately everted, finely-curved nose, large fiery eyes, bronze-coloured skin, dark-brown curly hair, and scanty beard.

Such is the light and such the dark man of these regions, with both of whom we meet everywhere, variously mingled and crossed. We find them in the double type of the Abyssinian races, where Rüppell speaks of the Caucasian type, equally an Arab type, beside the Ethiopian with oval face, large eyes, somewhat everted lips, weak beard, and nose not much curved. This is the type that recurs among the Bedjas and Dongolawis, and makes us think of the Arabian notion of the Abyssinian descent of the former. The slim build, which in the campaign of 1868 reminded the English of Hindoos, may be added as a universal trait. Rohlfs speaks of the Abyssinians' hands as too small generally to be called beautiful, and says that the reason they are small and dwindled is want of work. Among the genuine Abyssinians, Rüppell reckons the mountaineers of Samien, the people round Lake Tana, the Falashas, the heathen Gamants, and the Agaus. To the Ethiopian group belong the coast-people and the inhabitants of the province of Hamasa. The Shangalla slaves imported from the west have the negro physiognomy. As a third type, Rüppell distinguishes that of the Galla peoples, with whom he counts the Shohos, separating them sharply from the Bedouins; their

features, "in general not very interesting," are found pretty frequently among the Tigré people. Common to all three groups are varieties of skin-tint varying from light brownish yellow to the darkest black-brown.

Suggestions of the Arab and the Jew and Egyptian physiognomies are also noted. Over all attempts at classification and partition must in this case be set especially the recognition of an unusual amount of blending. The position and history of Abyssinia leave no doubt as to this. "Abyssinia," says Munzinger, "is like a rose surrounded by thorns; to the north are Mussulman races, most rebellious highlanders; the light-coloured Habahs; the Baraka people; further north are the Hadendowas, nomads from old time, of strange language. In the West Abyssinian borders is the Nile country, under Turkish sovereignty; in the south are the half Mussulman, half devil-worshipping Galla horsemen." Never has any part of Abyssinia been left to itself. At every point it has had to submit to influences, peaceful or hostile.

The Nubians, "a nobler variety of the human species," join on to the Arabs and Abyssinians. Many of the Nubians are of Arab origin, while in others the southern affinity is obvious—as in the Hadendowas and Bishareens—who externally are very like the Abyssinians, and were, before differences of religion made their appearance, more closely connected with them. Rüppell thinks he can see in individuals the old national features, made familiar to us by their ancestors in reliefs and colossal statues; the face of a longish oval, nose finely curved, and somewhat rounded at the tip; lips thick but not snoutlike; retreating chin, thin beard, lively eyes, strongly curled but never woolly hair, figure that might serve as a model; medium height; bronze colour. "This is the picture of a genuine Dongolawi, and these features are found among Ababdehs, Bishareens, some of the people of Shendy, and also in part among the Abyssinians." Compared with the Arabs, we may say that the Nubians have more negro blood in them. As for the colour of skin, among the Bishareens are people of a blackish-brown; and on the other hand, there are fair Bedouins even in Nubia, perhaps the offspring of Turkish soldiers from Bosnia; but the prevailing tint is reddish brown. That is what the Arabs call "red" as opposed to black, and is shown in our plate of a Nubian warrior. The process now going on of intermixture between Arabs and negroes throws an interesting light on the way in which these mixed types arose. We shall have to speak in § 10 of Nachtigal's remarks upon the hybridism of the indigenous Arabs of Bornu.

The history of Nubia shows northern Africans and Negroes united in a common work, of which, as a rule, the heaviest part falls to the negroes; the direction of it, by political and mental supremacy, to the northern men. The appearance in Sennaar within historical times of the Funges with their power of forming states recalls the Houssas, while the Egyptians and the Arabs play rather the part of the Fulbes. Nothing can be more alike than the way in which the Nubians have pushed back the peoples on the White and the Blue Nile, and the corresponding exploitation by the Soudanese states of the heathen lands to the south of them; nothing more notable than the blind fidelity with which part of the Nubas and Dinkas followed the Mahdi, to whose battle cry "Fi̤ssibil Allah,"—"for the cause of God"—heathens as they were, they charged wildly on their own people. Nubia, however, is more closely connected by the Nile with Egypt than those Soudan states are by the chain of oases with North Africa. Nubia,

[illegible] between Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Negroes, the region through [illegible] negro slaves passes, and where Egyptians and Turks have [illegible] raided, can boast less pure breeds than the more westerly [illegible]. The Nubian-Egyptian hybrid, known as a Nowallid, is a [illegible] native times. The very idea in the term "Nubia," originally con[illegible] dark inhabitants of the highlands in the south of Kordofan, has even [illegible] become rather social, connected with the notion of humble descent [illegible] dependence; [illegible] account the [illegible] now prefer to be [illegible] Barabras, and re[illegible] their own language.* When Burckhardt was at Shendy, all the slaves coming from the countries south of Sennaar were called Nubas. The idea of "Nubians" can only be taken geographically, being dependent on a delimitation, as accurate as may be, of the domain of the Nubian language. No doubt all Nubian peoples show much agreement in manners and customs, implements and weapons, but joined at the same time with many foreign, especially Arab, elements, so that even scientific travellers have been known to speak of the Baggaras as "Arabs."

A Cairene Scribe. (From a photograph.)

Arabic has long been making an advance in the domain of the Nubian language. "Only Arabic," says Lepsius, "is now spoken throughout this region, but a very distinct recollection has been preserved of the earlier Nubian population, and a number of villages are still distinguished as Nuba places." This recollection, however, has often vanished before the wish which all African Mussulmans feel keenly of tracing their pedigree back to the noblest families of Arabia. Pre-Arabic features are more plainly apparent in Makrisi's exhaustive sketch of the Bedjas. According to him, these extend from the emerald mines between Thebes and Coptos southward to Abyssinia, and from the Nile eastward to the Red Sea. They are nomads living in leathern tents. Each tribe has its own sheikh, but there is no general head. Descent is reckoned in the female line. They breed fine horses and excellent camels, long-horned spotted cattle, speckled sheep and goats. They live mainly on meat and milk, are fleet of foot, and fight

on horse or camel back. Their weapons are spears, which are made by the women at a place where men may only come in order to buy them: large bows of Arab shape of *sidr* (jujube) wood, with poisoned arrows, shields of ox hide, buffalo hide, or the hide of a marine animal, perhaps the *halicore*. They are hospitable. One tribe removes the incisor teeth. They are of warlike character, and have often been at war with the Egyptians. Each tribe has a priest; and when he wants to pray, a leathern tent is put up, into which he goes backwards, with no clothes on; emerging in a state of madness, he brings greetings from the devil, and prophesies.

The Baggara "Arabs," who inhabit the whole length of the bank of the Nile between the Shillook and Dinka country, and Kordofan, and are among the most active, valiant, and spreading races of the Soudan, are another old Nubian stock. Chiefly at the expense of the Nubas and Shillooks, they have spread rapidly over the plains of the Southern Soudan, and as escorts to the Khartum caravans have, in some cases, advanced far into the interior. They are purely pastoral, and therefore completely nomad; their name meaning "cowherds." At the same time they are bold and skilful hunters, pursuing the elephant with spears and swords; and naturally also reckless robbers. Perhaps the tales which the Greeks heard on the Red Sea, of hunters who crept up single-handed to the elephant, and cut his back sinews with a sword, may have had reference to them. The Baggaras were the first to adhere to the Mahdi, and seem up to now to be the most trustworthy support of his successors. Their wonderful style of hair-dressing earned them the nickname of "Fuzzy-wuzzies" from the British soldier. Schweinfurth calls them the best looking of the Nile nomads; there was little that was Semitic about their appearance, while not a few reminded him of acquaintances at home. Their passion for ornament and fine clothes is striking. The common people wear the indigo-blue shirt of the fellah; but all well-to-do persons wear scarlet, and cloth printed in many colours.

In Egypt, wherever Arab blood has not mingled, or has been obliterated, we meet with another, if not very different, physical type. The Egyptian *fellah* is a man of middle height, strong bones, muscular frame. The figures of the girls in their slim delicacy often recall the antique symmetry. The face is broad and round, with strong chin, thick lips, broad teeth, large elongated eyes, hands and feet rather large. The brownish and reddish yellow of the skin-tint hardly ever lacks a ruddy tone in addition. The difference from the more delicate, slimmer Arab type, is plain. A herdsman, nomad, rider, reiver, the Arab in process of time has acquired limbs of quite another frame than those of the Egyptian, who for thousands of years has been a bearer of burdens, a hewer of wood, a ploughman, a drawer of water. Both are on the road leading from the European to the Negro, and with them stand on the same racial boundary, the Hamites, kinsmen by language of the Egyptians as the Semites of the Arabs, and many other quasi-mulattos in Western and Southern Asia and Northern Africa.

In Egypt the old Egyptians dwelt wedged in between Semites to the east and Libyans or Maxyes to the west, separated only by the outer arms of the Delta rivers. Of these neighbours the Semites penetrated farthest into the mass of the people. The monuments found in the burial-places of ancient Egypt, the coffins and the papyrus-rolls, bear witness to the presence of individual Semites who seem to have had rights of citizenship in the valley of the Nile. But eastward of the Delta we

find them in compact masses in towns and fortresses with Semitic names. It was not by chance that the Hyksos who invaded from Edom took up their abode here beside their kinsmen of the same stock. This throws a light on their invasion as only a stronger wave of a stream that had long been flowing.

In the course of our narrative we have so often seen peaceful husbandmen losing their liberty and property under the sword of swift bold herdsmen, Watuta or Gallas, Wahuma or Fulbes, that the earliest invasion, followed by the subjection of Egypt for 500 years to the pastoral stocks of the eastern and northern deserts, seems only a repetition of the fight between settled and wandering peoples, which has, almost without intermission, shaken all East Africa from the Zambesi to the Mediterranean. In this case the herdsmen were Semites, and thus the Hyksos episode fits the more harmoniously into the framework of Egyptian history. For what else are these races, whom Manetho makes the ancestors of the Jews and the founders of Jerusalem, who in ancient times were called Phœnicians or Arabs, but the predecessors of the Sabæans and Arabs who were in later days to acquire North-east Africa with much more permanent results? At no time or place do desert and civilized country rest in peace side by side; but their conflicts are monotonous and full of repetitions. What went on in the three hundred years between the end of the old and the beginning of the middle monarchy? Mariette has suggested that there was an inundation of the kingdom by barbarians. Is it otherwise improbable that the unknown chaos out of which Menes raised the empire owed its existence to a nomadic invasion?

A Coptic merchant in Cairo. (From a photograph.)

The Hyksos governed Egypt five hundred years. As time went on, the culture and civilization of Egypt must have produced their effect upon these children of nature, even though to the Egyptians they seemed an abomination as much as their own shepherds. Nor did this inroad remain the only one. After the Hyksos came the Jews, upon whom the Egyptians exercised a deep influence spiritually, and who were not without influence on them. Joseph came to Egypt at the time of the last Hyksos kings, was well received by the King, akin to himself in stock but living in Egyptian fashion, and at Pharaoh's bidding summoned his own people to the country. The Israelites, however, had to

remain in the eastern march. "Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast." When Moses led the Jews out, the whole people, men, women, and children, went with him; and they disappeared from Egypt. Must we ascribe a greater influence to the Ethiopians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks? Seclude itself as Egypt might, drop by drop these invasions one after another infused fresh blood, and a gradual transposition was bound to take place, which yet in the often recurring ages when it was itself undisturbed, and able to collect and seclude, only made the race more peculiar. Thus, in contrast to other peoples of antiquity, this was a real nation, which, proudly conscious of cohesion, loved the land as its own and the home of its gods.

Islam first broke up the cement of the old nation. The brotherhood of all the faithful, their equality before the law, which the creed of the Prophet establishes among all Islamites, naturally led to the blending of the Coptic Moslems with their Arab co-religionists; but even now far more of old Egyptian than of Arab blood flows in the veins of most of the Egyptians of to-day, *fellaheen* or husbandmen as they are called, from the Arabic *falakh*, a plough. And as the fellah inherited from his ancestors so much of their physical peculiarities and their cast of mind, he received, alas, their destiny, which like a law of nature weighs upon the peasantry of Egypt from one thousand years to another. Numerous as the Arab immigrants may have been, they were absorbed by the perhaps racially stronger Egyptian blood. In the towns and villages of Upper Egypt, where the Copts lived thicker together, the original population has maintained itself almost unmixed, and the traveller often comes across figures in which he sees before him statues or pictures of the Pharaonic age come to life again. The eminently good-humoured but somewhat dull expression recalls the faces of ancient Egypt, and is in sharp contrast to the savage or cunning look of the Arab. In modern Egypt the Copt can move more freely. As a merchant, and in the lower official posts, he is indispensable. The black turban, once the Christian's mark of disgrace, is now worn willingly by the Copt, who likes to dress in dark stuffs. The Coptic women are gradually emerging from the veil and the harem. In the Egyptians of to-day we have before us a substantive race, descended in a direct line from the Egyptians of old, even though for the sake of language and religion it calls itself Arab, for it likes to think itself of one stock with the Prophet, and therefore superior to the Turks who usurped the Caliphate. Of nomad Arabs within the territories of the Egyptian government, especially in the peninsula of Sinai, and in the Libyan Egypto-Arabian deserts, there are hardly more than 300,000; and among them are the Ethiopic tribes of the Ababdeh, Bishareens, and Hadendowas. To these belong thousands of the so-called Berberines in the servant class and in the army. The present rulers and many grandees are Turks, who, with Armenians, Jews, and other foreigners, chiefly Greeks and Italians, are in the position of intruders upon the 5,000,000 of fellaheen and Copts. So foreign are they that in the Mahdi's camp all strangers, even Germans, were called Turks. People who do not merely cleave to the soil, but have grown to it with all their fibres, appear in a higher degree the children of the land; and herein lies the fellah's power of perseverance and resistance. With few alterations he lives and works as did the subjects of Menes. It is his labour and frugality alone that have still preserved for the country something of its old position in the world.

...ge in the life of Egypt is not the transformation of the old Egyptian ...nto a man who invokes Allah, but the complete decomposition of ...ata, side by side with so little change in the nature of the lower. ...ts, merchants, all townsfolk, have fundamentally altered. Only the ...ained essentially the same for 5000 years. Even to-day, as though ... the old writing and reading spirit had remained in the valley of the ... of all Arab lands that where the best high schools are—the mosque

A Bedouin. (From a photograph.)

of El-Hazar is the first university, and generally the intellectual focus of Islam—and where there is the most active press, and generally the briskest exchange of thought. Arab-Moorish art has flourished most finely in Cairo under the pyramids of the ancient kingdom. If one asks for old Egypt one must go down to the mud hut of the fellah, to the water-wheel, to the durra fields; the thread that binds the old to the new without a break runs quite at the bottom. Regarded from this side, Egypt is the most important link in the chain of Mussulman states on the north border of Africa. Arabism and Mahommedanism, with the exclusiveness common to both, more thoroughly removed the traces of Greece and Rome, and of the post-Roman Christian culture, than these could do that of ancient Egypt, and thus this last great turn in the history of Egypt was the most

far-reaching. Thus the Hyksos attained their object when they adapted to the crude violence of a nomad horde the fanaticism of a new monotheistic religion, such as was bound to follow the old polytheism.

The history of Nubia cannot be kept apart from that of Egypt. We have to do with one stock, and one frontier surrounds Egypt and Nubia as a region of culture. Nubia, however, always takes the second place, following Egypt slowly when it advances, obeying it when it is powerful, and again following it in its fall under the strokes of victorious conquerors. The Hamitic type of language binds together all the races on the northern border of Africa, and in the Nile valley to the foot of the Abyssinian mountains. The variation in the historical development of these tribes was not always so great as it is to-day. Nubia was not always so dependent. It cherished its own share of the overflow of Egyptian culture: though it was never a land with a culture of its own. From all the monuments, temples, statues, inscriptions we can gather only that the Cush of the Egyptians, the Ethiopia of the Greeks, was a province of the Egyptian empire, the frontiers of which were pushed by degrees to the south. In spite of the opposition offered by the dark-brown negro races, the Nahasi of the monuments—with whom lighter tribes of Semitic origin, coming in from the Red Sea, were early associated in the mountain country between the sea and the Nile,—the rule of the Pharaohs extended far up the Nile. Inscriptions on rocks between 19° and 20° north have preserved the remembrance of the great deeds of Thothmes I. As Egypt sank, Ethiopia, its junior, rose, and, in the seventh century, arose Ethiopian kings of Egypt. The oldest monuments preserved in the ruins of Napata belong to the time of Rameses II.; they are pure Egyptian, like the later works of native kings. What variations there are point to barbaric influence. Black goddesses more than once appear. A certain preference for the female element, perhaps connected with this, often meets us in old Nubia, and even affected the conditions under which the crown passed in the kingdom of Meroe. Here Greek culture and language struck permanent roots. Nowhere in Mussulman Africa did Christianity have a more secure position for centuries. Nubia was the refuge of Christians who were persecuted in Egypt. Monophysite Christianity reckoned its adherents in an unbroken chain from Lower Egypt into Abyssinia. Part, at least, of the Bedjas must, under the influence of the Christian kingdom of Aloa, have been converted to this form of Christianity, and there are said to be Christians still among them.

Here, as elsewhere, Islam has made a desert. Nubia is a weak shadow of what it once was. Not only the Egyptian splendour has vanished, but its after-bloom has miserably withered. Who would think, to look at the famous old capital of the Soudan, Sennaar, the king of which ruled as far as Wady Halfa, that it was not long ago the seat of so powerful a prince. Six or seven hundred straw huts surround the red brick ruin where the palace once stood. The younger towns which have sprung up in its place, like Khartoum or Suakin, are a poor substitute. Ethiopia, once famous, was forgotten even to its name, and the travels of Burckhardt, Belzoni, and Rüppell in the beginning of this century were like a rediscovery. Like Mesopotamia, Nubia was a land of herdsmen. When the Nile used to overflow its banks and bring fertility, the desert was inundated with shifting sands, and the cultivated strips and oases along the stream with shifting peoples. A second Hyksos age came upon Nubia. Coast tribes had, even before

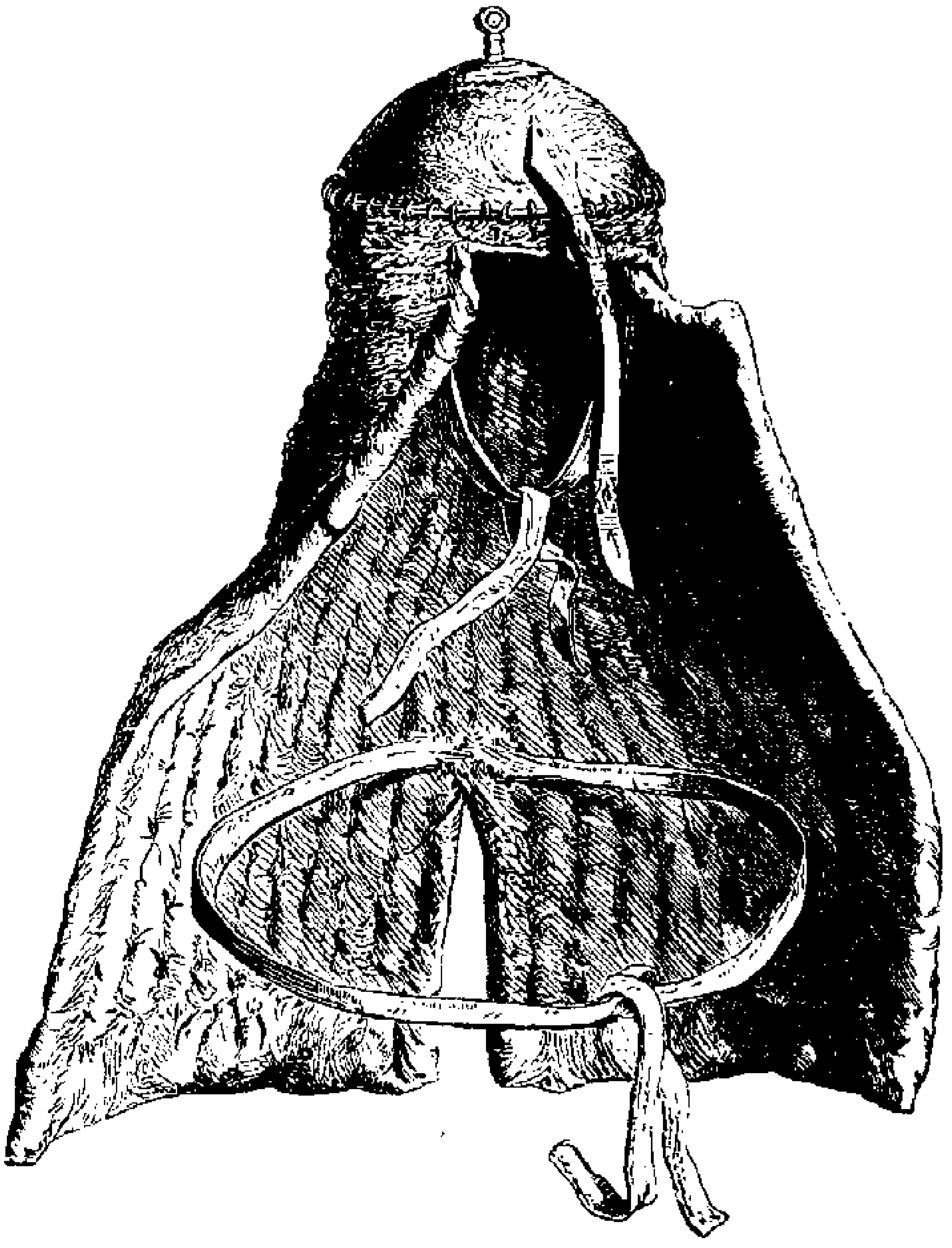
the coming of Islam, wandered in from Arabia, like the Sabæans of Abyssinia and the Hyksos of Egypt. Part of the powerful Arab tribe of the Tibetieh, called Hetems, came some decades ago under the protection of the government from the district of Moilah into the Sahel, without compensating the Beni-Amer and Hababs for the pastures and watering-places they took. The name of Arabs is borne with special right by the Shaikiyeh, who have a clear tradition that they immigrated from Arabia proper before the teaching of Islam had spread. Now as formerly these immigrant Arabs are most distinguished by their pronounced military feeling; even at the beginning of this century they waged bitter feuds with the petty sovereigns of the Nubian states. Formerly they held a marked position among the inhabitants of Nubia and the Soudan, for the very reason that they were the only people who rendered constant military service. In Dongola those Arabs with their soldier-like organisation rose to the sovereignty. But the Shaikiyeh were also distinguished in the arts of peace. Burckhardt saw better handwriting in their schools at Merawi than the best in Cairo. The Mamelukes, when driven out of Egypt, founded a state of their own in Dongola, with which the Shaikiyeh were thenceforward at hardly interrupted feud. In this new short-lived kingdom many of the evil seeds were sown which came up in the most recent history of Nubia, in which Jellabas and Dongolawis have earned a bad name as oppressors of the negroes, slave-hunters, and traders, and arbitrary officials. They seem likely to be as ruinous to the rule of the Mahdi as they were to that of the Khedive.[1]

In Southern Nubia, after the conquest by the Arabs, history took quite a different course owing to the outbreak from Darfour, probably about the beginning of the sixteenth century, of the negro people known as Funges. Without adhering strictly to Islam—for Bruce saw numerous sorcerers about the Funge king—they were converted, and by degrees lost their negro character, retaining, however, so much barbarism that their most famous king, Malek el Gahmân, preferred human liver to any other article of food. The Funges rushed across to Kordofan, and extended their rule southwards as far as Fazogl. Like true negro kings they were content to levy tribute on the native chiefs, leaving all else at their disposal. In this loose way Shendy, Berber, and Dongola were once tributary to the Funge kings. When Bruce first visited their kingdom in Sennaar, he found it defended by a military border, in which farming soldiers of the Funge stock tilled the land. The pagans, moon-worshippers and pork-eaters, wore thick copper rings on their wrists and ankles. Bruce was delighted with the orderliness of the camping, the horses, the equipment of these troops—steel mail-shirts, copper morions, large broad swords in red leather scabbards.

While the Arabs found in Egypt, and the plains and deserts beyond the Nile, an opportunity of spreading, and have remained in constant movement, we see the Arabian immigrants into Abyssinia, that island of lofty mountains in East Africa grown benumbed in the course of ages with staying in one place. Instead of spreading, the Semitic colony have remained as it were stuck fast in the mountains and forests of Abyssinia, never even reaching the Nile, the most copious arm of which rises and flows in its upper course amid their habitations. And thus the great historical possibility that the Semites of Egypt at the Nile mouth might join hands with those of Abyssinia at the eastern Nile source, has remained un-

[1] [This was of course written before the recent recovery of Dongola.]

accomplished. In the foreign relations of Abyssinia, its position is more Arab than African. Among the inhabitants of the southern Red Sea coast a significant legend is current that Arabia once formed one country with Abyssinia, and that they were torn asunder by an earthquake. Some place this occurrence in the time of Mahommed. In any case Islam severed the connection between Abyssinia and its mother-country. As the part of the East African highlands, richly furnished as they are with animal and vegetable treasures, which projects furthest northwards and seawards, Abyssinia was even in ancient times visited by the traders of Asia and Europe. Owing to this, and to its nearness to Southern Arabia, it became earliest of all Central African lands involved in the culture of Asia and the Mediterranean.



Nubian helmet. (Frankfort City Museum.)

In the myth and history which Abyssinian traditions combine, a medley as they are of Scripture and paganism, Semitic and African, the famous Queen of Sheba turns up, ruling, as the Abyssinians assert, in Axum. Her son Menelek, who called himself David, was begotten by Solomon in Jerusalem. Thus an Abyssinian dynasty, with which all later monarchs sought to connect themselves, was traced back to Solomon. Christianity was introduced in the fourth century of our era. In these traditions lie three points of contact with history. The Queen of Sheba denotes the connection, which the language proves beyond doubt, between Abyssinia and Southern Arabia. It is certain that, at the beginning of our era, Ges peoples were settled in Abyssinia ; the peculiarity of the Abyssinian dialect gives reason to assume an early separation from the Southern Arabic. The existing Ges language is simple in construction, easy and pleasant-sounding. It is already corrupt in Hamasen ; in Tigrè proper it forms almost a new dialect, Tigrina, while Amharina has departed furthest of all. The purest Ges is undoubtedly found in Mensa and among the Hababs. In any case, in the Arab population of Abyssinia we have before us the product not of great former immigrations, but of the same continuous infiltration which we find in operation throughout the east coast of Africa. The ground of the introduction of Solomon is to be found in the connection with the Jewish sphere of

culture proved by the presence of numerous Jews (called Falasha) in Abyssinia, and by the strong Judaic element in Abyssinian Christianity. There is no doubt that here as in Southern Arabia a strong Jewish immigration once took place, though when is uncertain. The last Himyaritic sovereign of Abyssinia was well disposed towards the Jews, and there were at the same time Jewish kings in Southern Arabia, and Christian Greeks in the harbours of Axum. Even in the sixth century Abyssinia was regarded as the protector of Christians in the Red Sea district, and in Southern Arabia an Abyssinian king defeated the pagan and Jewish Himyarites.

The often-quoted obelisks of Axum cannot be accepted as evidence for the connection with Egypt once assumed as certain. Some of them are quite small, some 80 feet high; some rough, others regularly hewn. One has engraved on the front of its base, of elongated rectangular plan, a door with a lock, on another are the coils of a vine. They might be the work of late Egypto-Greek craftsmen. Of similar origin perhaps is the sphinx-like figure carved in the rock beside the lake of Encharo. On the other hand, at various places in Abyssinia there are massive edifices with thick walls of large stones put together without mortar; houses on elevations, walls, seats as though for assemblies, reminding us strikingly of similar ones in South Arabia. The rock churches recall Arabian and Syrian work.

Trustworthy information about Abyssinia has reached us through Greek navigators, who traded near where the mouth of the Baraka now is, then at Massowah or Arkiko, and founded towns. From Adule near the present Zulla, the Greeks and Romans fetched ivory, rhinoceros horn, and tortoiseshell. We have Abyssinian coins with Greek inscriptions of the fourth century, A.D. The spread of Islam all round its frontiers made the country an island of Christianity in a Mussulman ocean. Islam never took a prominent place in the history of the kingdom till the time when the Mussulman Gallas invaded the land from the south, while the Turks in the sixteenth century encompassed it from the side of the sea; so that the connection with European Christendom which was regained at the same time was of little practical value.

We have spoken in former sections of the relations of the southern East African countries with Arabia and Asia generally.

§ 5. ISLAM

Extension and limitation in place of Islam—Traces of Judaism, Christianity, Paganism—Superstition—Local variations—Asiatic followers—Priests and dervishes, errant divines, fakirs, convents, brotherhoods, hadjis—Islam as the carrier of Arab culture. Its civilizing power in Central Africa—Campaigns of conquest—Arab learning and science—System of law—Theocracy.

THE starting-place of Islam lies by the desert, to the southward and eastward of that whence Judaism and Christianity arose. These sprang from the most fertile historical soil of the past—Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Rome—and were from the outset no less well furnished for interaction at many points with western culture than Islam was defective in this respect. It suffers from its narrow local basis. It is full of usages indicating a religion suited to Arabia, and this influence goes deep down. Mahommed's monotheism took its rise in the dream-life of the Arab due to the

limitless and magnificent monotony of the desert, and was a great advance from the polytheism of natural forces and star-worship towards a spiritual religion; but in spite of all advantages, its power for development in a moral direction was checked by the lack of cosmopolitan humanity.

That Islamitic culture is only made up from that of the races which the Arabs, in so astoundingly short a time, brought under their sway, is incredible in view of the unwonted rapidity with which their language spread. Yet some brilliant sides, fruitful too for culture, of the earlier developments of Islam may be traced to Persian influence. In the intellectual activity of the Abbassides these traces appear; "in Mahmoun," says Ranke, "there beat undoubtedly a vein of Persian free thought;" India contributed Buddhistic ideas. So too, in Asia Minor, Islam takes on Turkish and Greek tints, and its elements in Egypt are different from what they are in Morocco. The Moors, who were once settled all along North Africa from Egypt to Spain, differed essentially from the mental endowments and tendencies of Asia in their art and their industry, their chivalrous feeling. This contrast was early recognised. In its flourishing days the Islamite world witnessed a great struggle for supremacy between the two great subdivisions, the Maghrebin in the west, the Mashrikin in the east. The result was to acknowledge the east as superior in rhetoric and poetry, the west in art and science. These last indeed always remained a sport, limited in place and to some extent in time, upon the old tree of oriental religion and existence.

Pure monotheism is too abstract for mankind in general: could Orientals keep it clear of disturbing accretions? Islam developed the influence of the already existing monotheistic religions rapidly and in a one-sided way, in conscious opposition to the then political refuge of Christianity, the Byzantine Empire. Mahommed condemned the Christian hierarchy of saints and the doctrine of the Trinity, which to him, with his need for sharp contrasts and no conciliation, seemed pure polytheism. But his next friends and relations have now become a whole Paradiseful of saints, who are more passionately revered than any Christian saints. Miracle-working sepulchres, and chapels in which Arab marabouts are buried in the *Kubbeh* under their green-curtained beds, exist by thousands in the domain of Islam. Saints of this kind, as with us, are patrons of countries, towns, professions. Every corporation in Mussulman countries has its patron, who is connected by legend with its functions. In remote regions, as on the road from Semipalatinsk to Sergiopol, nothing pleases the eye so much as the artistic forms of Tartar sepulchres. Hills are crowned with chapels in which the bodies of holy men rest; and elevated sites are sought by preference for mosques. The divisions caused in Islam by different views as to Mahommed's successors are well known.

The reforming spirit of Islam in its oldest form attacked idolatry, star-worship, murder of infant girls, and the like; but traces of the old star-worship have never been quite obliterated. There is a remnant of it in the veneration of the moon by the tribes east of the Jordan. The reverence for graves which leads a tribe not to stop at the tombs of its own ancestors, but even to cover the gravestones of others with kisses, and exclaim, "Pardon, ye blessed," recalls the ancestor-worship and cult of stones which has been able to maintain itself at the very centre of Islam, in honour paid to the black stone of the Kaaba. When Lepsius ascended Mount Serbal, in Arabia Petræa, he found that the Bedouins had made

a ring of small stones, which they approached with religious awe, praying and sacrificing sheep as thank-offerings within it. Alleged footprints in stone give rise to stone-worship. Mahommed wanted to dismount at Damascus, and had already one foot on the ground when he was told by the angel Gabriel that if he entered the earthly Paradise he must renounce that to come. The prophet remounted promptly, but his footmark is still to be seen on the rocky ground near the Hauran gate. Among the advantages which the Mahdi gained by his stay at the foot of Jebel Gedir was the influence of the holy stone which the Tagallas said they possessed there. No monotheism goes so far as Islam to meet the belief in spirits. Its Jinn are known even in distant regions where the religion itself is weakly represented.

Among the Tartars and Kirghises the Mollah has taken over from the Shaman a whole string of superstitious usages, associated with the sanctity of fire, the oath over water, which the parties swearing drink, and other matters. The funeral carouses on the fortieth day after the death, and on its anniversary, are also at bottom pagan.

Christian traces, again, have been preserved in Islam, most of all in Nubia, where they crop up from an earlier stratum of Christianity. Among the Bedjas Saturday is called "the little," Sunday "the great," Sabbath; and they know Christmas and Easter as well as we do, though they can hardly read the calendar. The Tartars of the Ufa government, while still Christian, used to revere the Mussulman saints; now the converse is found. Islam early underwent Christian influences; but it is rather a continuation of Judaism, the more Semitic of the two monotheistic religions which preceded it, and its conception of the Deity is more Jewish than Christian. It grew up in open conflict with polytheism, and in a quieter opposition to Judaism and Christianity. When it was growing, Mecca, as a great trading-place, had relations with all quarters, but especially with the Christian empire of Eastern Rome, which then embraced Syria and Arabia.

With regard to the success of Islam in Africa we must not overlook a deeper relation between the religious ideas of pre-Islamic Arabia and ancient Africa. Africa was no strange soil for Arab nations. Circumcision, prohibition of various foods, polygamy, were indigenous here. The entire national and superstitious basis of Islam is familiar to every negro. Where Islam contends, as in Senegambia, with a Christianity that is not quite recent, this superiority shows itself. Here Mussulmans devote themselves to the same work as Christians, but Arab culture better suits the tastes and requirements of the negro. He adapts himself far more readily to Mussulman dress and manners than to European, and outwardly with better success.

The limit of the extension of Islam in Africa is shown in our map of African culture. In Asia one can travel over Mussulman territory from the watershed of the Indus and Oxus all the way to Constantinople. To the eastward of the former point, however, Islam recurs only in larger or smaller groups, consisting practically of Shiites, the Badakshan people, most of the Baltis, the Dards of Astor and Gilgit, and the Cashmerees. Here Islam has gained ground on Buddhism. In India forty millions of Mussulmans, who formerly stood to the Hindoos in the position of rulers, form a little world apart; politically the most forcible, the most enthusiastically united, the most formidable constituent of the

British Empire in India. The memory of the last brilliant days of India under Mussulman leadership does not easily die out.

The civilized inhabitants of West and Central Asia are among the most fanatical of Mussulmans. In spite of their amiability, the Persians are often more reserved towards Christians than Arabs are; and Afghans still more so. Persian merchants may be seen on the paddle-boxes of the Volga and Caspian steamers, praying towards Mecca; and special kitchens are reserved for them that they may not have to eat with Christians. The Tartars imitate them, as though the neighbourhood of Christendom had an invigorating effect upon Islam, which has of recent years gained proselytes by hundreds among Christian Tartars and Chuvashes. Throughout Turkestan and the Volga country on the borders of Europe and Asia, the Mussulman religion is strongly represented. Almost every Bashkir village has its mosque and its cemetery, placed conspicuously on the road, surrounded by a hedge or by trees, and containing graves of the simplest kind, often only regularly-laid heaps of stone, a yard high; often, again, mounds of earth with small wooden poles stuck in them. Among the handsomest, largest, and oldest monuments of a Turkestan town are several mosques, often covered with a Chinese pointed roof, in addition to a Greek church. Religious fanaticism takes for a time political forms, and swings back to its point of rest in mysticism. The spirit of Ali, the converter of Central Asia, a bloodthirsty apostle of the new faith, whose grave at Mazar-i-Sherif, near Balkh, is a place of pilgrimage for all Central Asiatic Moslems, breathes through their region till the present day. Here, and on to the frontier of China, the contrast with Buddhism, and perhaps the national contrast between Turk and Mongol, must have a strengthening effect upon the faith of Dzungars, Dungans, Taranches, Panthays, and other Mussulman groups of far Central Asia.

Islam has its priests of lower and higher rank; among some, as the Persians and Turkomans, their influence is small; elsewhere it is larger, as in Egypt and among the Moghrebins, where the ceremonies, prayer, ablution, prostration, preaching, prevent an attractive form of divine worship. The Mahdi's mass-prayer-meeting, at which thousands of his followers placed themselves in rows, and prayed with him, had an inspiring effect. But much Shamanism has passed to the priests, and they are hardly less slaves to superstition than the negro witch-doctors. Lunatics, idiots, and other mentally-afflicted men and women are treated by Mussulmans with pious reverence. Mahommed himself was subject to fits of ecstasy, in which he received suggestions which he regarded as revelations from the Almighty, a condition which penetrates deep into the "natural" religions. Hairs of some great saint, sewn into little leathern bags, are laid as charms upon the breast of women in labour; or water from the well Zemzem is given them to drink; or dust from the temple at Mecca strewn on their heads. Among the Mussulman Jolofs, leather pouches with verses of the Koran, which hang from their necks in good fellowship with the magic horn, are as common as are among the Christians *grigris* worn by them as necklaces, armlets, or anklets, or verses, again, of the Koran [?], sharks' or jackals' teeth, bones, or wood in a metal box on the breast. Not only dervishes and fakirs, such as in Central Asiatic towns inhabit little mud huts built against the tombstones in the cemeteries, rank with the priestly class; the circle of religious functions includes even snake-conjuring, including the feat of eating a snake (which has previously

been deprived of its poison-glands), from the tail upwards, the conjuror getting severely bitten all the time by the head. This may be a degraded form of an idea that is found in many places—even Islam has its Asclepius in Sheikh Sheridi, whose miracles are performed with a snake that cures all diseases,—but at any rate it shows a pronounced tendency to the most materialistic presentation of an idea.

Islam is not wanting in formalists and supporters of things as they are—passionate opponents of all innovation and reform. Here as everywhere an enthusiast with ideas of reform is uncomfortable to prelates and dignitaries. The same cause is often served by inspired ascetics, who have more than once succeeded at critical moments of history in electrifying a people sunk in luxury. Some decades ago a religious reformation was started in North Africa by the Order of the Senoussi brethren, which has had political consequences. It imposed sacrifices on the population, but gained them over nevertheless, till they were ready to do compulsory services for it, and it found the judicial power on its side when there was a question of compelling such services. The Senoussi, like the Jesuits, got hold of the schools. It has declared war against the people's pet luxuries, looking with an unfavourable eye on coffee, while its Moroccan members regard tea as harmless. It will not even allow smoking. Women are forbidden to enter its places of worship, and it wishes to exclude them from the anniversary festivals of saints, which the men do not like, as at these popular festivals the women have to see that they are supplied with food. When the founder of the order wished to preach in Cairo, Sheikh Hanik launched an anathema at him and got him shut up. There have always been fakir villages in the hermits' country of Egypt and Nubia, in which dwell none but these holy men, priests without any priestly charge. They can read and write, they allow no music, no dance, no festival, and therefore have the reputation of great sanctity. The sheikh of such a village is the greatest fakir of the neighbourhood, and is believed in as a prophet by every one. Many private persons besides live in the odour of sanctity. As the Mussulman powers decayed, politics became blended with religion. It was in soil like this that Mahdism grew. The first Mahdi was a dervish from the little village of Uba on the White Nile; his supporters were fakirs and citizens who were respected as saints, and were influential accordingly. The French maintain that in the Algerian rising of 1830 they felt the hand of the secret societies composed of these political conspirators in religious garb.

Political movements among these Orientals come in like epidemics. The Arabs especially are carried on in their political hopes and plans by a high community of ideal, which makes up for the lack of practical unity. The possession of common places of pilgrimage, especially Mecca, which forms a local centre for the religious consciousness more effective than Jerusalem or Rome has ever been, is of greater importance in this respect. Mecca is visited yearly by thousands of pilgrims; those who come from furthest off frequently being years away from home. How many Hadjis who have seen the splendour of Islam in its holy places go forth into the world to proclaim it to others! They experience practically the influence of a religion which brings together men from the Niger, from Celebes, from Thrace, from India, and gives them a deep sense of communion. To have tested this means more than all the "five things" which the Moslem needs to be a Hadji, the pious purpose, the presence on the Mount Arafu, the

pilgrim's dress, the seven circuits round the House of God, the [illegible] two hills Stafa and Marua. The pilgrimage to Mecca is a pio[illegible] not necessary to blessedness. Islam is a practical religion [illegible] development it is cut out for a propaganda and has succeeded a[illegible]

Missions and other active forms of agitation are ever bearing [illegible] into Asia and Africa. It was still possible for Livingstone to de[illegible] Journal that the Mussulmans of Central Africa indeed teach their [illegible] the Koran; but only they do so, and it has never been tra[illegible] servants [illegible] man usages, but offer [illegible] though the[illegible] go circum[illegible] to qualify [illegible] to slaugh[illegible] their mast[illegible] has now [illegible] altered. [illegible] priests, [illegible] monks, dervishes, are an old institution of Islam. Set free from the high schools as an educated proletariat, often nearly akin to swindlers, they go about the Mussulman world, bearing afar such ideas as they have acquired. From Mecca as a centre, mosque-priests pass through India and Africa, collecting offerings for the shrines, trading in amulets, proselytising, inquiring, and spying—connoisseurs in all the business of conspiracy, and they have undermined whole kingdoms with their secret societies. The position of these divines in Mussulman society varies between contempt willingly borne and reverence extorted by religion. They are often regarded as superfluous and burdensome, but no one ventures altogether to set them aside. Among races steeped like the desert Arabs in fanaticism, these strange saints are indispensable, though their form of Islam is coarser and their theological knowledge less than that of any tent-dwelling sheikh.

A fakir of the Shukuriyeh tribe. (From a drawing by R. Buchta.)

Between Byzantium and Persia political tendencies soon developed, and as Arabia sent forth in constant succession men able to win victories under the Crescent, the faith bore Arab culture far beyond the borders of the peninsula, and there arose what has been called a civilization in which the religious sentiment takes the lead of everything. Professors of Islam felt the superiority of this culture, even where from a material point of view it stood below many others

over which it had risen to rule by the force of faith and the sword. For centuries Mussulman states were the greatest powers known in Africa and great part of Asia. These were not content with the profession of Islam, but must needs be genuine Arabs. They adopted the bearing and the weapons of Arabs. To this day the ruling stocks of the African desert and the Soudan, even those in remote Baghirmi, trace their descent from dwellers in Mecca or Yemen. Even the Kabardians of the Caucasus hold themselves to be descended from the Arabs. In Africa indeed it is not pure imagination. Ibn Batuta affirms that certain Arab tribes of Mauritania, including the Sanhajad, are of South Arabian stock, and belong to the group of the Himyarites, whom even in dress and mode of hut-building he compares with the Moghrebin. Mere externals form the professors of Islam into a great fraternity, recognisable everywhere. The sandalwood rosaries of the Mecca pilgrims, all the formulary of prayer and sacrifice, the pilgrimage, and festivals, the turbans of various colours, the loose-flowing clothes, in more limited districts small marks like the burnous of the Moghrebins, or even the blue stripe in the cloth worn by the Abyssinian Mussulman, or, to pass to a higher level, community of language, at least in certain formulæ which act as a signal for recognition, contribute to the feeling of unity which the east in its political disintegration needs as much as mediæval Europe needed Rome. "The pride," says Munzinger, "which every Mussulman people feels, is the offspring of unity, of the sense of kinship. He has a religious patriotism which passes over friendship or family." It is part of the Moslem's comfort in life that his life is hedged in by innumerable little traditions and distinctions, for in these he most easily finds the difference between himself and the infidel. The only time that Vambéry ran a risk of being recognised in his disguise as a mendicant priest was when a colleague was surprised to see that the hair on his arms lay neither upwards nor downwards. Sonnites and Shiites respectively wash their arms from elbow to knuckles and in the contrary direction. Burckhardt was in danger of being taken for a European through washing his mouth with water after instead of before drinking coffee.

The Arabs as a race have never arrived at the reposeful state of manufacturing, on their own account, material flowing in from without; their activity has fulfilled itself in conquest and extension. Though in the first century after Mahommed the expansive force of the race acted powerfully in all directions, coming in contact no less with eastern than with western civilization, this lasted so short a time that little, indeed nothing of it, came back with them. For a time a new meaning was put into the life of the stock. By union it had seen its forces grow stupendously; certain branches of literature flourished; talents of the most various kinds were quickened and stimulated. But the task soon became too great for the true intimate adherents of the Prophet, the Ishmaelites, the valiant sons of the desert, unused to sedentary culture. They founded the greatness of Islam, but also contributed to its retrogression. When they settled they soon fell into idleness, or sunk under the culture which they had conquered with arms not with brains. Islam flowered most splendidly in non-Mussulman countries. We must keep the Arabs separate from the Nubians, Egyptians, Mauritanians, hidden under the garb of Arab culture; though the separation cannot everywhere be maintained. In Egypt, the history of which is somewhat better known than that of other parts of North Africa, the term Arabs is applied to the inhabitants who can be

proved not to have settled in the Nile Valley till later, and to [illegible] villages with certain privileges. Through their free descent and their [illegible] character they are markedly distinguished from the fellaheen, the origi[illegible] who have become degraded by the serfage of a thousand years. Be[illegible]

The Cadi of Khartoum. (From a photograph by R. Buchta.)

name given only to the free son of the desert, who swarms throughout the coast districts.

These distinctions are aided by language. The Moghrebin dialect of North-west Africa shows a variation from the pure Arabic chiefly in the number of Berber and Romance expressions which the Arabs of Morocco have appropriated, adopting even constructions from those languages. This, however, is only a relic of the foreign admixtures which it took in on Spanish soil, where the Spanish Moors had hardly anything in common with the real Arabs but their language; and this degenerated in the mouths of Andalusians to a popular dialect. Under

the name Moghrebin the true Arab now understands Moors, Algerines, and Tunisians, who are known among other Arabs by the burnous. As a solitary survivor of the sway of Islam over a great part of the Mediterranean basin may be mentioned the Maltese language, a corrupt Arabic which established itself in the island under Saracen rule. At the present day it is full of Italian, German, and Provençal elements, and is the predominant speech of the country parts only, while Italian decidedly prevails in the towns. Maltese, with its medley of foreign elements, can be compared only to Abyssinian and to the extinct Mozarabic of Southern Spain.

Islam knows no secular law. The priest is also the judge, even as the mosque is a place of asylum. Ancient legal customs, ordeal by fire, and the like, have survived in Arabia from old times; and many of these cruel institutions have passed into the Koran. The Koran, however, is not a thing apart, but claims to take precedence of all political rules. Every Mussulman state is essentially theocratic; and, besides, it is known that the destinies of Islam in its first century were in the hands of a great warrior caste, which recognised no private property, but divided the spoils among all fighting men and all the faithful. The socialistic spirit which forbade interest to be taken on loans has naturally been unable to penetrate far, at least among such commercial people as Persians and Moors—a Persian proverb says: "No trade, no fortune"; but it survives in many details.

The Moslem, like the Hebrew, conceives of the Deity as a being prone to wrath. Since Mahommed received the intimation that even war might serve to spread the true faith, his elect have been entitled to do him service by means of anger, rage, and cruelty. This gives the basis for a peculiar ethical doctrine. Man need suppress only certain evil impulses, others he may allow to grow luxuriantly. Their fatalism might make us believe that the astrology and soothsaying of Chaldean times was in turn active and flourishing in Arab superstition. It is hard to conceive how the apparently freest utterances of the will are burdened and fettered, and how the finest blossoms of natural disposition are killed by it. Islam, as a religion of conversion by the sword, has not held forth the highest ideals, but in their place has left to the nation a heritage of rough force which has become an important element in extending it and to some extent in giving it internal strength. Campaigning in fanatical hordes comes halfway to meet their nomadic tendencies and unstable conditions of life, and has been constantly repeated. The insurrection of the Mahdi in Nubia against the Turks of Egypt was not so unusual a phenomenon as many think. At the end of 1856 Ibrahim Shereef-ed-deen, a Foulah from the Niger district, entered Bornu on his way to Mecca, with the reputation of sanctity, and accompanied by a host of people who believed him to possess supernatural powers. He never rode, he wore only sandals, and went scantily clothed. Advancing slowly, to give his family time to get away from their tribe and join him, he saw the number of his followers continually increasing. Imperceptibly the fakir became a political power, dangerous no less through the fanaticism than through the mobile character of his host, which was as much an army as a band of pilgrims. The nucleus of this army of the faith was formed by Fulbes from the west, armed with bows and arrows, who surrounded the fakir like a bodyguard.

§ 6. LIFE IN THE NOMAD DISTRICTS OF AFRICA AND ARABIA

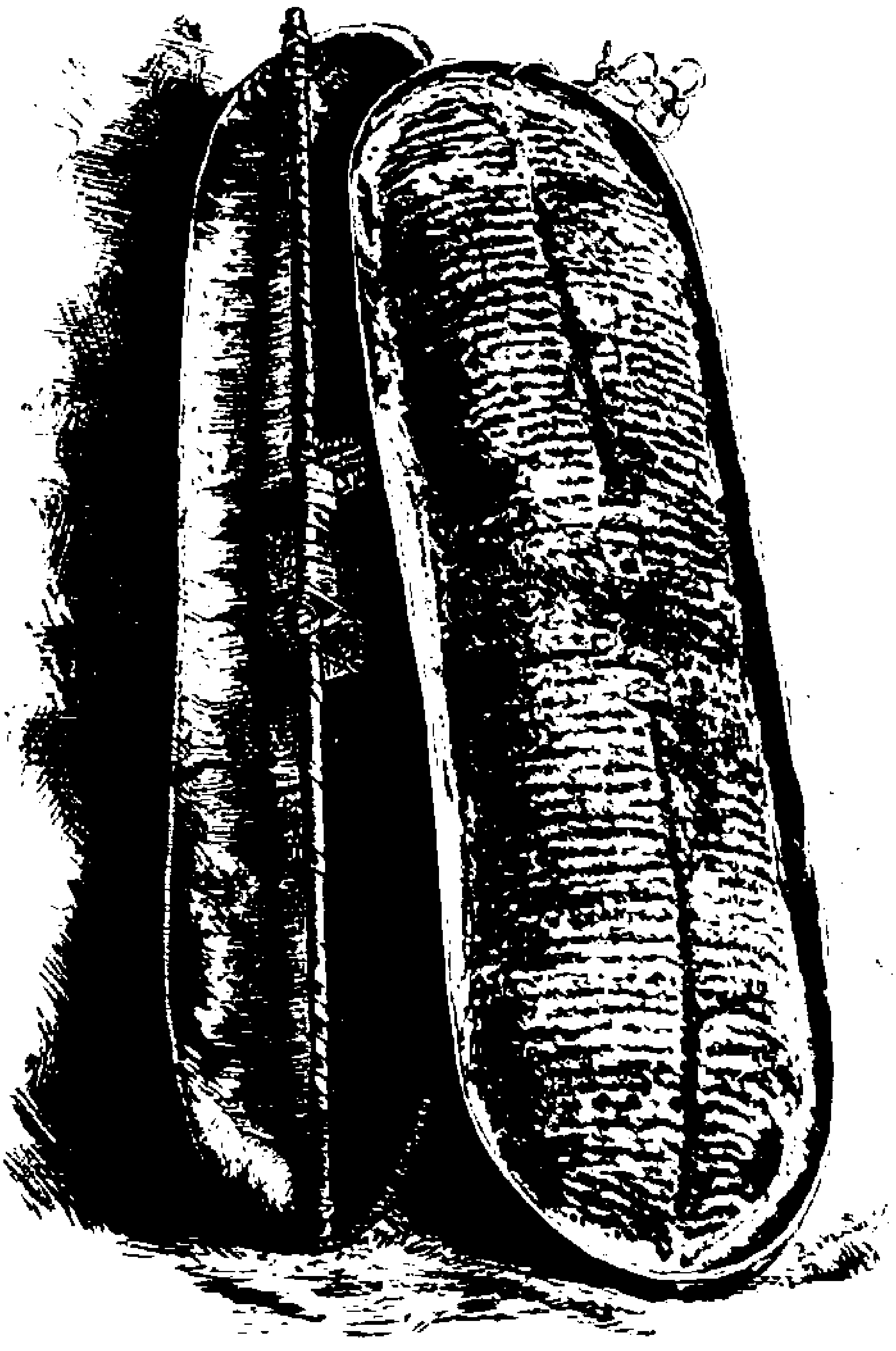
Dress, ornament, weapons—Places of abode—Cattle-breeding and nomadism—Arab origin of the domestic animals of East Africa—Agriculture in Southern Arabia and Nubia—Food—Manufactures—Artisan castes in Southern Arabia—Nubian industries—Arabs as seamen and merchants—The trade of Nubia—The *zeriba* system—Character and mental disposition—Barriers—Arab art—Position of women—The family—Polygamy—Tribe and state—Political retrogression.

THE dress of the nomad Arab is so simple and appropriate that it must long have been such as we know it. Among the Arabs of the north and centre no man's worth was ever lowered by the most extreme simplicity of attire. Mahommed, and Omar his successor, despised all ornament, and the former might be seen mending his own sandals. The long white shirt is gathered in by a girdle of raw leather; and besides this there is the cloak, brown or black and white striped, to which in the cooler north, even in the Jordan country, is added in winter a sheep-skin jacket coloured red on the outside, and the turban, white or parti-coloured, made of a piece of cotton or silk some four feet square, fringed on two sides. This is held by a black hair-thread, bound twice round the forehead and head, and behind lies almost on the nape of the neck. This headdress is highly practical and comfortable; the string round the temples is a protection against sunstroke, and the ends of the cloth can be drawn over the face to shelter the eyes. Among the Nubians the clothing is reduced to a cotton toga. Each sandal is cut from a single piece of leather, and the thong passes between the great toe and the next. Still simpler is the women's dress. They go about in loose, long blue smocks, the sleeves of which, some two yards long, serve to cover the head, and as an upper garment. The wealthier wear a kind of mantle over this. The lower part of the face is covered by a cloth, leaving only nose and eyes exposed. The dress of the town-dwelling Arab, and of the South Arabian agriculturists, consists, for men, of a blue shirt with long loose sleeves—the ends of which are tied together behind, leaving the arms free—a white apron, and a blue head-fillet, round which a yellow string is twisted. The women wear trousers and shifts striped in gay colours, and a kind of cap made of a kerchief, over which, however, they put a broad-brimmed straw hat. They are not veiled. Getting near the hot coast the men's costume dwindles to the apron, to which rich people add a jacket like that of the Malays. Here one often sees tattooing, which is widespread even among the Tunisian Arabs.

Men like to wear on the left upper arm a goat's horn filled with strong perfumes, preferably crocodile-musk, together with a pair of iron tweezers for extracting splinters, and a pouch with texts from the Koran. Women wear silver (seldom gold) ear-rings and nose-rings, silver bangles round arms and ankles, often even little bells and bits of coral at the end of their tresses. The Nubians wear ornament as copiously as any African race, silver finger-rings set with cornelians, strings of the same stones round the waist, necklaces of glass or even amber. The esteem for particular stones, like the onyx, which the Nubians like to wear at the neck, ground into the form of a longish bar, recalls the old Egyptian fashion.

As a mode of hairdressing we find among the Bedouins locks or plaits hanging

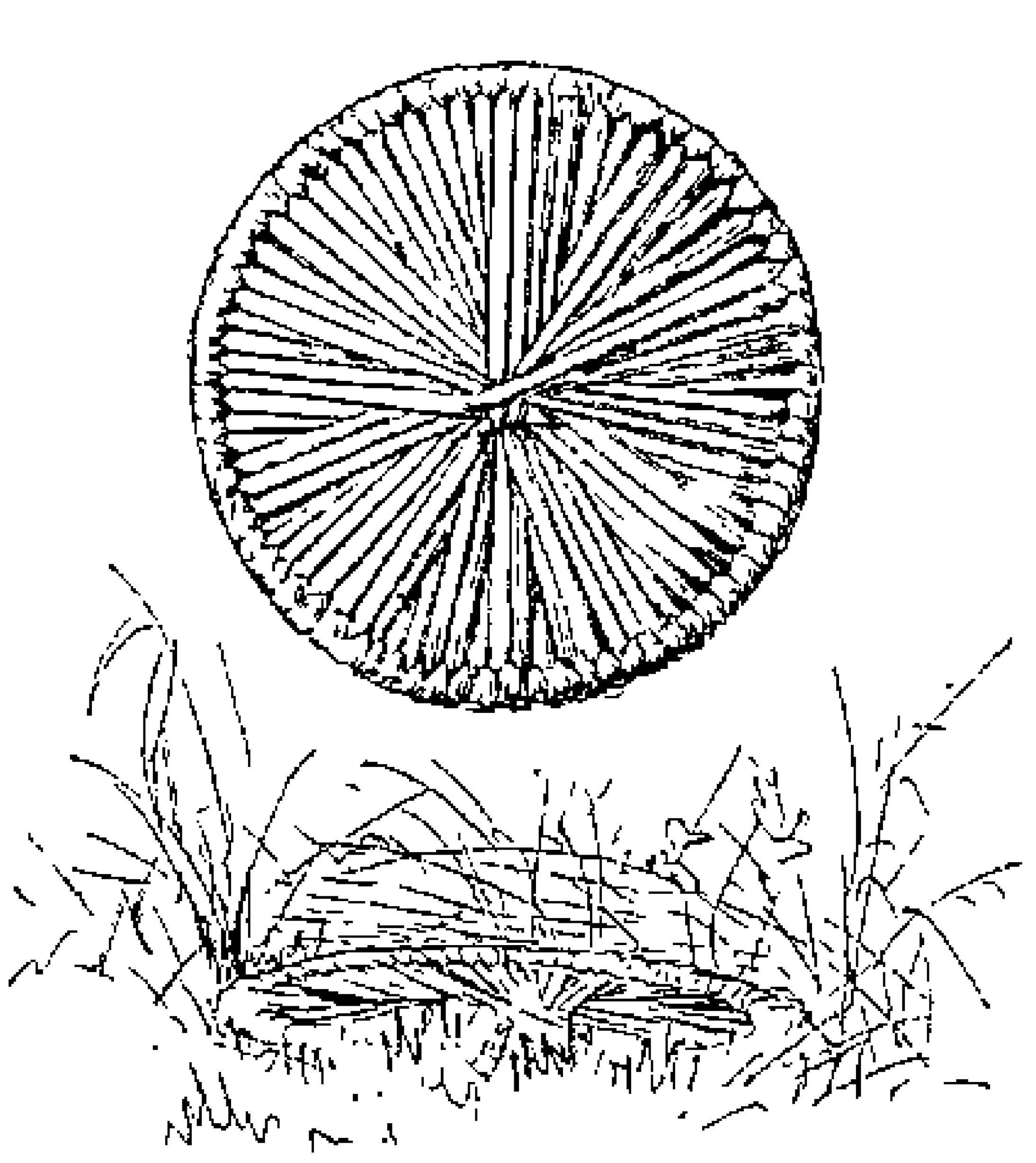
[illegible] Thus one comes across many ruins of houses of a more solid kind, [illegible] straw and reed huts are now the only dwellings. Among the [illegible] forms of herdsmen's huts in Nubia are the *shokabs*; huts which [illegible] like tents and loaded on to camels. Their walls consist of thin [illegible] like mats, and capable of being rolled up. These are made fast [illegible] poles are laid across, and a roof of black goat's-hair cloth put on. [illegible] dry season these [illegible] migrate from the [illegible] ground near the Nile [illegible] wooded spots. Each group is named after the presiding sheikh. Further south the huts are made of the leaves of the *doom*-palm. The Baraka country supplies these leaves to a wide region. In Sennaar and Kordofan, when permanent dwellings appear, pointed straw huts, *tukele*, are the true local style; and so almost without exception as we go south. The Bertas raise a circular platform of quarried stone, 30 feet or more in diameter, on which stands the tower-like store-room; the dwelling-room standing between it and the surrounding wall. In new towns, like Khartoum, the houses are all built of unbaked clay tiles. El Obeid, on the other hand, was mostly built in the "negro style." To-day both are in ruins. Not only has the Khalifah destroyed Khartoum in order to found a new capital for the new Mahdi empire at Omdurman; a new Berber has sprung up beside the deserted site of the old one, and a whole number of smaller Nubian towns have been destroyed, few new ones built.



Nuba Shields from Kordofan—one-ninth real size. ([illegible] Museum.)

Arabia is the land of ruins. The climate, the custom of building in stone, the need of protection, the delight in destruction, have covered the land with the fragments of castles and walls; and no small part of the population of Southern Arabia dwells to-day in the ruins of its forefathers' houses. There is hardly a bit of high ground without relics of former buildings. The houses of Yemen, standing singly or in groups, are more like castles than ordinary residences. In the old

unquiet times, when nearly every family had to look to itself for protection; people tried to secure safety by living on a steep rock in a house like a fortress. Some places, like Hadieh, the capital of Jebel Nema, consist of scattered houses on the hill sides. Only the markets lie on the road. One comes upon them every dozen miles or so; two rows of small shops in which the tradespeople of the neighbourhood offer their goods for sale on market-days, but otherwise deserted. The foundation of the houses is generally quarried stone, the upper part of a coarse plaster. Arab towns, as a rule, are close built, boldly placed on mountain slopes. The houses, to make the most of the space within the many-towered walls, have six or seven stories. Irregular balconies and turrets, often of prettily carved wood or woven reed, give a picturesque look to the streets. Window-glass being dear, thin plates of a highly transparent alabaster are used. The windows are bright with flowers. The narrow streets are covered with arches, or simply with boards, mats, or sail-cloth, and therefore are dark, but cool in summer. In the middle is a kennel, in which the beasts of burden walk, while on either side is a narrow footway. Perfect mountains of filth lie here and there. The Oriental's favourite attitudes are perching, squatting, and lying, which renders tables and chairs unnecessary even for the well-to-do. Even in Algeria divans are only found in European houses. Little tables, mostly octagonal, as high as stools, are used for serving coffee. The place of cupboards and drawers is taken by chests, painted red, and Arabesqued in gold. On the clay or plaster floor, mats in summer, carpets in winter, are far more necessary than with us, and as it were do in place of flooring. Laying and cleaning them was in Persia formerly the task of the *ferashes*—from *fersh*, a carpet.



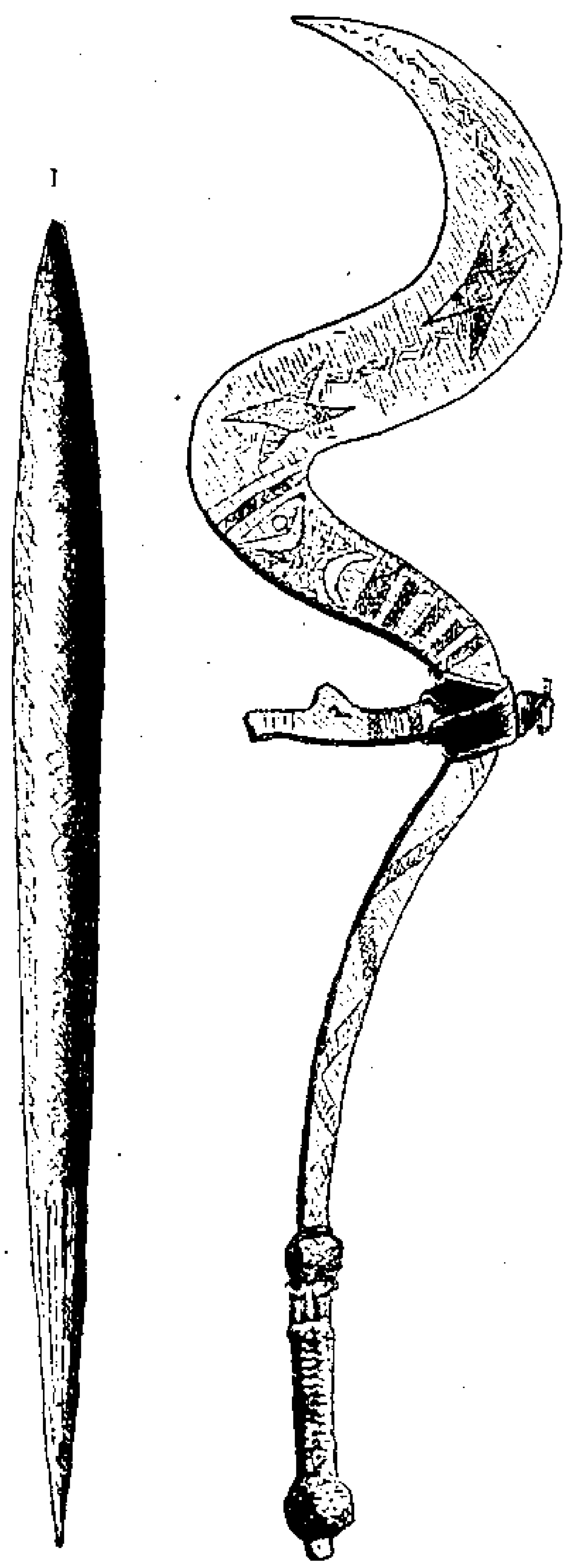
Gazelle-trap from the Atbara district—one-seventh real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Buffaloes are numerous in swampy lowlands where thickets are plenty. In Mesopotamia, for example, the Afuddli Arabs have no sheep, few cows, but buffaloes in abundance. The most important animals herded by the Arabs are horses, and recently camels even more. The export of horses from Arabia still amounts to several thousand in a year, but it is no longer so paying as formerly; while even in Nejd the camel is coming more and more into use for riding. Horse-breeding gathers round the political centres, where rich sheikhs keep their studs. In these there are often over a hundred animals, while some hundreds more are put out to grass with tribes in the neighbourhood. Formerly it was the Wahabee capital Riad; now it is Hail, the seat of the Emir of Shammar, the most powerful prince in all North and Central Arabia. West of the Jordan horses are rare, but to the east of it the people are proud of their large establishments. In Southern Arabia fast-trotting donkeys are bred with success. In Africa, wherever, as in the north and east of Darfour, the climate is favourable to the growth of grass, cattle are bred on a magnificent scale seldom seen in the mother-country. In northern Darfour the immigrant Arabs pasture camels by the

hundred thousand. Herds and flocks are a luxury to them, since camel's milk satisfies all their need for food. Mason estimated the number of animals in sight at the encampment of the Homr Arabs at 30,000 head. The Baggaras of Nubia, on the other hand, take their name from the fact that they breed chiefly cows. The Soghawas breed sheep with long curly wool.

Horses and mules are seen less often among the Nubian herdsmen, more in Northern Nubia than among the Kabbabish; but in certain places there are many donkeys. The fleet Dongola horse, found also in Upper Egypt, is more like the Arab than the heavy animal of Lower Egypt. The Nubians ride almost exactly like the Arabs, and seem to have got horses and camels first from Arabia. Throughout the Eastern Soudan and Nubia we find the humped ox, unquestionably akin to the Zebu of India and Southern Arabia. The smaller Egyptian ox, short-horned and without hump, was once common here, but has almost entirely died out in consequence of rinderpest. A peculiar breed of dogs may well be of similar origin, namely, the grey hound-like hunting-dog, used by the Hassanieh and other Arabised tribes in hunting the gazelle, and held in extraordinary esteem.

1 2

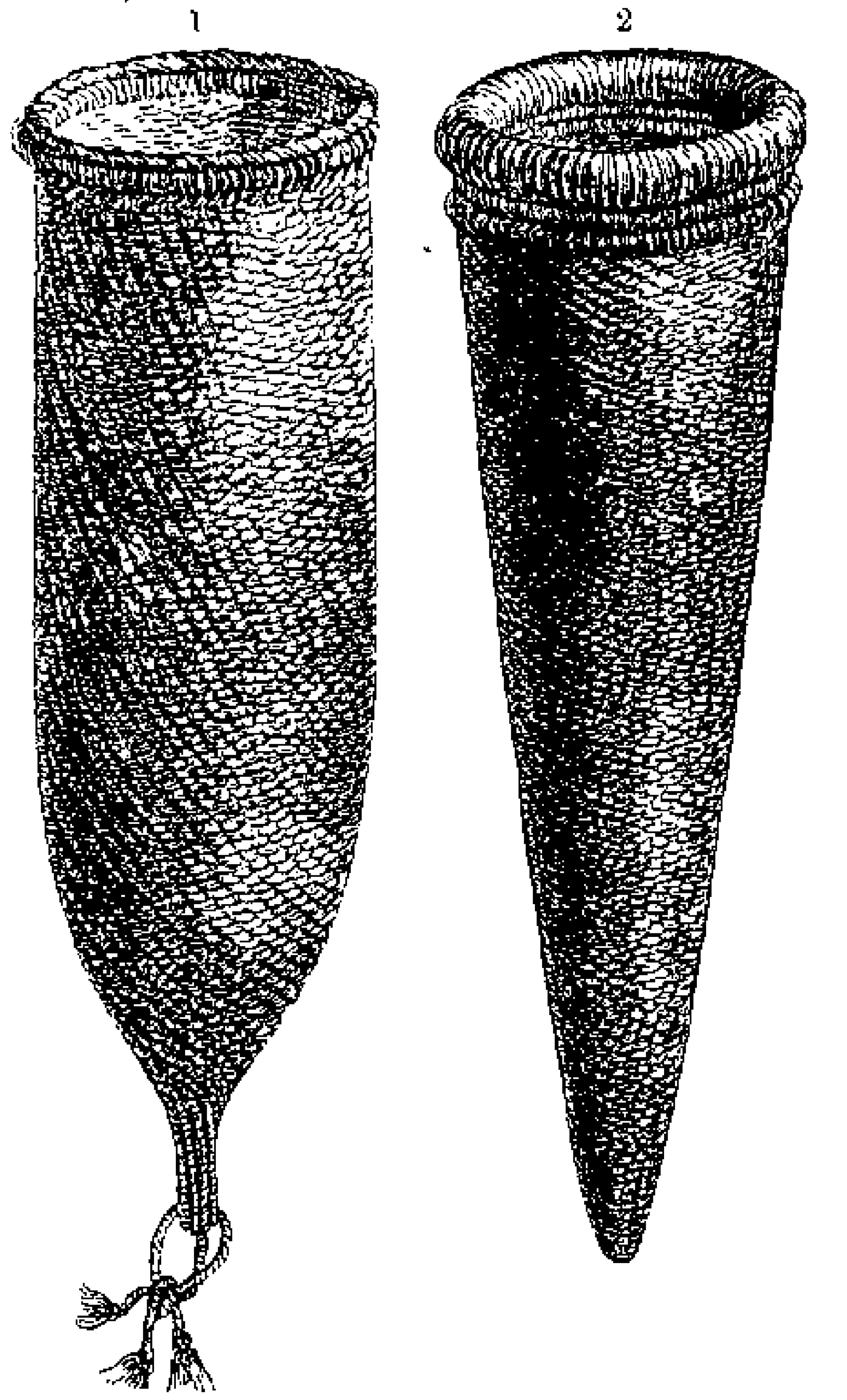


(1) Pointed Club from the Upper Nile—one-eighth real size; (2) throwing knife from Kordofan—one-sixth real size. (Frankfort Museum).

The agriculture of the Bedouins is limited; but the oasis of Northern Arabia produces corn, especially wheat, barley, and in recent times increasingly maize. In some places, in the country east of the Jordan, the cultivation of the vine for making raisins is important, and wine is made in small quantities in Yemen. This is generally the true land of agriculture; here farming is widespread and of high quality, the irrigation being on a great scale. The higher slopes, where neither oxen nor asses will climb, are tilled with a sickle-shaped hoe. Durra and millet (called *duchn*) in close clumps reach a height of 16 to 20 feet. With the abundant supply of water, and the warm climate, harvest and seedtime go on all the year round. In Southern Yemen there is a curious way of keeping the cut corn, by laying it with the stalks among the branches of the trees that stand in the field.

Nubian farming is confined to narrow strips which can be reached by artificial irrigation. In all it does not cover more than 1000 square miles, but as far as it goes it is almost as thorough as in Egypt. It lacks indeed the pigeon's dung, the canal mud, and the *sebakh* or rubbish of old towns, so rich in salts, which serve to manure the exhausted fields of Lower Egypt. Yet in spite of the small extent of the cultivated tracts, the numbers of the agricultural population of Nubia far exceed those of the nomad. Arrangements for irrigation enliven the banks of the Nile in Nubia no less than in Egypt. Ditches run through the newly-tilled fields, into which the water is raised by means of drawing-wheels. The tracing,

opening, and shutting, of these channels is here as in Egypt the chief labour of the peasant. In Kordofan the durra-fields are surrounded with walls to prevent the rain-water from running off. The tillage of the light soil is not laborious; it is worked on the surface with a mattock, and weeded occasionally. Ohrwalder saw only one plough near Khartoum, which an Egyptian, to his great surprise, was using. In Kordofan the *duchn*-fields are weeded with a hoe having a crescent-shaped blade on a long handle, the very *hashasha* of which the blade serves for currency, shown on p. 91, vol. i. For manure a loess-like earth is fetched from depressions in the plains. In Nubia, also, the chief articles of agriculture are durra, *duchn*, maize, wheat, and barley. Beans and lupins are grown on the river bank without artificial irrigation. The crop when gathered is preserved in cylinders of clay, capable of being hermetically closed, and placed on tall stones as a protection against enemies; the types of all the varieties of corn-holders which we find among agricultural Africans.

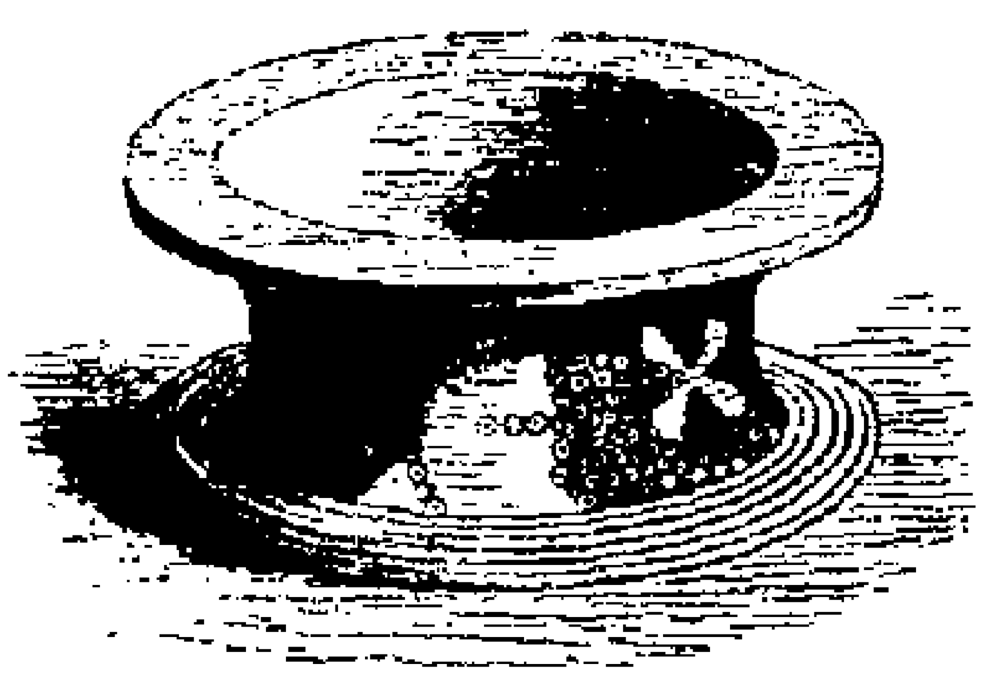


Beer-filters from Kordofan—(1) Christy Collection; (2) Hagenbeck Collection—one-sixth real size. (Hamburg.)

The adventurous character of the Nubian, together with what was no doubt more effectual, the increase of population, acting most strongly in times of peace, and the wish to escape the pressure of the Egyptians, has always driven him more and more southwards. A narrow strip of cultivated land like that between Abu Hamed and Berber must soon get overpeopled. They were not eminently peaceful people whom Nubian civilization in barbaric forms pushed forward here, but the result was in a measure the fruitful extension of elements of peaceful activity. Tracts capable of cultivation lay desolate in Nubia, because their population had moved southwards, meanwhile the very smallest islands in the Upper Nile were covered with cultivated patches; and long before the Egyptians had extended their authority south of Thebes, Nubian settlers had brought under cultivation the Nile bank in the region of the Shillook islands.

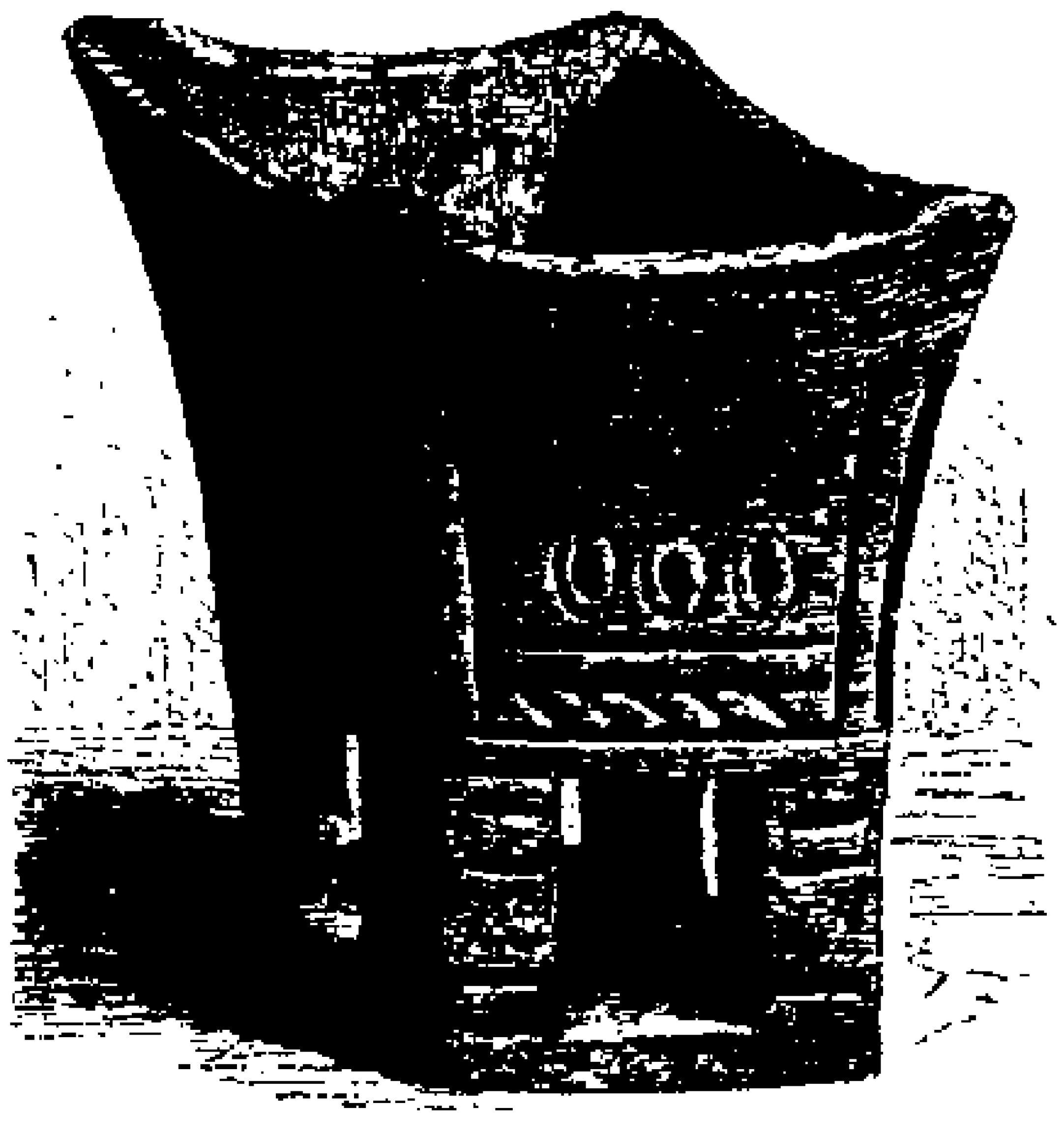
The economical position of the Nubians, apart from the towns, is indifferently low. If taxation keeps the agriculturist at a low level, distance from resources and the habit of simplicity do the same for the herdsman. Owing to the great heat the butter comes melted to market in goatskins. The Nubians drink considerable quantities of it. Cheese is not made. The usual food of the herdsman is milk and durra with butter. Polenta of maize is eaten in Southern Arabia: Maize-porridge is eaten in South Arabia. Bread is rare in the interior; the durra is ground and made into porridge with water. Meat is eaten at festivals; rice, dates, and coffee are regarded as luxuries. For drink they have a kind of sour beer brewed from durra or oats; and the Hababs and Bogos also make the Abyssinian mead. Strict observers of the Koran drink unfermented honey-and-

water, which is also used by the Abyssinian Moslems. Women grind the corn in a small hand-mill. Dates also play a great part. Locusts are eaten largely by the poor, and in times of famine by everyone. Next to water, the chief drink of the Arabs is not coffee, but *kisher*, an infusion of fresh coffee-pods, the aroma of which is said to be more delicate than that of coffee. Coffee proper is often drunk in honour of saints, for example, on that sacred first night spent at sea by the pilgrim on his way to Mecca. Though the trade in spirits, mostly carried on by Greeks, has for some years been one of the most lucrative occupations in the coast-towns of Arabia, the small diffusion of brandy in Equatorial East Africa shows that the Koranic prohibition of spirituous liquor is still effective enough to render Arab influence of some benefit even in the negro country. The Mahdists took a good deal of pains to check drunkenness among the beer-loving Nubians.



Ivory armlet from Kordofan. (Christy Collection.)

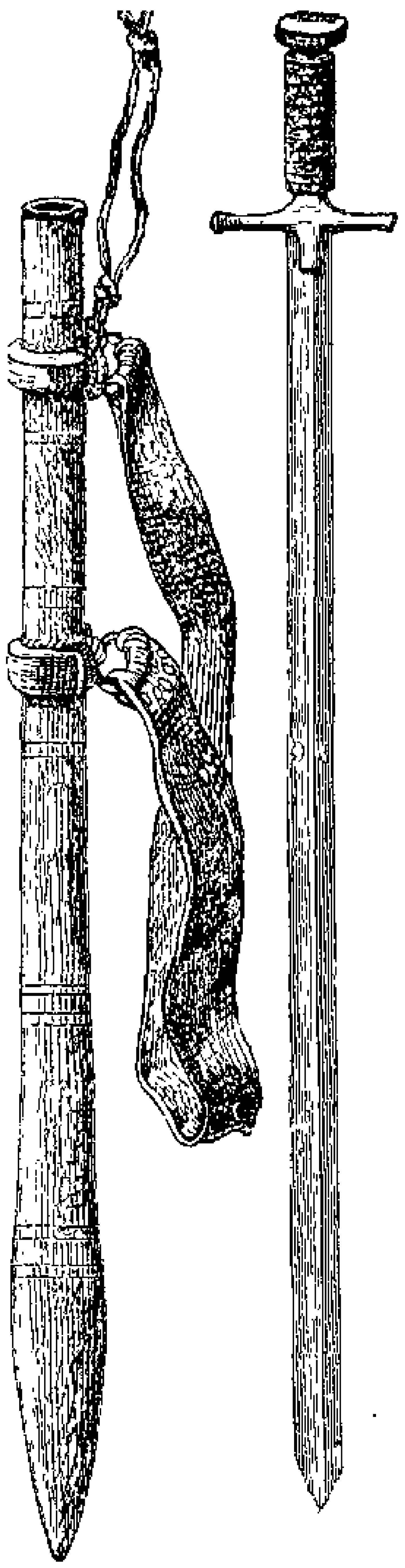
Three classes are usually distinguished among the Arabs: (1) the townsfolk, mostly traders and artisans, the most peaceable and cultivated of the race; (2) *Arab-Dire*, the semi-nomads, dwelling in tents or unbaked mud-huts on the edge of the desert; (3) *Arab-Bedu*, the Bedouins, who roam about the high plains as they have done for thousands of years, in primitive fashion. An anthropological, no less than an ethnological and an economical basis, underlies the division. The Bedouin accommodates himself to town life; but he does not become a townsman. Yambo, the port of Medina, is a true Bedouin town; yet the inhabitants are dwellers in the country who have settled as it were provisionally in the town. Their dress is Bedouin—cloak, headcloth, dagger-knife. They live mostly on their palm-groves, allow no infidel to dwell in the city, and despise trade, which is, therefore, in the hands of Indians and Arabs. As they also hold handicraft in low esteem, and even on the coast leave fishing and navigation to others, they play, in the neighbourhood of the town, the part of poor aristocrats, content with rice, bread, fish, and dates. Butchers in Yambo are Meccans, Egyptians, and Wahabees; negroes make the portable clay fire-places which the pilgrims take with them, to prepare warm drinks at all times. On the Red Sea coast of Arabia the important fishing is in the hands of the Et Tami, a small tribe of wild appearance, darker than the Arabs, despised and charged with every possible offence by the Bedouins, both town and country. They wear long loose suits of blue or white cotton, like the fellahs of Egypt, wear sandals of manatee-hide, and live in huts of twigs or in skin-tents. Near Jeddah only live a Bedouin fishing-people called Tuals, who have a brother-tribe of the same name in the interior. Fishermen though they are, they cordially despise the Et Tami; and yet the only difference between them is their pride. This contempt of handi-



Arab censer of earthenware—one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

crafts has had a bad effect. Once the Arab brought the spinning-wheel to Morocco; now the bazaars of Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, and Smyrna are filled with the products of European industry.

In Nubia potter's ware, obviously in direct connection with the traditions of Egyptian work, forms an article of trade much in request. Specially in demand, even as far as Upper Egypt, are the *aullahs* or porous earthenware water-jugs of fine Nile mud, which keep their contents cool by the evaporation of the water which oozes through. Salt-boilers are a kind of poorer craftsmen. Sugarloaf-shaped baskets are woven from the thinner roots of the mimosa, each of which is filled with salt to the value ot five piastres. This salt is one of the most important articles of the home trade in Kordofan. The best weapons, especially the long swords, are imported, and the armour, formerly so much worn, was also of foreign work. Even in smith's work of the simpler kind, certain negroes of the Upper Nile are superior to the Nubians; who indeed, on this very account, for a long time kept those clever ironworkers, the Jurs, in a kind of industrial serfage. Nubian industry has, with their trade, advanced far into the negro countries. At Dem Suleiman, where there were gold and silver smiths, Nubians worked ivory into rings and pipes, sword and dagger hilts, with considerable artistic proficiency in the Arab style.


A Nubian sword with Solingen blade, leather sheath, and belt — one-tenth real size (Berlin Museum.)

Arab navigation, in the full sense, has made hardly any progress since the time of their active intercourse with India. The Arab *kandja* is an undecked vessel of at most eighty to one hundred tons burden, with two masts, one much smaller than the other. Each mast has a yard formed of a single stick and carrying a lateen sail. When hoisted, the yards cross each other. The passenger marvels at the strange mysterious songs of short broken lines, which one man leads, and others take up, while the rest emit croaking sounds at regular intervals by way of accompaniment. The *reis* on a raised seat takes his share in rowing. Not unfrequently he is a negro. Although the Arabs had the compass before Europeans, yet they now use only compasses of European manufacture. While the coast towns of the Red Sea have Indian timber at their disposal, and the style of shipbuilding too seems to be Indian in origin, in the Soudan the only timber that can be sawn into planks is the *sunt* acacia (*A. nilotica*); and even of this planks 10 feet long are rare. The wood, too, is so hard that it has to be cut up when green, and sawing is an art little known in the Soudan. The planks, if of suitable shape, are put together with strong iron nails, and so a kind of cyclopean wooden structure is achieved, which offers as stout a resistance to cataracts as to hippopotami. Boat-building formerly went on so briskly at Khartoum that the *sunt* forests were destroyed a long way up the Nile. The difficulties and even dangers of

navigation on the White Nile and its tributaries are by no means slight. The bars of reeds and herbage which block the Upper Nile as far as 8° north, and its tributaries as well, so that the whole crew have to row for miles on end in water thick with crocodiles, have locked in whole fleets, and given their crews over to starvation. There are, too, storms, sandbanks, hippopotami, and not least, the natives, anxious as to their property and liberty. On the other side —and this has doubtless contributed most to the rapid stimulation and development of the Nile traffic in the present century, even before the days of steamers —navigation on the White Nile is much facilitated by the regularity of the winds. A very curious fact, known to all Soudanese boatmen, is that the currents, powerful as they may be, take some time to work round to the south. Hence the trading-vessels are in no great hurry to start on the very first of the northerly

Watertight woven vessels from Nubia—one-sixth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

winds. At the end of march and beginning of April the southerly winds set in on the upper Bahr-el-Abiad, and with them the vessels start northward again.

Fountains with drinking-vessels at hand, and coffee-stalls where at a pinch durra bread may also be had, facilitate the traffic on the roads of Southern Arabia, which, as the remains of paving show, were better kept than they now are. Here the beasts of burden in most general use are the fast donkeys of Yemen, the Muscat breed being also famous throughout East Africa; and next to them, camels. The most important roads in Arabia are the caravan tracks, leading to Mecca, Medina, Sanâ, and the places on the coast. On these roads are neutral places of rest and trade, such as Al Hejer, a motley colony of traders, especially Jews, in the Wady al Kor, or Riad, through which formerly went the Mecca caravans from Persia, 3000 or 4000 strong, who now take the road by Hail.

That trade between Nubia and the negro-countries went on even in the time of the ancient Egyptians is proved by the black slaves and the ivory in the old Egyptian markets. In the centuries during which Nubia was in a state of decay and desolation, however, this trade dropped off so much that when the White Nile was again opened in the course of the present century the highly-prized ivory was found in great quantities in the hands of the dwellers on its banks, who hunted the elephants, vast herds of which haunted their swamps and forests, for

the sake of their meat, and hardly made any use of the tusks. This accumulated wealth was soon put into circulation. When Schweinfurth reached Khartoum on his second journey in 1868 the revenue from ivory of 500,000 Maria Theresa dollars yearly was only maintained by the elephant-hunters going every year farther afield. The expeditions of the regular slave-traders did not until later profit by the ivory-traders' roads and stations; yet without these they would not have been able to extend their raids so rapidly or so far into the interior.

Not till the surplus ivory was exhausted, and the surplus of human beings carried off to the slave-marts of Egypt and Nubia, did trade turn to war. The increase of kidnapping caused bloody conflicts with the innocent natives who tried by force to keep the vessels away from their settlements. The traders soon found it necessary to take an armed escort on board, and instead of a single vessel a trader would send off two or three at a time. Such a flotilla would carry from forty to one hundred soldiers, quite enough to form an imposing force against negroes armed with spear and arrows. Soon the negroes began to demand more valuable articles in exchange for ivory and slaves; copper arm-rings, brandy, and above all cattle, which they regard as the highest form of wealth; at times also corn and salt. Then the traders would make common cause with a tribe, and under its guidance fall upon its neighbours, and try to take as many prisoners as possible. At the same time any cattle that could be found were carried off, part being used to reward friendly negroes, part to exchange for goods. Most of the adventurers founded forts or *zeribas* with permanent garrisons in friendly districts, to serve as bases for raids into the interior. In this way Arabs and Nubians became the lords, short-sighted and rapacious enough, of a large region on the Upper Nile. Egyptian sovereignty, for which the way had thus been prepared, bore to the end the brand of intimate connection with the slave-trading and slave-hunting interest. The name of the *Jellaba*, or *Gallabah* (Nubian Arab trader), became among the negroes a name to frighten children with. Felkin heard one evening a Soudan woman singing as she ground the corn:—

> Work hard, grind hard, for the *Gallabah* are strong,
> And if we don't work we shall be beaten with sticks;
> If they have no sticks, they will shoot us with guns;
> Work hard, grind hard.

The warlike Baggara tribe furnished soldiers to these robber-pioneers. Many of the so-called trading-vessels which plied up-stream at the end of the year carried only the necessary number of armed men, but no exchangeable goods. Among the Baggaras, who not only lead an idyllic pastoral life, but are also bold elephant-hunters and robbers, the adventurers would collect "business partners," possessing if possible a few good horses and armed with muskets. If the expedition turned out well, the Baggaras got a share of the profits. The first nucleus of the Mahdi's troops was formed of persons who had seen fighting as slave-traders and their Baggara mercenaries. Thus grew up the *zeriba* system—*zeriba* or *zirb* in the Soudan as in Arabia means a thorn hedge or stockade—those scattered Nubian settlements in the Upper Nile district, one-third trade depots, one-third arsenals, one-third plantations; to which an important part was assigned not only transitorily in the conquest and discovery of these new countries, but as the centres about which new permanent towns like Dem Suleiman and Jur Ghattas have grown.

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A NUBIAN WARRIOR

(From Life by [illegible])

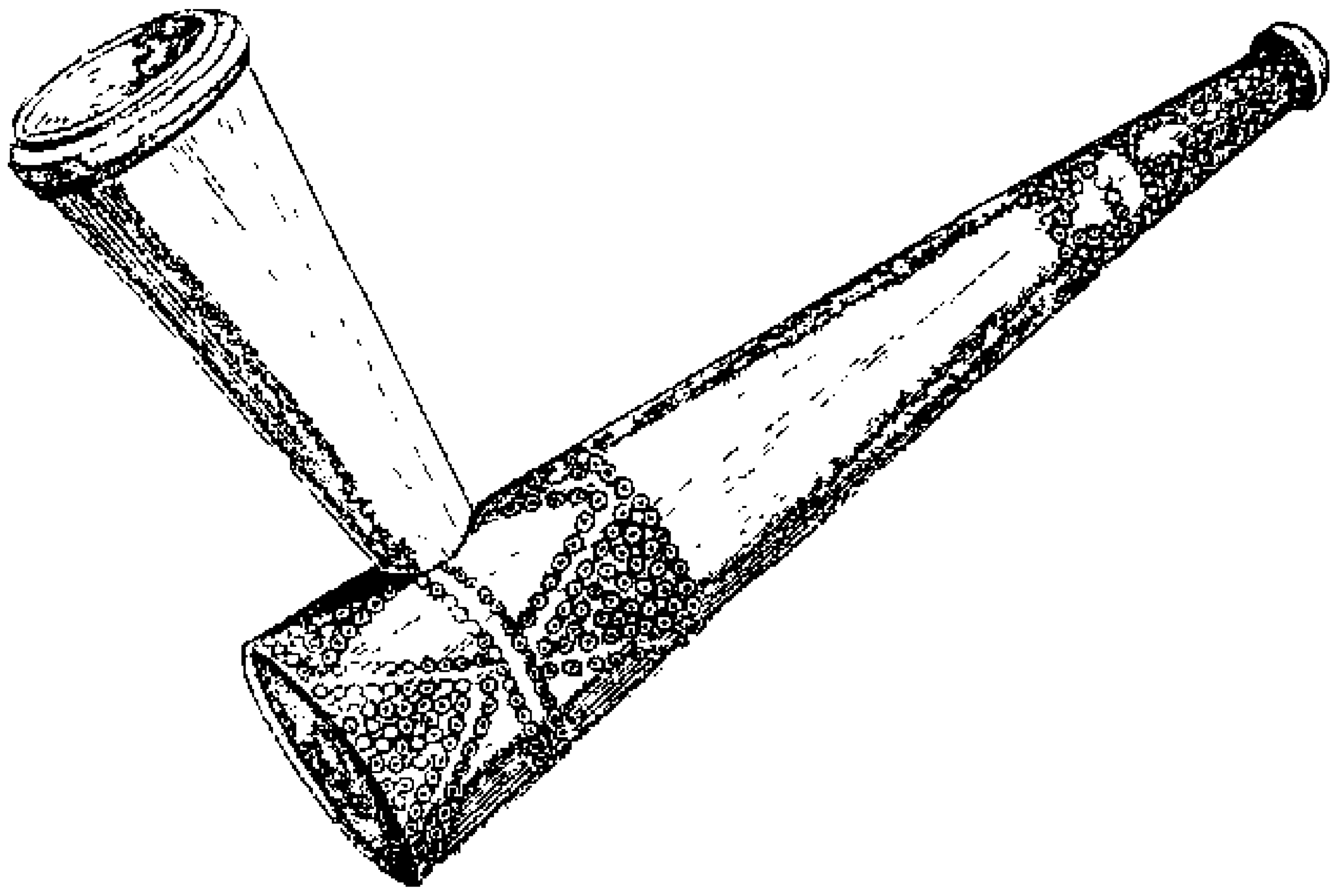
[illegible] similar means and with like results, did the Arabs from the [illegible] into the heart of the continent. We know that they first [illegible] to move northward and westward from Nyangwe. Stanley, when [illegible] Congo district in 1883, came across them already at the Equator, [illegible] brought together 2300 slaves in their camp at the junction of the [illegible] devastations on the Lower Aruwimi must have begun about 1886. [illegible] places which Stanley saw on that river, and those which Coquilhat [illegible] saw in the same year on the banks of the Congo in that neighbour- [illegible] ruins by 1889. Nor did it look as if they would soon arise from [illegible] for the population was diminished, and had to some extent even [illegible] nomadic habits, being housed in boats or under temporary shelters of [illegible] instead of huts. Major Barttelot reported that Tippoo Tib had given [illegible] for no negro to found a permanent home; so that he might always be [illegible] to take part in a new raid, and no doubt also to deprive him of the strong-

A Nubian *zeriba*. (After Heuglin.)

hold of a village wall. The condition of the Aruwimi district since these changes offers the most striking resemblance, amounting almost to agreement, to that of Manyema and Monbuttuland fifteen or twenty years since. It has quite taken its place in the chain of districts plundered by the Arabs. Stanley in the north, Wissmann in the south, came upon their traces all over the forest country. Nor have they proceeded like adventurers without a plan. Ngarrowa, formerly Speke's tent-servant, sent out patrols of Manyema, fifty strong, on roads distant many days' journey, to ascertain the possibility of a connection between the Aruwimi and Stanley Falls. His own station lay on the Middle Aruwimi near 28° E., and he relates how with 600 men he marched from the Lualaba near Kibonge in a north-easterly direction as far as the Aruwimi, and how he underwent great hardships and lost many men on this great march. Round their stations the Arabs lay out fields and gardens, so that Stanley got rice to eat on the Middle Aruwimi. They build large houses with mud walls, and surround them with palisades; settling their subjects round them, and removing all inhabitants from the land within a wide circuit. In Ipoto, Stanley came upon a second troop of Manyema slaves and elephant-hunters, led by the Arab Kilonga-Longa. In seven and a half months of constant fighting these had dwindled to half their numbers. "Towards the Lenda and Thuru Rivers they had levelled

into black ashes every settlement, their rage for destruction had even been vented on the plantain groves, every canoe had been split to pieces, every island had been searched." He estimates the region devastated by them at 44,000 square miles; and thinks that to each of the great Arab chiefs must be assigned a corresponding area of action and destruction. "Half a dozen men, aided by their hundreds of bandits, have divided three-fourths of the Great Upper Congo Forest."

Arab saints show to what a height of self-restraint the Arab can be raised by his moral law; and the seclusion of women keeps immorality out of the streets of Arab towns. But the serious matter is not so much immorality as the lack of moral consciousness. People are not more vicious here than elsewhere, but they do not feel vice to be any burden. The moral law is regarded only from an intellectual point of view. This is parallel to the lack of cleanliness, the finer sense of which is wanting. The conscience is slack. The light-hearted way in which the civilized Mussulmans of Egypt pardon a thief, not withdrawing from him their goodwill or even their society, shows their conception of morals to be on a low level. Effeminacy and immorality by no means go hand in hand in the east. From poverty or avarice many people, especially in populous and exhausted Egypt, live in the most wretched style, and are yet addicted to vices which with us are looked upon as vices of luxury and of great cities. The sensual nature emerges in preponderant strength, and finds no corrective in regular labour of mind or body. Even spiritual natures, like the Mahdi of 1882, are ultimately dragged down by it. Both in the Arab and in the Nubian, the dignified solemnity of the outward demeanour shows a combination of oriental repose with natural force which always impresses persons of artistic temperament. The noble bearing is in their very bodily structure. Yet we should be wrong if we thought that this frank noble bearing, this intrepid calm, expressed nothing but a proud sense of honour. In presence of the least chance of pecuniary gain, it melts away like wax in the sun. It is yet more astonishing to find even more noble qualities than these merely external characteristics entering into this blend. "Frank, bold, open, warm friends, bitter enemies"; so says Burckhardt of the Shereefs whose acquaintance he made; and he extends this verdict to all the true Arabs known to him. Contentment and therewith absence of any conceit in respect of rank or wealth, distinguish the Bedouins of the desert. Insignificance of exterior, and contracted poverty, are features in Arab warrior heroes. The feeling for political independence has ever been proper to the Arab, and has often been stimulated by religious fanaticism. Barth says that the farther west we go in North Africa, the more warlike and spirited are the inhabitants, till the greatest feeling of independence is reached in Morocco. The Atlas is the home of the liberty-loving Kabyles, but the



Tobacco-pipe of ivory from the Upper Nile—one-fifth real size. (Christy Collection.)

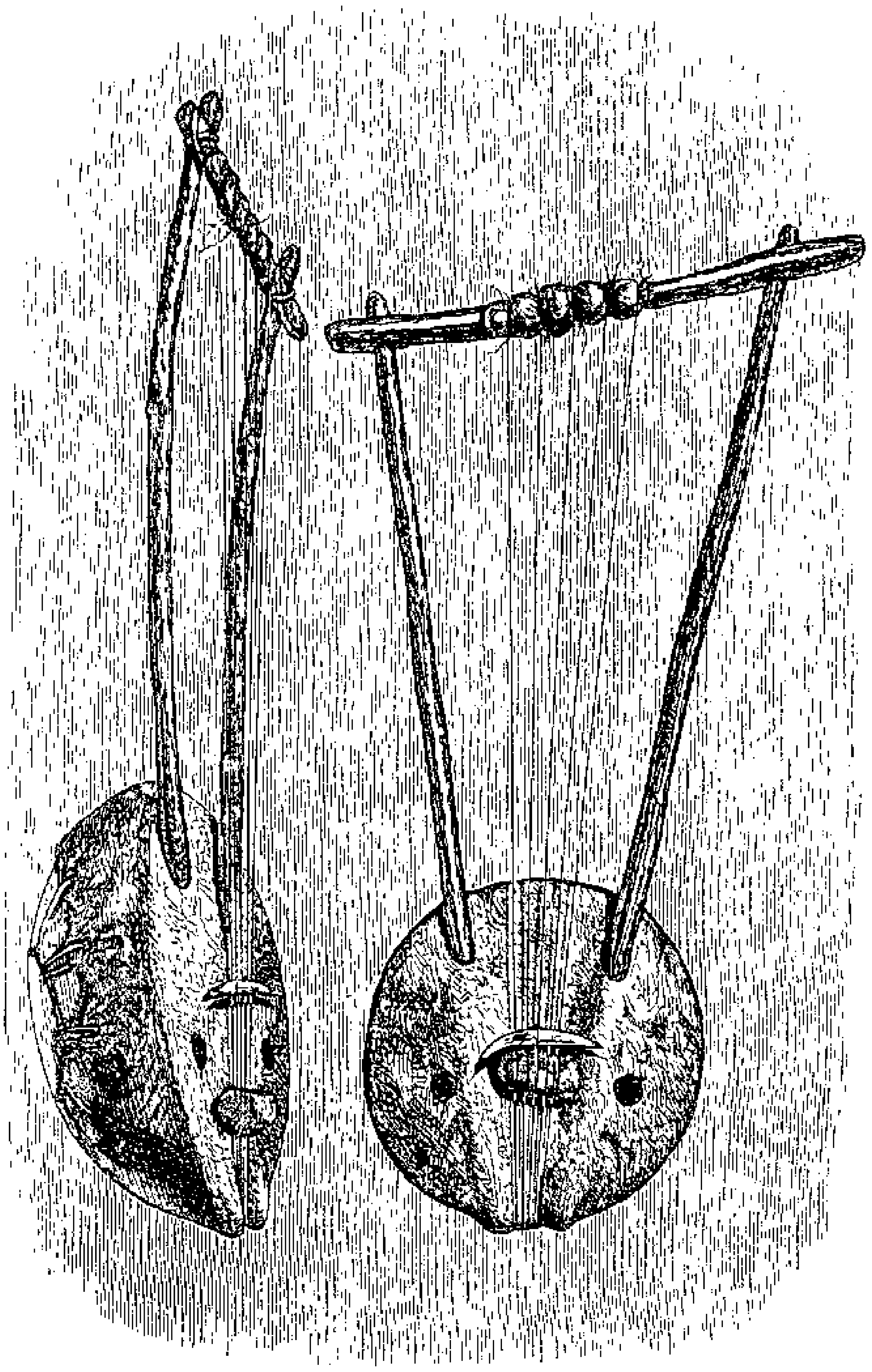
Nubian Arabs fought the English with no less contempt of death, and the pastoral tribes of Barca are not yet wholly subdued by the Turks.

The experience of centuries has shown that on the average the European excels the Arab in physical strength. Even the desert Arab, in spite of his savage freedom, misses the nerves of steel which a man cannot do without; and therewith is wanting a tranquil steadiness, showing rather a strain of feminine caprice. It is proverbial among the French that Arabs are good to lead, bad to govern; their sensitiveness, their tenacity of certain forms, their keen sense of injustice, render this difficult. It was no chance that put the Arabs at the head of the great movement of Islam. Their minds have also a share of philosophic power. Vambéry says, in contrasting the Arab with the Turk: "The Turk is a man of religious sentiment only; the Arab is a religious thinker." But this speculative sense is lacking in critical effort. Regard all novelties as good and true, even if they are to turn out false, says a Nubian proverb. Arab science has never forced itself free from the bonds of superstition. A great deal is said of the astronomy and mathematics of the Arabs; but if astrological ends had not been immediately connected with astronomy, even in this field the researches of a later age would never have come to pass. Long ago, even as to-day, the followers of Islam understood by science only theology, grammar, logic, and the fine art of rhetoric. Part of Arab erudition, that is the play of the mind so-called, is to call things by periphrases instead of by their names. Yet a natural interest in things cannot be denied to them. Carette places the practical genius of the Arabs very high—"those pilgrim-geographers, whom their religion bids to travel; those thinking magnets, who have to turn five times a day to the same point of the compass; those keen observers whose memory of what they have seen is their safeguard and reputation." If, on the other hand, fault has been found with the indefiniteness of their geographical nomenclature, we must remember that it is the motive of nomads faithfully to preserve the name of a tribe, and only to name localities after it. All the mobility of the Arab is in some degree external; his mind does not progress with his conquest of political and intellectual advantages. The Arab mind has never enriched the world with any new truth.

Nubian tobacco-pipe—one-fourth real size.
(Hagenbeck Collection.)

One cannot speak, either, of Arab art as one does of Egyptian or Greek. Arab art is the art of races subdued by Islam. Limited by the Prophet's command to copy no living thing, it has developed a great wealth of surface decoration in geometrical patterns, rarely in plant-subjects, but it from the narrow area of the carpet that it springs. Carpet patterns give their value to pottery and metal-work alike; architecture does the same in the grandest style, while painting

and plastic arts fall into the background. The geometrical idea is the basis, and is obeyed no less in the marvellously entwined letters of sacred words than in the scanty plant-subjects which appear with any frequency only in the border-districts —Persia, Spain, Sicily. The multiplicity in this simplicity, the fancy which works with so simple means, the boldness with which the colours are distributed beside the constraint of the lines, in the harmony of these contrasts lies the secret of the charm of Arab art, which like every genuine art is not ashamed to adorn small things. Painted earthenware and wooden utensils, sandals and other leather goods, testify no less than carpets to the delight in colour. Numerous water-vessels of porous earthenware—water is even stored in vat-like earthenware vessels—jugs and coffee-cups of earthenware with a green glaze, earthenware censers and brasiers, are part of the outfit of an Arab house, and often are of very elegant form.



Nubian *rabbabas*—one-eighth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

In music the East proceeds along other lines than Europe. The harmonious interweaving of voices seems not to exist, "Their music," says Lepsius, "consists of melody lost in a hundred flourishes, and whirling along in restless trills." The Arab has a great talent for poetry. Defiant and amœbean ballads, hymns of love, and spiritual songs were before the days of Mahommed the delight of the Arabs, whose literature was permanently enriched by the contemporaries of the prophet, friends as well as opponents. As to Mahommed himself his adherents were at first in doubt as to whether they should designate the prodigy as poet, magician, or soothsayer.

The most important part of every Mussulman's training is to learn the Koran, by which must be understood learning it by heart, for it would be wrong to wish to understand the Koran till one knew it by heart. Writing is the next object of elementary education. The simplicity and practicality of these requirements has been an advantage to Islam, the rudiments of reading and writing having been widely diffused among even the dwellers in remote mountains and deserts. In order to be able to understand the Koran, it is necessary by old custom to acquire grammar.

This is the crown of Moslem culture, to learn it is only permitted to a *thaleb*, a man learned in the Scriptures, who can prove his erudition by repeating the whole Koran without a mistake. Thus there is no culture in our sense. Travellers in the best parts of Arabia have praised the greater education of young people in the Wahabee localities, where reading and writing as well as religious lore are well known; but in Africa, in spite of Koran and intercourse, the Arabs are often as ignorant as the negroes themselves. In the whole Soudan, Barth found hardly an Arab who knew anything about the dominion of his people on the east coast of the continent. One learned man only knew one name from those regions—Sofala. But so it was in the best period. The culture of individuals was to that of the mass in the same ratio as the buildings of the Sultans of Ispahan, Samarcand, and Agra were to the mass of wretched mud huts.

Emphasise as we may the influence exercised by women even on Mahommed, it will not be denied that woman's sphere in the whole area of Islam lies far below that of men; which it does not exalt, but far more often drags down. In the harems the philosophy of life held by old superstitious nations, and negresses imported from Africa, still prevails, and the women of a wealthy or notable Turk or Persian, though wrapped in all the luxuries that European industry can furnish, and though their husbands are at the head of the state, are in education little different from their sisters on the steppe in the heart of Asia. The harem laughs down and frustrates many steps which the masculine world makes on the field of innovation. Only where European education has penetrated deeply, and that is rare, has it made the women discontented with the harem and the *yashmak*. In the working-classes the tasks of life are more fairly apportioned. The notion that among the Arabs the wife is no more than a maidservant, a mere tool, rests upon superficial observation. To the women belongs the work of the house, and light duties out of doors, while the men till the ground, attend to the garden, look after the herds, kill the oxen—in short, see to much of the hard work.

Purchase of wives is universal, and by exchange of girls becomes a kind of barter. Any day but Sunday or Wednesday is unlucky for weddings. Among the Bedouins dances lasting the whole evening are performed for a week long by the young companions of the married pair, at which a man is put inside the ring of dancers and tries to break through. The escort home of the bride and bridegroom is accompanied by pantomime recalling marriage by capture. Three days pass in hospitality and sports before the wedded pair are allowed to go their own way. Polygamy is an old Semitic tradition. In earlier and simpler conditions it was limited by the circumstances; but when the conquerors grew wealthy and prosperous, it became a canker at the root of the Mahommedan peoples. An enlightened Turk or Egyptian often now promises his wife before marriage that he will not take another. One circumstance which contributes to the separation of women is that the house is assigned to them, while throughout the East men's business is transacted in public. In front of the larger houses we find long benches of stone or earth; friends come up, utter a short greeting, and sit down almost unnoticed, while business goes on its course. For the more respected guests, pipes and coffee are brought; slaves stand awaiting a sign. Much of Oriental life goes on in the street.

Slaves are counted as part of the family. Mahommed was personally averse to slavery. He set free the slave Zayd whom Kadijah presented to him, and

Zayd was one of his strongest and most faithful adherents. Later too, he set free slaves who came into his possession. Slaves are often dressed like their masters, own property, collect possessions, and can buy their freedom with their savings. Many attain high positions in the state. Their treatment being thus gentle even to the point of weakness, they are by no means so submissive in their demeanour as was the case with the slaves of European planters. When slavery was abolished in Algeria many preferred to remain slaves.

In Southern Arabia a separation of castes has grown up of quite peculiar sharpness based upon ethnographic and religious no less than political and economical grounds. As in other Islamitic countries, a distinction is made into Shereefs, the alleged descendants of the prophet, then ruling families, then Bedouins, who, being fighters, are always valued more highly than the sedentary peasant population. Besides these there are the *Akhdams,* a term best rendered by "disreputable classes." Many industries are despised by the haughty Bedouins, and these the Akhdams carry on. They are tanners, washermen, potters, butchers, and are therefore looked upon as tainted, though not so impure as to communicate impurity to objects that have passed through their hands. The Akhdams enter the mosques, but not the houses of the Arabs. They always live apart, generally outside the towns and other places, pay no tribute, but rather bring discredit on a prince who induces them to undertake public functions. Even in Aden, where caste-notions have no official validity, the Akhdams inhabit their own quarter, but are for the most part far less stationary than the rest of the people, for which reason Niebuhr has likened them to gipsies. In some districts the barbers form a separate caste from the Akhdams, but on the same level. In Yemen, however, there are two pariah-castes of much lower rank, Shumr and Shafedi, who perform all repulsive duties. Like similar castes in India, they include musicians, singers, and jugglers, and are excluded from the mosques. In the Aulagi and Wahid countries they are called the weaver-folk, as they devote themselves to weaving. In Hadramaut they are the butchers, a trade which supplied their name to the pariahs. We have spoken above of the Somali pariah-caste.

Families were in Mahommed's time the only political units with which he had to reckon. The feeling of kinship is too intense not to seek a political stamp, which indeed it finds for itself, tracing as it does the patriarchal connection to the remotest members that can be shown to be such. Mahommed availed himself of the discontented elements who came over to him to weaken hostile tribes; but to abolish their organisation seemed to him a chimera. The first germ of the new world-power was a league of tribes. The early history of Islam shows how the religious idea took the place of the tribal idea which had hitherto had it all its own way, and thereby adjusted the previous lack of any Arab national sentiment. Just as little was Islam able, with the democratic dispositions which it showed in the days of its struggle for existence, when the republic had to contend with the tribal chiefs of Mecca, to reform the aristocracy in these tribal organisations. The two pillars of the power of the old families, the patriarchal and the aristocratic principles, stand as firm as at any time. The sons of the Bedouins of Yambo, the proud Limbauvi, marry almost always within their own tribe, to maintain their nobility. If by exception one takes a wife from Mecca, the offspring are always of somewhat lower rank. Supported by the pride of nobility

and by caste-separation, the tribal consciousness becomes unreasonably acute. Kabyle is opposed to Kabyle, each regarding himself as pure Arab, and the other as dog-like, unclean, good to be rooted out. Blood feuds deepen these clefts, and in Southern Arabia the Turkish supremacy was materially promoted by the fact that whoever wished to escape the avenger of blood sought refuge in the nearest Turkish station, so that whole new villages grew up round the Turkish advanced posts. In this way elements of tribal hostility intrude between the tribes. Sharply defined too are the limits of the nomadic tribes, and also the rights of ownership, the enigmatic signs of which resembling letters, called *wesm*, are frequently found on the gates and walls of old deserted towns, on pillars, on smooth walls of rock, near fountains and cisterns, carefully incised deep into the stone.

Though the dignity of a sheikh is hereditary, he only receives obedience in proportion to his mental endowments, his character, and his wealth. Mahommed's successor Omar, the first "Prince of the Faithful," simple, just, strict, and faithful to his duty, is the pattern of a good Arab chief, such as often grows up in the school of tribal authority on the soil of aristocracy. Life and death, peace and war, lie in his hand. In making treaties with other tribes, in the settlement of disputes, and in the arranging of marriages, the eldest men act as his assessors. Good government facilitates the often wonderful innate tact for ruling and mediating. The Emirs of Shammar are an example of this. Of them Mr. Blunt speaks in high praise as living at peace with their neighbours, except the Ruallas and Sebaas. Taxes are light, military service is voluntary, the Government popular. There is no happier community in Asia than that of Jebel Shammar.

But of the deeper roots of national greatness, which reach down to the bottom of social relations, the Oriental art of administration has no conception. How could a people attain to the possession of any culture worthy of imitation who do not follow the Koran, that paragon of all wisdom? Throughout Mussulman Asia, wherever the greatness of Europe was heard of, the view was that the overpowering strength of the West lay only in its regular military system. Mussulman powers have accordingly squandered huge sums on Europeanising their armies, and simultaneously allowed the sources of their prosperity to dry up. The laziness of Oriental governments, especially in economical matters, is fully proved by the lack of money that weighs on them.

Nothing more clearly illustrates the lack of energy in Oriental peoples than the ease with which the thread of economical progress slips out of their hands. The drying up of a spring, the collapse of a watercourse, the whim of a ruler, can often transplant the culture of one district to another. Repair seems harder than new construction. Akin to this is the arbitrary transference of the seat of government, and therewith of the stream of traffic and the centres of population. In Ispahan whole suburbs are deserted, and whole rows of bazaars in ruins; while, on the other hand, from the village of Rei has sprung up the Kajar capital, Teheran, with to-day more than 200,000 inhabitants.

Even the treasures which nature offers most easily are not made the most of. In the East are many lands of wealth once proverbial, and except the delta of Egypt none of them is anything like what it might be. The ring of cornfields, meadows, and gardens, in uninterrupted succession, which we meet with in so many European countries, is almost totally unknown in Moslem Asia. The plain of Blidah, called in the Middle Ages the best of all plains, which even at the

beginning of the century 150,000 people tilled, was in the 'fifties one of the statelands of Tunis which were parcelled out owing to their thin population. How much the retrogression of culture is due to man and not to the exhaustion of the soil may be seen by the progress of Egypt, the oldest and by far the longest-worked land within the sphere of Oriental culture.

§ 7. THE ABYSSINIANS.[1]

Nature of the country: mountains and natural strength; position with regard to the Red Sea and Arabia; general conformation—Dress, ornament, weapons—Inhabited places, houses, churches—Agriculture, hunting, industries, trade—Social conditions, mode of life, marriage—The government, slavery—Abyssinian Christianity, literature—Mussulmans, Jews, pagans—Arab, Jewish, Egyptian, western influences.

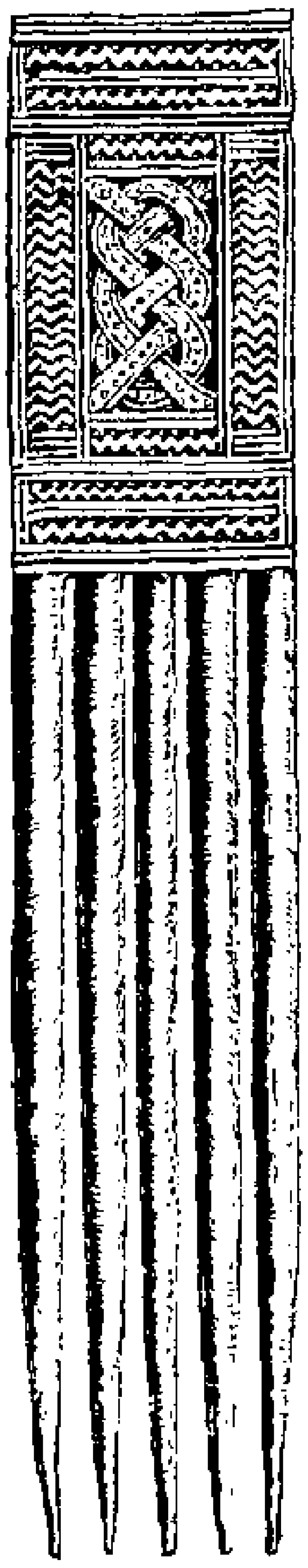
THE traveller on the Red Sea, after passing the tropics, sees rising up a blue wall, with silver pinnacles jutting out sharply to the north, and falling steeply towards the hot coast. This is the mountain-land of Abyssinia, a country of most varied elements, with rocky masses like fortresses, the walls of which can be climbed only with the aid of ladders. Volcanic cones and dolomite reefs alternate with each other. The single great feature and point of repose in the country is Lake Tana, a blue expanse of 2000 sq. miles, the district around which, known as Dembea, has since the seventeenth century been the centre of the kingdom. It is the most populous and most highly-cultivated province, where, at least in the rainy season, the time of general rest, the chiefs of the country meet round the focus of temporal and spiritual affairs.

The structure of Abyssinia is such that the copious affluents of the Atbara and the Blue Nile flow off to the westward, while toward the east only wretched water-courses, quickly drying up, discharge themselves. If only Abyssinia had such waterways towards the sea, towards Arabia and India, as she has toward the interior! Yet even as it is, such is the attraction on that side that the country has at all times been more often approached from the steep eastern side than from the gentler slopes to north and west. Not only with Asia, but even with Egypt in historical times, the connections have always been opened and maintained by sea. On the side where Abyssinia extends furthest towards the sea in its full peculiarity as a country of highlands and mountains, is the one place where it has for longest kept the way to the sea open, viz. towards Massowah.

Entering this mountain fortress, we ascend from the flat hot coast of sand and coral through a narrow strip of hilly ground into the region of cool brooks, shady tamarind-forests, succulent meadows. This is also the region where predatory nomad herdsmen seek their pasture in the dry season, coming up every year with their herds from the drought of the coast. Rising higher, we come to forests of cedar, and *wara*-trees, resembling willows, until at the edge of the first step of the upper plateau appear the euphorbias, cactus-like plants suggestive of candelabra, which the natives call *kollquall*. From this level we ascend over high ranges and elevated valley-plateaus, in full view of the lofty snow-capped mountains in the

[1] The name Habesh is not employed by the Abyssinians themselves: it was conferred by the Arabs. It is found by some to recur in certain names of peoples in Southern Arabia, and believed to be the name of the Himyarites who migrated across into Africa.

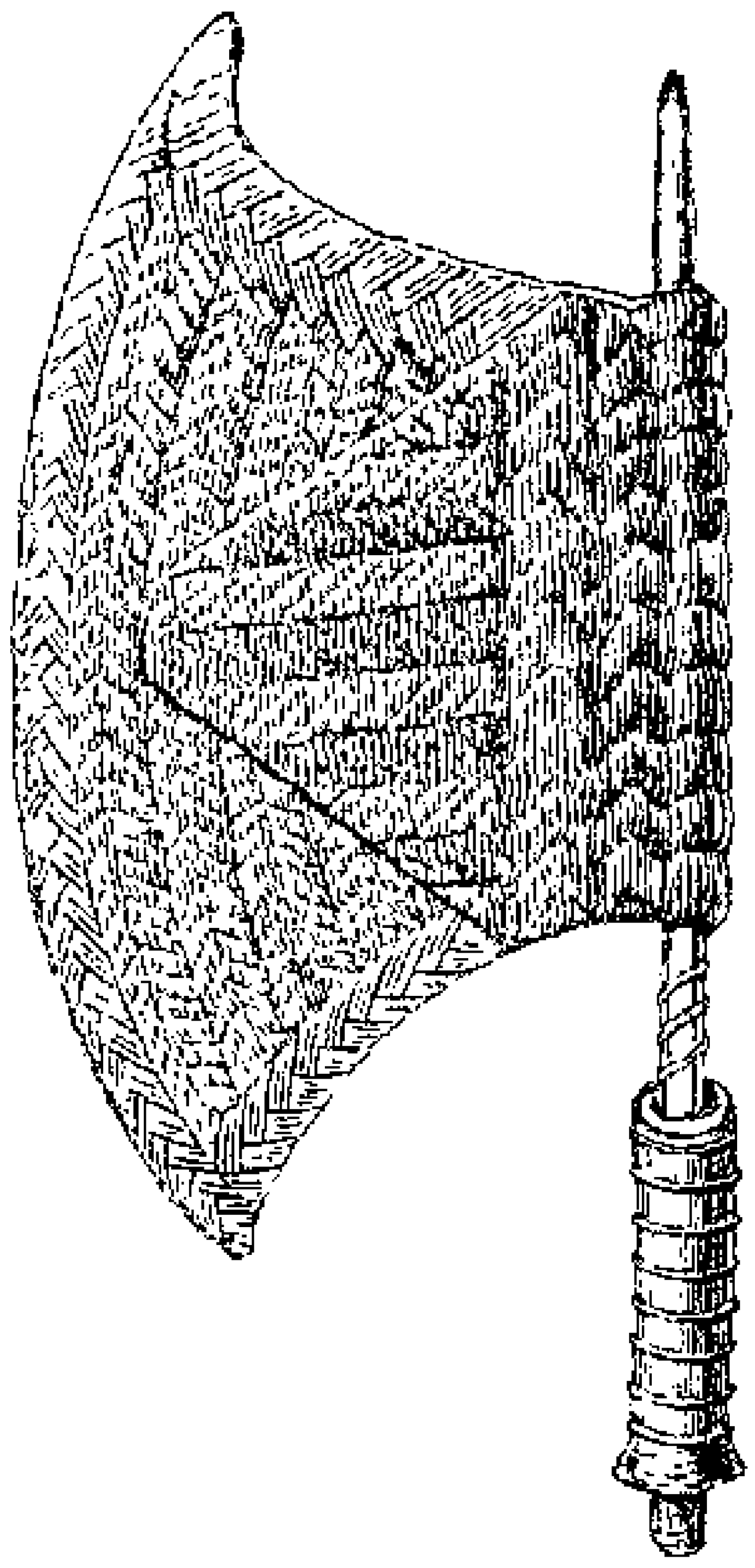
west and south-west. The most extensive of the high mountain-plateaus of this part is the famous land of Tigre from which tracks, often impassable even for mules, lead over rocky passes almost within the snow-line into the central districts of Samien and Dembea. The proper nucleus of the country being thus shut off, it is easy to understand the difficulty of binding together into one kingdom territories separated by great mountains. Hard by one another the most various natural influences prevail. The mountain barrier guarantees protection to certain secluded districts; thus Samien has seldom been the scene of the devastating Abyssinian civil wars, while Woggara, close to it, was, in spite of its fertility, almost depopulated during the 'thirties. The lower slopes, sodden with the excessive moisture, and the lowlands, are relaxing and full of fever; but where the neighbourhood of the snow-line and the fields of wheat and barley recall northern life, the warlike nature of the mountaineer is seen in Abyssinia as elsewhere.



Wooden hair-comb from Shoa in Abyssinia. (Frankfort Museum.)

In dress and ornament the Abyssinian has much of the Arab. The basis of his costume is formed by the close-fitting breeches, the white robe, often draped like a toga with a broad coloured border, which with great people is made of silk, worn by both sexes, and the sash to hold the breeches, which reach below the knee. Christian Abyssinians usually go bareheaded and barefoot, in contrast to the Mussulmans, who wear turbans and leather sandals. The women's dress consists of a smock with sleeves loose above, and fitting close at the wrist. Rich people adorn it with embroidery. Women wearing only leathern aprons are found among the Mussulman population alone; among the Christians this inadequate costume is only worn by quite little girls. The priests, who are numerous, and in imitation of them many laymen in the upper classes, wear a white jacket with loose sleeves, a head-cloth like a turban, and, as a special mark, shoes with turned-up toes and soles projecting at the heel. Hermits in the Waldubba province dress in ochre yellow, while the priests of another sect swathe themselves in a hide dyed red. On the coast the long Arab shirt occurs as a substitute for breeches among the men, Abyssinians from the interior being recognised by the latter garment. Clothes are made exclusively of cotton, though as an exception great people wear silk robes, presented by the Emperor as a special mark of honour. The recipient of one of these is entitled to appear before the sovereign in it, and not like his fellows, with one shoulder bared; he has the *entrée* at court, and when he is travelling can demand bread in any place for himself and his servants. As a mark of respect the Abyssinian removes the part of his clothing which covers the shoulder; and before the sovereign he may only appear "girt," that is, he lets the clothing that covers the upper part of his body fall over his girdle. A person of high rank covers himself to his mouth in presence of inferiors. In the cool mountain districts a shaggy skin, usually a sheepskin, with feet and tail attached, is thrown over the robe; the skin of the fine-haired *develo*-sheep being specially used for this purpose. Men either cut their hair short, or plait it in short, close tresses. Greasing with

butter is customary throughout. Among the women of Abyssinia close-lying short tresses are the rule. Two almost indispensable elements in Abyssinian dress are the collar, with strips of parchment, often long rolls, written with salutary maxims, sewn into small leather bags, often forming a chain reaching to the waist, and a thread of blue silk, also fastened round the neck, and distinguishing Christians from Mussulmans. No Abyssinian is ever seen in the hot season without a flag-shaped fan of plaited rushes. Besides this, the priests wear hung from the neck a fan like those which pilgrims bring from Jerusalem, and carry in the hand a small metal crucifix, for passers-by to kiss. They have also a fly-whisk made of hair.



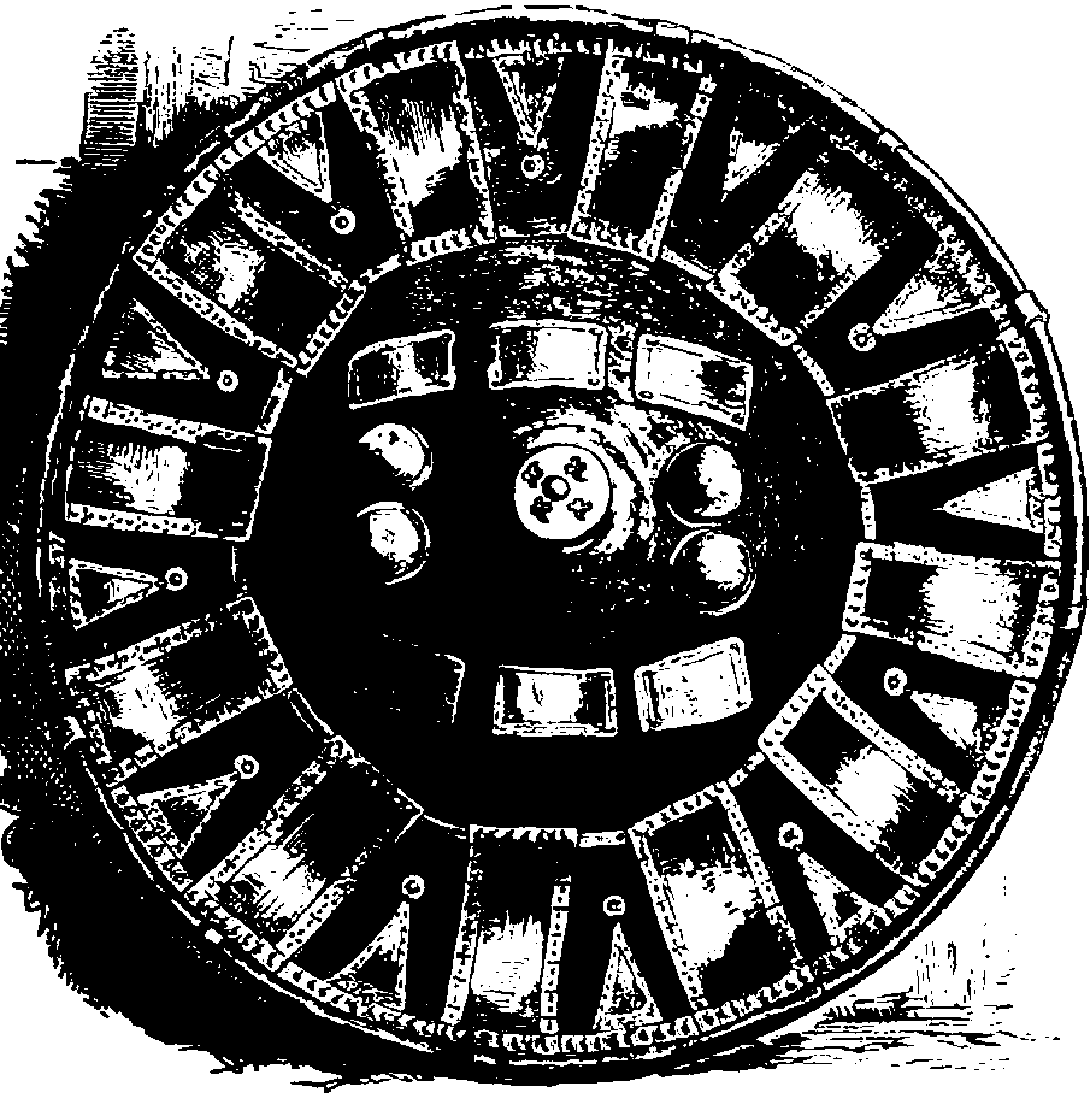
A twirling fan, used in Nubia and Abyssinia—one-fifth real size. (Hagenbeck Collection.)

By way of ornament women wear silver ankle-rings, often with little bells appended; in well-to-do districts they will have several, one above another. Silver necklaces with little bells are sometimes seen. Silver or gold rosettes in the form of flowers are frequently worn in the ears. Glass beads and ornaments are valued only by negro slaves. Cowrie shells are sewn on to the skins which are worn as overcoats.

An Abyssinian is seldom parted from the long curved sabre-knife which he wears on his right hip. He often has spear and shield as well. The latter is, if possible, made of buffalo-hide—the Nubians give the name of Axum to their buffalo-hide shields—and used formerly to be ornamented by preference with the glaring black and white skin of *Colobus guereza*. Noblemen have shields inlaid with silver, as in the cut opposite. The favourite firearm is still the matchlock; and even in time of complete peace the escorts of caravans, just as in Arabia, never advance without lighted matches. For elephant-hunting, iron bullets are used weighing a quarter of a pound. A hunting implement, hardly deserving the name of weapon, is a rough club, which is hurled among a herd of antelopes after they have been driven together, to break their legs. Slings are still in frequent use, and watchmen sling stones with great dexterity into every bush that might harbour a thief or highwayman. Firearms used to be made and mended almost exclusively by Egyptian and Greek immigrants. The missile is almost invariably of iron, since leaden bullets flatten readily upon the thick buffalo-hide shields. Abyssinian powder is indeed poor enough, being manufactured by the marksmen themselves out of native sulphur, and saltpetre obtained by washing rubbish.

Abyssinia is the first country in which a person coming from the south finds stone and mortar extensively used in building; yet this progress implies no great art or attention. Such architecture as that of Uganda is hardly to be found in all Abyssinia; although in the circular form employed by preference in the concentric surrounding walls, and in other respects, a similarity of ground-plan is apparent, extending far towards South Africa. In the lowlands one finds villages the huts of which are hastily patched up of twigs. The outer circuit of wall has one gateway, the inner four. In the middle of the interior space is the hearth, and beside it the stones for bruising corn. Horses or mules are often tied up in

ers of great persons, and sleep with them, or have special stalls assigned. In the mountain country of Samien the huts are simple edifices of a lofty thorn hedge. In Halai, built on mountain terraces, to the Massowah, Salt has described curious flat-roofed huts, the roofs sometimes laid at the same slope as the hillside, and with one window, or a chimney resembling a broken pot. We are reminded of the East African *tembes* when we find near Sanafe rectangular stone-built huts, including a court for the cattle, surrounded by a colonnade, and behind it a chamber for the human inhabitants



Abyssinian shield, made of the hide of the Kaffir ox—one-sixth real size. (Frankfort Museum.)

lighted only by these broken-pot openings. On the walls cakes of cow-dung are stuck to dry. Caves being numerous in the Abyssinian highlands, cave-dwellers are not uncommon; and, in spite of the doubters, Bruce was quite right when he spoke of Abyssinian troglodytes.

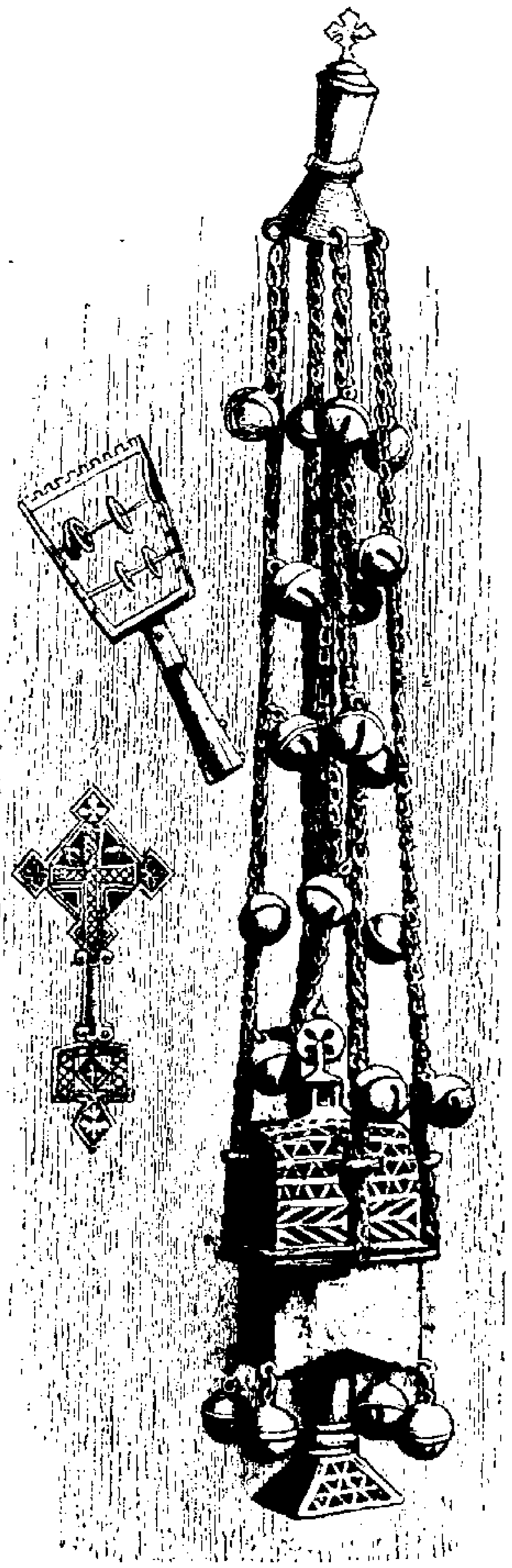
The sparse population, the feeble amount of traffic, and the broken nature of the country, are not favourable to the appearance of large towns. Alvarez, who stayed in Abyssinia between 1520 and 1526, says: "In the whole country there is not a town with more than 1600 inhabitants, and even these are few. There are no walled towns or fortresses, but villages without number." Throughout the province of Samien only groups of twenty or thirty huts are found. Angets it is formed of six such groups lying far apart. Gondar, the capital, often spoken of and often fought for, and 250 years old, also consists only of groups of scattered houses, separated by ruins. There is nothing of the nature of a wall. In some

parts of the town the round conical-roofed huts stand closer together, and there we find narrow winding streets, which can be closed bodily by separate gates. Ruins constantly accompany new work not yet fallen to pieces. In Rüppell's time the market place and all the area round the castle was almost entirely surrounded by uninhabited huts in part already ruined; so was the largest and handsomest church of Gondar, in which, according to Heuglin, there were forty-four churches and 1200 clergy. The disorderly look of Abyssinian towns is heightened by the separation of the Mussulman and Jewish quarters, which are often the best kept. Attempts at improvement belong to the period of strong Portuguese influence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such are the splendid aqueduct on lofty circular arches which provides the church of Fasilda near Gondar with water, and the *gemp* or palace at that place, "which makes a really splendid impression beside the wretched straw-roofed houses."

"Prester John, the Emperor," wrote Alvarez, "has no fixed residence. He is constantly travelling about the country with tents, and has always in his camp five or six good tents beside the ordinary one." King Theodore in our own time lived in similar fashion. During most of his reign his travelling camp was his residence, accounting for his frequent shifting between Gondar, Debra Tabor, Magdala, and elsewhere.

The older churches are very like churches in other countries, and especially so since they have a plain high altar in full view; while in those of more recent date the sanctuary is cut off by a wall from the rest of the church. Herein, no doubt, is to be recognised an effect of the Jewish influences which have modified Abyssinian Christianity. The simplest churches, such as are found in the mountains, are distinguished from the huts by one or two slabs of phonolite, used instead of bells, hanging on the ancient tree which is hardly ever lacking, or on a framework, and beaten with a clapper. A church at Lalibala is, Rohlfs tells us, surrounded by olives brought from Jerusalem. Only the wealthiest churches possess bells, which hang in a detached bell-tower. Even larger churches, those of recent building at any rate, are often only round straw-thatched huts, like the ordinary dwelling-huts. Churches, even the smallest, have almost everywhere two portals side by side at the west end, with doors which pious people kiss on entering. Large churches are by preference built in the form of a Greek cross. Colonnades outside and rows of columns inside are not uncommon. In various parts of Abyssinia are monolithic churches hewn from the rock; the Emmanuel Church near Lalibala, though not the largest example of these productions of a limitless patience, is 40 feet high, 24 paces long, and 16 wide. Structures of this kind are, however, centuries old; and, having originally been hewn in soft stone, they are quickly falling to ruin. Small windows having a stone cross let into them are also characteristic of the larger Abyssinian churches. In large churches, well-endowed with landed property, valuable furniture is found, of which no Catholic church in Europe need be ashamed. Highest of all is the throne-like chair, used at the consecration of the Sacrament; everywhere in Abyssinia this is the object of the greatest veneration, and, like the Jewish Ark of the Covenant, may be touched only by ordained priests. At high festivals the priests wear helmet-shaped mitres of gold and silver plate. Abyssinian emperors have often presented or bequeathed to churches their crowns, which thus serve to adorn the priests. Velvet veils are also worn over the most valuable.

The walls, doors, and rafters are often covered with symbolical and ornamental paintings; and in every case the door carries life-sized figures of angels, which the devout kiss reverently. These recall the crudest Byzantine work. The porcelain panels, or lamps of brass and glass, met with in some specially-privileged churches—neither the ever-burning lamp nor the holy-water stoup forms part of the furniture of an Abyssinian church—are either foreign productions, or have been manufactured by Egyptian, Levantine, or even European craftsmen, some of whom, even in earlier days, were in the service of Abyssinian nobles who liked magnificence.


Abyssinian church furniture. (After Rohlfs.)

The Abyssinians are an agricultural race, and in many districts still more a pastoral race. But their agriculture is limited, for, owing to indolence and insecurity, only so much land is cultivated as each man needs to maintain his family. Prosperity based on agriculture is therefore hardly to be found in Abyssinia, and many a negro people of Central Africa is better off in this respect. The husbandry, too, is primitive, albeit the plough, *achras,* has been extolled as a great triumph of Abyssinian culture. It is a long pole having two vertical teeth shod with iron, and a smaller pole attached to which oxen are yoked. The cornfields are as it were casually strewn about the country. Even in the most rocky districts the stones are left in the fields. Manure is unknown; so that a yearly change of arable land is required, and only one crop can be gathered in the year. Ploughing is the men's job, but girls and women reap and thresh; they pluck the ripe ears off laboriously, and beat them out with little sticks on the threshing-floor. Reaping is done with serrated sickles. In the highlands barley is the chief crop; but even here wheat is grown. Sovereigns have often tried to confiscate individual stores of corn, and collect them in magazines, but they have never succeeded in eradicating famines. Theodore's attempt to victual Magdala had a melancholy ending, though for years he had been sweeping up corn and cattle thither. Even had he not been annihilated in the action at Agowe, he would before long have had no choice save to die fighting, or surrender under pressure of hunger. If the Abyssinian agricultural

implements and mode of tillage remind us of Egypt, this indolence is a great retrogression from what was usual in Egypt 4000 years ago.

In spite of the magnificent alpine pastures with their nutritious clover, cattle-breeding plays a small part in proportion to the natural capabilities of the country. The most frequent domestic animal is the *sanga*-ox. Bulls and oxen are used for ploughing, and in the more mountainous parts for carrying loads, while the cows are kept for milk and meat. Donkeys are not usually ridden. Mutton forms a great part of the animal food. Flocks of sheep and goats are frequent in the more elevated districts. It is curious that in spite of their wealth in sheep the Abyssinian mountaineers do not wear woollen clothes. Develo is the part where fine-woolled sheep are chiefly bred. The house-dogs are like the half-wild dogs of Egypt. A small slim kind of domestic cat is kept. Poultry are the only domestic fowl. Cocks are often kept in churches to announce the hour of morning prayer. Bee-keeping is successfully managed by establishing wild swarms in hives of all sorts, most often made of clay, but also of real basket-work. The Abyssinians have a special knack of taming wild beasts, and tame lions form part of the Emperor's court establishment. They go loose and are fed abundantly, but the cold mountain air and the frequent rain make them ill-tempered and sullen. In the lower-lying parts, where cattle-breeding is rendered difficult by the sharply-defined dry season, in which the pastures dry up, it naturally occurs to no one to provide for those periods by a supply of hay. The simpler process of nomadism carries the herds from the low to the high ground till the rainy season comes on. The husbandman himself takes part in these yearly-recurring excursions, which may embrace considerable tracts. Cattle-breeding is chiefly the work of the men. Boys drive the herds to pasture, and the milking is exclusively attended to by men, to whom all the task of slaughtering falls. Cheese is not made at all, and cow-beef is preferred to ox.

The Abyssinians avoid pork from religious motives, though not in all districts, and also abstain from hare. Many forms of game are forbidden, as, for instance, all waterfowl. Nor do they eat locusts, of which the poorer Mahommedans are fond. Raw beef is specially popular, only Mussulmans eating dressed meat. An ox freshly killed and devoured raw by the whole village is the great feature of an Abyssinian Christmas in the country. Great carouses, in which the national barley-brew never fails to appear in excessive quantity, form for all classes the culmination of a feast and the crown of hospitality. Where people are not utterly stingy, the meal opens with the slaughter of a kid or a sheep, or, at the very least, of a fowl, the flesh being at once eaten raw or very slightly toasted. If both Christians and Mussulmans are in the company, one of each kills for those of his own persuasion. Besides meat, the basis of the diet is formed by thin, flexible cakes made of leavened dough from the grain called *teff* (*Poa abyssinica*); and a sauce of red pepper is the invariable seasoning to meat and bread alike. Bread is made, as in Arabia, by grinding the corn on stones, and baking the coarse dough immediately; it is one of the women's chief duties. People squat down to eat; and the first rule of good manners is that when several are eating together they should wait on each other. Nothing is drunk during a meal, but as soon as it is over cups of mead go round, the host at times pouring some into his hand and drinking to show that it is not poisoned or dirty. When the masters have had enough their servants take their places, eat up everything, and drink draughts of

beer; for it is good manners to leave nothing unconsumed. Before seasons of fasting it is usual to fill up with specially large quantities of meat.

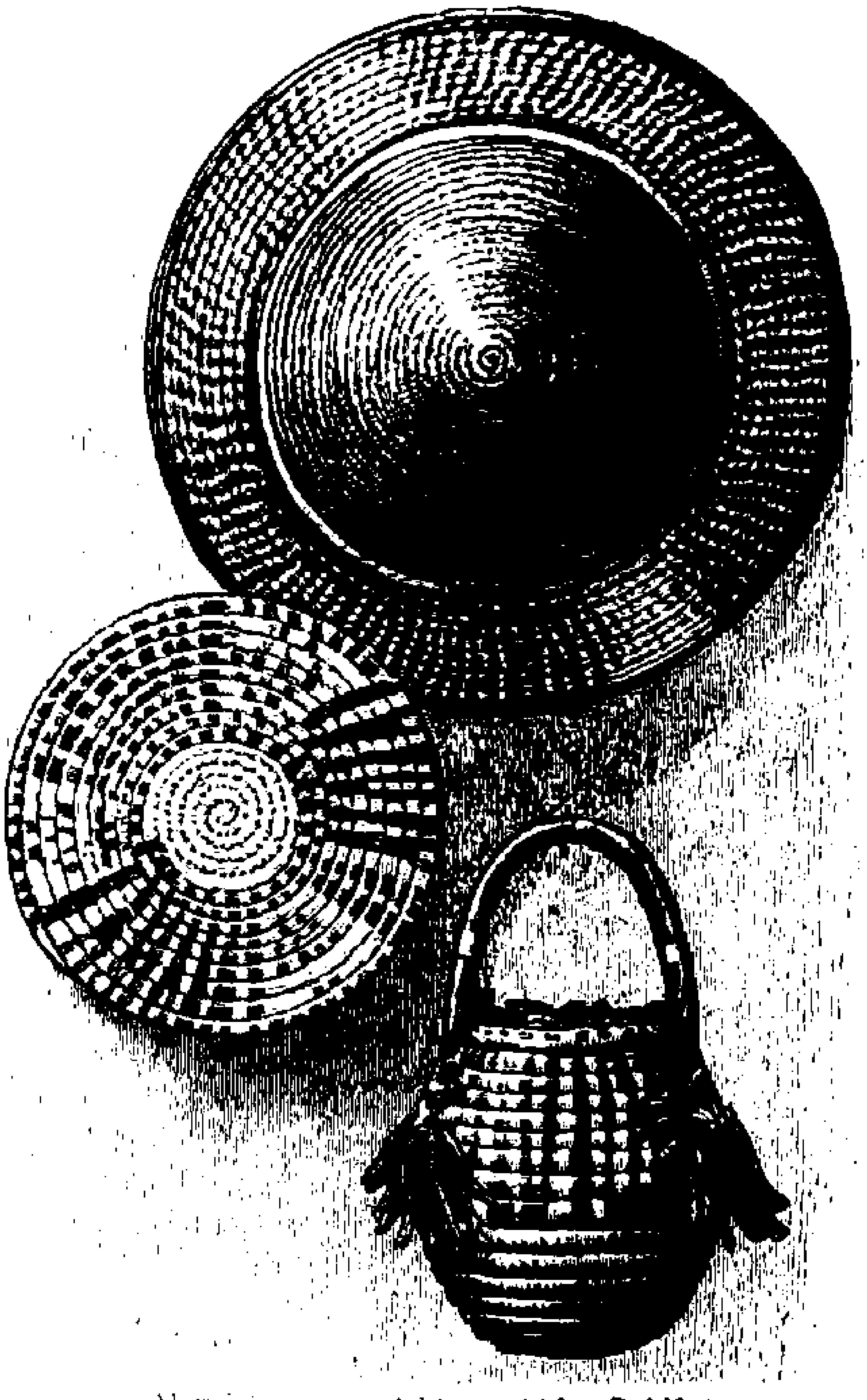
Old and young of both sexes alike pass days and nights in drinking-bouts, at which the national drinks, *tetch* and *merissa*, play a great part. On the other hand the taste for coffee is, curiously enough, widely spread among Mussulmans only; Christians are little addicted to it. At the drinking-bouts, which conclude the carouses, special customs prevail, which form a curious contrast to the absence of formality which otherwise prevails on the same occasions. The host indicates every time to the servants the person to whom drink is to be served, and the person in question rises and bows his thanks. Any one who leaves the party announces his intention of doing so in an audible voice to the host; a custom which prevails also at ordinary visits. Even 300 years ago wine was presented to guests and honoured persons. Priests alone ought properly to drink neither wine nor mead.

The abundance of game in Abyssinia causes a hunt to be a great occasion. Sport is pursued not merely with zest, but with noteworthy courage. Antelope-hunting with leopards, and the chase of giraffes and ostriches with horse and greyhound, are among the pastimes of Abyssinian nobles; but they do not know hawking. In other respects the hunting follows Nubian methods. In Samien buffaloes' tails and elephants' trunks are found hung up as trophies in the huts; and the hunters may well be proud of them, for many have no weapon but a spear with which to encounter these monsters, though they think to increase their strength by prayers, charms, and the slaughter of a brown sheep. Lion-skins belong to the king; but the fortunate hunter keeps a strip to decorate his shield.

The coast fishery, which owing to its yield in pearls and mother-of-pearl was only of importance in Abyssinian trade, is carried on by Danakils. They use a raft made of five tree-stems, resembling the Nubian *ambatch*-raft. This simple craft is propelled dexterously and rapidly by a boy standing amidships, and working a paddle with both ends shovel-shaped. He rows out to sea a league or more. The pearl-fishers on the Abyssinian coast use negro slaves as divers. They are bought as boys, and regularly trained to dive with a stone at their foot and a signal-cord on their arm.

Abyssinian industry formerly produced beautiful work by help of patterns and instruction received from Western Asia and Egypt, in a measure also from Europe. In the markets of the Eastern Soudan the fabrics of Abyssinia are still the most valued, and next to them those of Darfour. But industry has long stood still, and in many branches, such as silver and goldsmith's work, has retrograded. Indolence is a national defect. Even in Massowah, a stirring and somewhat civilized place, one is struck with the laziness of the Abyssinians. The most profitable work is done by strangers. Craftsmen and the greater traders are foreigners; nothing being left for the Abyssinians but chaffering, which they do all day long in a lazy sleepy way in the market-booths, in the coffee-shops, and on the landing-places. At the same time their wives are not, as with so many semi-barbarians, proportionately overworked, but lie almost the whole day on their sofas of plaited thongs. The girls sometimes occupy themselves in weaving mats, shallow dishes, water-tight baskets—like those in the illustration,—and small banner-fans, which they make from the dry leaves of fan-palms from Yemen. The grinding of flour and the baking of bread are left to negro slaves. It is not so everywhere; but

even with the townsfolk in the higher districts, idleness is [illegible] at least among Christians, a chaffering trade often not free [illegible] very general, and all really productive activity is, with few [illegible] Trade has become far too widely extended for a country so [illegible] and so unproductive, still quite devoid of good roads, and for[illegible] lacking in public security. No trader ventures to carry about [illegible] attacks by robbers, looting, and incendiarism, are frequent. War [illegible] the communic[illegible] the provinces [illegible], causing a failure [illegible] most ordinary market goods, and prices will vary 100 per cent and more in the course of a week. Buying and selling is, under these circumstances, a mere lottery. Very often the only capital which some poor devil has to stake when bringing goods from one province to another is his own life and his two or three pack-asses. This is especially the case with the salt-trade. But raw cotton has to be fetched at any price from the province of Kwara, in the direction of Sennaar, and iron from Gojam. This explains what is said of Gondar, that every inhabitant of that town lives by trade-profits, except the priests and soldiers, who maintain themselves on church revenues and plunder respectively. Abyssinia produces few metals. Gold comes from the Galla countries, iron from the west and south. The salt-trade between the coast and the interior is of importance.



Abyssinian straw-plaiting. (After Rohlfs.)

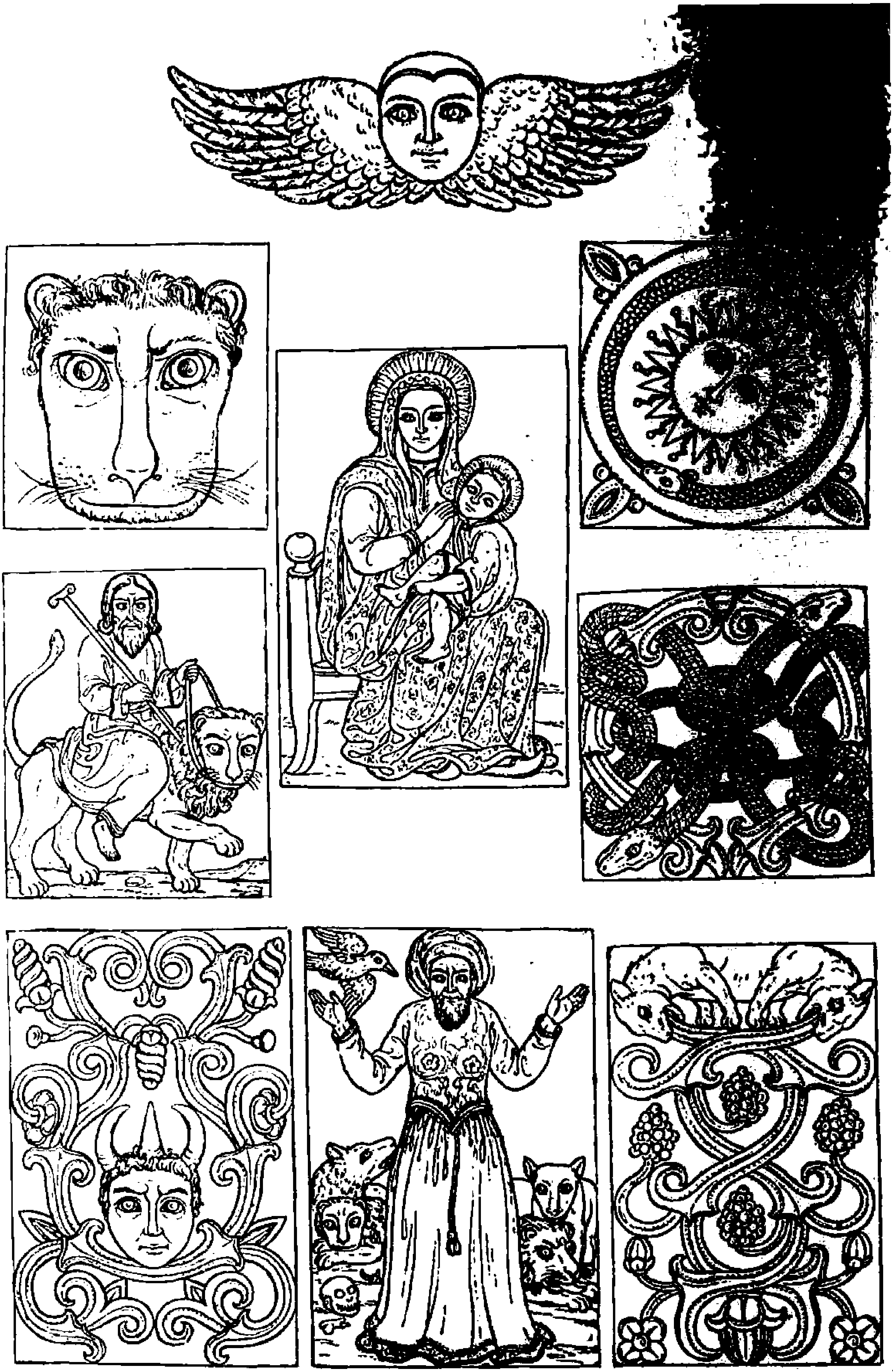
The industries of the Christian Abyssinians consist chiefly of converting the Gojam iron into knives, ploughshares, and spear-heads, even into scissors and razors—the files required in metal work being curiously enough brought from Shoa, and of a very rough kind—tanning and manufacturing the buffalo-hide shields, forging silver into insignificant chains, rings, and ornaments for weapons, in which the metal is often shamelessly debased by the addition of tin and zinc, working the gold which is brought in small quantities from the south-west, copying, printing, and binding books. Notable for the fineness of the work and fertility of invention are the filigree rosettes and flowers. "All Abyssinian filigree-work" says Rohlfs, "has the same character, but no two articles are alike. Not a hairpin,

not a neck-ornament, not an armlet, not a shield decorated with filigree, is a precise copy of anything. Everywhere we find originality and variety, never uniformity, of execution." The spear-heads inlaid with silver also call for mention. The same traveller also praises especially the Abyssinian brass-work, while allowing that in plaited work and in the vessels of wood, horn, and earthenware, they stand no higher than many peoples of Central Africa. The great industry of the Mussulmans is the cotton manufacture. In Abyssinia hardly anything but cotton is worn, and it therefore gives employment to numerous hands. The process is as simple as can be imagined. The cotton is usually exchanged with the seeds in it for its weight in salt. Then the workwoman laboriously removes the seeds by rolling with an iron pin, beats up the cotton with an elastic hoop, and spins it with a spindle. An industrious woman can weave enough cloth in a year to fetch about 20 dollars, representing 10 dollars of earnings, which is little even under Abyssinian conditions. The cotton cloth for the coloured borders of the robe is obtained at a high price from India. For a long time an important part of the trade between India and Abyssinia has consisted in the import of these coloured fabrics. In the curious division of labour according to creed, the pottery manufacture and all builders' work falls to the Jews.

Pictorial art is not limited to the crude painting of church doors and walls, but has produced better results in the adornment of the precious Gospels and prayer-books. In the sixteenth century the sacred parchments were ornamented with at least tolerable miniatures, under the instruction, as it would appear, of Byzantine artists. What is now done in that line is coarsely and clumsily put on. This art could hardly be benefited by the strange Abyssinian superstition that only Jews and evil spirits might be represented in profile. There is no knowledge of perspective.

Abyssinian music is thus precisely described by Francisco Alvarez: "They have trumpets, but these are not good. There are many copper drums, brought from Cairo, and others of wood with leather at the ends. There are tambourines like ours, and large cymbals which they strike. Flutes there are, and some stringed instruments like four-cornered harps, which they call David's harps. They play them before Prester John, but not well." More recent reporters also describe the church music as not very delightful. Rohlfs describes a kind of shawm, like the Alp-horn, 5 feet long, and cased in leather.

The markets are the most important trading-places. Rohlfs describes the market of Adowa as follows: "The different articles are apportioned to small streets. Here stand the cattle—horses, oxen, sheep, goats, poultry too, and game. Then comes a street on either side of which squat men, women, and girls behind sacks of corn, wheat, barley, pease, beans; great heaps of red peppers, fresh and dried, show the extent to which this spice is used. Rows of pots containing honey and butter, many with mead and beer; on large cloths little mirrors and beads from Venice and Bohemia; flasks with inferior essences; drinking-glasses, stoneware, bad knives and scissors; writing-paper; black, white, and red thread; two sorts of cotton—the better kind white and pretty good, the worst almost gray and heavily clayed; handkerchiefs of many colours; poor silk goods and cloths dyed red, yellow, and light blue; looking-glasses; here a case of wretched brandy or yet more poisonous absinthe—these are the chief European goods offered for sale. Then come Abyssinian materials: stockings for ladies, hand-



Specimens of modern Abyssinian art. (After Rohlfs.)

somely embroidered with coloured silks; *shamas* of various size and quality; and some lovely *margefs* at a price considerable even for us. But when you come to look at the carefully-executed cotton material, looking like a mixture of silk and wool, and embroidered at both ends with wonderfully beautiful colours in a border an inch and a half wide, you will hardly think £15 or £20 an extravagant price for one of these cloths. Weapons are there too: pikes, sabres, old guns, pistols, shields of buffalo and rhinoceros-hide. For bows and arrows you will look in vain in Abyssinia. Objects of natural history may also be found, lion and panther skins, hides of smaller beasts of prey, snakes, and the like. In another street are ox, sheep, and goat skins, dried as well as tanned, and coloured red." Just as in the Soudan, the market-judge is there. "Actual sale takes place only when the article is valued in dollars. Things of small value are bartered." Only in particular parts of Abyssinia, especially in the Amharic provinces, are blocks of salt, *amole*, a medium of exchange. They come from the basin of Arro, as Schimper calls it, "the state-treasury of Abyssinia." Throughout Abyssinia the Maria Theresa dollars of 1780 are known and taken in exchange. As forty-eight *amole* go to a dollar, they form a sort of small coin.

As to the Abyssinian character, Ludolf has quoted the verdict of Tellez: "He says that they are by nature fickle, that they keep faith like Carthaginians, that they are fleeting and perjured, cruel, and most eager for revenge." Rüppell mentions as leading traits every variety of vice, from indolence and recklessness up through drunkenness, superstition, ingratitude, impudence in demanding presents, great skill in dissimulation, to "a faculty of lying worthy to be proverbial," stupid selfish pride, extreme profligacy, faithlessness, and a tendency to theft. The only virtues for which room is left are those of weakness. They exceed all their neighbours in garrulity. Intelligence is universally allowed to the Abyssinian, and the only regret is, as Heuglin says, "that the forms of the categorical imperative in use throughout the East" are not more forcibly employed for the development and training of his gifts. Most of his faults are the more sharply stamped on him owing to the barbarising lawlessness under which the unhappy country has so long lain. They are, therefore, capable of being more leniently apprehended, and we will not forget that every single traveller in Abyssinia, however unfavourable his general experience may have been, has recorded traits of great nobility in one Abyssinian or another; even Rüppell has done so of his friend, the noble and quick-witted judge, Lik Altum of Gondar. Rohlfs took some trouble to mitigate the usual opinion of the Abyssinians, alleging facts; and it is particularly pleasant to hear how he extols the honour of his Abyssinian servants. This, again, contrasts with Rüppell's tales of how even great personages stole articles from his table at Gondar. At all events, a generation elapsed between the two verdicts. Summing up what is permanent in the nature and behaviour of Abyssinians, the character of the species is most clearly expressed by the formula: An Oriental foundation with admixture of negro or mulatto liveliness and instability.

Intellectually Abyssinia is still on the level of the third or fourth century A.D. Its church has remained stationary, its knowledge is less than fragmentary, and the horizon of its church and convent precincts encloses its acquaintance with and notions of the world. The Abyssinians believe that there are three worlds—Ethiopia, Europe, and Turkey. Further, that Europe is nearly as large as

Abyssinia, but possesses no Negus Negesti—King of kings. They deem the emperor of Russia at least as powerful as the king of Tigre. The last Negus for some time firmly believed a fable brought to him by a Greek that Greece was the most powerful country on the earth. These inadequate conceptions are aided by the fact that Abyssinians most rarely leave their country. Their reckoning of time is connected with the old method of Oriental Christendom, but they begin the year in September, like the Jews. The years from leap year to leap year bear the names of the evangelists—John-year, Matthew-year, and so on. The names of the months are of Coptic and Byzantine origin.

Yet, after all, what really makes the country so attractive to us is its position as a Christian stronghold, rising like a beacon amid the paganism and Mahommedanism of Africa. Its Christianity brings Abyssinia closer to us in spirit, and raises it above all Africa. Nor, benumbed as it is, is this Christianity merely verbal and formal. It saves Abyssinia from the fetishism, the witchcraft, the human sacrifices of the rest of Africa. "The people may fight," says Munzinger, "but soldiers and property are the only victims; women and children are respected. Property in human beings extends only to imported negroes. The slave-trade is forbidden to Christians on pain of death." For more than 1500 years Abyssinia has preserved its Christianity, but it has not developed it. From a living plant it has become a stationary and therefore in many ways a deformed growth, in which leaf and flower, important and unimportant, dogma and discipline have retained equal significance, so that it has been unable to permeate the life of the race by its own spiritual life. It is above all an isolated thing in this medley of races. It has no general culture underlying it, no arts and sciences to befriend or oppose it. This explains the formal spirit, the importance attached to usages and external works, the crazily consistent distinction between clean and unclean, the circumcision, all the dependence on the latter, as an outcome of a short-sighted Oriental, Judaic, Pharisaic mode of thought. The lack of theological science, the superfluity of monks, disorderly and dissolute, matrimonial relations carried to the point of polygamy, open simony, sale of the sacraments, the immoderate number of festivals, endless superficial fasts and penances, superstitious cult of crosses and images, saint-worship in wild profusion, are so many depressing weights; and with all this are connected, as at least not punished by the Church, nay, in most cases believed in and practised, usages of the most superstitious kind. If we add that the priesthood, in the old Egyptian manner, passes by inheritance from father to son, that the whole body of monks and nuns pass their time in doing nothing; that the Abyssinian church deems only a very limited measure of education necessary for its servants; it will be understood how poor in culture this Christian race succeeds in being. One thing, too, which we have already indicated, must not be overlooked here; namely, the senseless pride, the true Semitic inheritance of all semi-civilization, which shuts itself up against instruction, and which Christianity thus isolated can only serve to foster.

The Abyssinians are, like the Copts, Monophysites, and the head of their church is still chosen from among the Coptic monks. But when Christianity in Egypt was swamped by Islam, almost every link between the sister churches was broken, and Abyssinian Christianity disappeared into a darkness from which it only began to reappear, and that by way of fabulous reports, towards the end of the

Middle Ages. The first more accurate intelligence was brought by envoys sent by King John II. of Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century. For some time a Portuguese held the influential post of Abuna or patriarch in the Abyssinian church. Attempts to convert Abyssinia to the Church of Rome only injured European influence. Later missionary efforts have remained small and fragmentary. Sprung from such a root, and having passed through such experiences, the Church of Abyssinia is in its teaching nearest to the orthodox Syrian. It is firmly planted in the affections of the people, who owe the maintenance of their independence far more to the closeness with which all their interests are interwoven with Christianity than to the deterrent and defensible character of the country. According to Heuglin the church comprises 12,000 ecclesiastics; it possesses a great part of the best land, and lays claim to remunerative services on the part of the peasants.

The enclosed spaces round the churches are used as cemeteries; but curiously enough there are no monuments in Abyssinia, so that these burial-places produce an impression of desolation. Within the enclosure stand the huts of the priests. Even in the treeless parts of the high plateau the shade of a few ancient trees is not lacking, even if it be only that of slim, gloomy junipers. The bones of illustrious persons, after fifty years' interment, are taken into the church and disposed in painted wooden sarcophagi. The churchyard is considered a sacred spot, where even inanimate property is safe. Hence a great deal of other people's property is found in the priests' houses. Even in civil wars the right of asylum in these places is respected. In Gondar this right is possessed by the whole quarter in which the *Echeghe*, or head of the Abyssinian Christians, dwells. When Rüppell was there it was enjoyed undisturbed by a political freebooter with fifty of his accomplices, at other times the terror of the province.

The external interests of Church and State coincide in the opposition to persons of another faith, and thus it is rare for the Church to take the side of a party opposed to the sovereign, as it did under Theodore; who indeed, had a short way with attempts of that kind. Rohlfs states it as an historical fact that Theodore when declared by the Abuna, before a public assembly, to be accursed and an outlaw, pointed a pistol at the patriarch, with the words: "Give me your blessing, Father."

In the history of Abyssinia no motive force can be compared with that of religious and national fanaticism, and it can therefore show more than one episode recalling the Monophysite persecutions in Egypt. One king once went so far to meet the Jesuits that the Romanising of Abyssinia seemed to be making considerable progress, palaces being built for them, and seminaries placed in their hands for the education of young Abyssinians destined for the priesthood. At that time—about 1624—most sanguinary wars of religion raged, and the king himself had his son-in-law and his daughter hanged as heretics. A social opposition appears beside the religious and national ones—for it must be remembered that the Gallas, hereditary foes of Abyssinia, are Mussulmans. Not only have non-Christians been subjected to certain restrictions; but one can even speak of a kind of economic division of labour, the more so that the Abyssinian Mussulmans are in general more industrious and skilful than the Christians.

The pagan inhabitants of Abyssinia are confined to the Waitos, who live on Lake Tana, and some of the Agaus in the west of the country. But pagan

customs, if only as relics of an obsolete nature-worship, are not rare. Speaking of Haremat, Rüppell says: "Women of the district repaired in great numbers to a copious spring under fine clumps of trees, washed their hands and feet, and flung themselves on the earth before a great rough-hewn cubical block of sandstone having two elliptical depressions in it." Other observers have quoted clear evidence of serpent-worship.

Under the two last sovereigns Abyssinian Christianity has made great apparent progress by the violent suppression of Islam and paganism; but, judging by the local conditions, its inward development can assuredly never proceed from the bosom of the Church, but must be introduced by social forces from without. Rohlfs had good ground for his advice to give up all idea of a religious conversion of Abyssinia, but to strive as hard as possible for the education of the young. The history of Abyssinia shows how futile are compulsory conversions; and the true task of a mission is to develop the talents of the race by education.

The sovereignty of Abyssinia, based on the personality of the emperor, from whom the people expect everything and tolerate everything, has been a powerful institution only under a few vigorous rulers. The active rule of Theodore was the one that in this century came nearest to the Abyssinian ideal. "From early dawn," says Heuglin, "till far into the night, the Negus was in demand alike for judicial or administrative matters and for military and religious functions. He himself saw to all the business of government. Dozens of petitioners assemble long before sunrise in front of the chain of sentries who surround his tent, crying: 'Abet, Abet!' or 'Dsanhoi' (Lord! Lord! hear us). The king replies from his couch, rises, listens to wishes and complaints, judges, and distributes favours and presents. Then come long reports and messages, patrols surrender nightly disturbers of the peace, thieves, or spies, judgment and execution following on the spot with little ceremony or circumlocution." Indeed the career of this man, conspicuous among Abyssinian sovereigns, teaches the ultimate fruitlessness of vigour under conditions in which slackness and despotism are the only two courses open to the ruler, and the possibility of a steady development of land and people is excluded by the lack of any soil for culture. From the abdication of Tekla Haimanot in 1778 to 1833, fourteen different princes occupied the throne at Gondar twenty-two times among them. By ancient custom the emperor is elected from one single old royal family by the so-called great officials of the empire, and he nominates the governors of the provinces. But in a country where intercourse was so difficult, the dependence of the governors was a fiction, and the history of Abyssinia is broken up into that of the various governors and provinces. The intrusion of the Gallas between Shoa and Abyssinia put the finishing touch to this state of things; and for a long time Shoa was completely separated from the mother-country, whereby the emperor at Gondar retained but a shadow of his dignity. In Rüppell's time his revenue consisted of 300 dollars, the poll-tax of the Mussulmans in Gondar. The sighs of the king, at an audience, over the decay of his greatness, agreed with the wretched character of his surroundings, the ruin of his palace, the barenness of the rooms. Finding it impossible to keep up his court on 300 dollars, and deprived of all other resources save a few fines, this shadow of a monarch laid claim to a part of the Church revenues, but this so exasperated the clergy that they closed the churches and authorised one of the governors to depose the emperor. Ras Ali gave his sovereign a little village on

Lake Tana for his residence, and its revenues for his maintenance. This emperor had reigned four and a half months in all, and, as may be imagined, after his deposition so little need was felt of a new sovereign that none was appointed for some time. Under these circumstances there is, of course, no question of a central administration. Every governor administers, or drains, his own province, and even treats independently with foreign powers, as recently Ras Alula did with Italy. Beside a tithe of the produce as land-tax he levies a tax on oxen and sheep, and often on butter and honey. There is besides the entertainment of travelling nobles and their guests, as well as other travellers. Finally he takes toll on trade, and this, levied as a rule in cotton stuffs, which serve for currency, represents the sole direct source of income to the government. To it may be added the poll-tax on Jews and Mussulmans. Only if a governor wants more money does he confiscate as much property as is needed; and in like manner his officials and soldiers take it where they find it. In periods of war the Abyssinian administration is a system of plunder.

Great seal of Abyssinia. The legend is (1) Ethiopian: Negusa negest Juhannas sa ethiope; (2) Arabic: Juḫanne melik muluk el ḫabasa, *i.e.* John, king of the kings of Ethiopia.

The renovation of the Abyssinian monarchy has come from this governor or petty prince class. After many feuds, Kassa of Sana remained the only one of any power and generally victorious. Thus it was of necessity that, in spite of a previous excommunication, he became emperor in 1855 under the name of Theodore. He was known above all as a soldier. His most redoubtable characteristics were his collections of weapons, his forced marches and surprises, his personal reconnaissances, his desperate courage. Violence was his instrument, and his projects were of a violent nature—to eradicate Islam, to baptize the Jews, to extend the frontier of Abyssinia from the Red Sea to the Nile. "Theodore means to reform the country by terror and bloodshed," wrote Munzinger, who at that time still admired him, in 1863. But he had to add: "There is not a single family of quality in Abyssinia but has been bereaved. Many princes have died the lingering death of malefactors. They are fortunate who have fallen like men on the field of battle. The old rulers of the people lie prisoners in the mountain fortresses." Insurrection and civil war never ceased. Almost all the neighbouring chiefs fell, less by force of arms than overwhelmed by the mass of the emperor's host as it moved, numbering with women and children hundreds of thousands, devastating the land like a swarm of locusts. When in course of time all Abyssinia had been laid waste, the warlike frenzy of this haughty soldier broke out again, leading him to place some Europeans in chains till they promised to cast cannon for him, and finally bringing on him an end worthy of his life among the ruins of Magdala in 1868. The Emperor John again, as head of the province of Tigre, was so successful in fighting that he was able to have himself crowned emperor at Axum in 1872. King Menelek of Shoa, hitherto independent, submitted peacefully

when John marched against him in 1877, touching the earth with his forehead; and was confirmed by John as sub-king. John introduced a more humane treatment of opponents than had up till then been usual in Abyssinia. When he fell in 1889, crusading against the Mahdists, Menelek succeeded him, and thus Shoa and Abyssinia were at last united again.

In its later period Shoa represented the more peaceful side of Abyssinian sovereignty. Here also the king is the sole lord and master of the land, but he rules leniently, making an intelligent use of the revenues of the kingdom arising from high duties and the farmer's presents in kind. In war every governor has to provide his contingent, and the entire army may reach 30,000 to 50,000 men, of whom perhaps 1000 carry muskets, the rest being armed with pike, sword, and shield. Shoa has also certain peoples on its borders constituting a military frontier. The Chachas, Adabais, and Dammas form a natural barrier against the inroads of the Gallas from the south, preventing these from wholly vanquishing or overwhelming the Shoan realm. The Shoans generally have the reputation of good soldiers. Their cavalry is reckoned excellent; wrapped in their black woollen cloaks, mounted on active, powerful horses, which are unshod, and have their headgear ornamented with metal plates, they make a good impression at first sight. They carry, for the most part, only short broad sabres and a lance carelessly thrown over the shoulder.

Its situation has always made Abyssinia a warlike state. Unluckily its army is a very imperfect instrument. In 1881, Rohlfs wrote: "It must not be supposed that the Abyssinian troops can bear any comparison with our regular armies. They are far inferior to the Egyptian troops, perhaps even to those of Morocco. The Abyssinian soldier never gets any pay, whether officer or private. A sheep skin or goat skin over his shoulders, with fringes half a yard long, or for specially valiant men a lion's or panther's skin, forms his uniform. On his right side he wears a long curved sabre. Thus accoutred appears the Abyssinian soldier, looking haughtily down on every one; the land belongs to him, and the peasant has to work for him." Such an army is a great burden on the land, claiming wide districts almost wholly for itself, and absorbing the labour of thousands. Like Asmara, where Ras Alula is usually encamped with his frontier army, Debra Tabor has now become a district occupied almost wholly by soldiers and court officials. Citizens and peasants are all connected with the army as buyers or sellers. The remark of the old Portuguese still holds good, that the Emperor of Abyssinia has no fixed home, but goes about camping with a gang numbering 50,000 and more. How plainly this shows the underlying African instability and the scanty roots struck by culture in this country.

Every week the emperor holds public audiences in his palace, to which all citizens are admitted. Complaints and defences come before him, witnesses are heard, and after consulting his nobles he gives judgment. He does not himself speak to the parties, but employs as go-between a confidential person, known as the "Mouth of the Negus." The Wali whose duty it is to execute sentence with his soldiers, has no small amount of bloody work with a vigorous sovereign like Theodore. But bribery of the person intrusted with execution is extremely common. In fact, the parties often come to each other's aid by agreeing to bring their case before an arbiter and abide by his decision. In complicated cases, reference is made to the code called *Oheta Negust*, the "Sovereign's Directory"—said to

...on Justinian's *Institutes*, and prepared in the seventeenth century ...missionary, Peter Heyling of Lubeck. In the country, justice is ...according to ancient custom on a hill in the open air, and the elders ... Complainant and defendant state their cases verbally, and the ...make their observations. After long discussion the judge orders ...livers judgment.

...lessness which has made especial strides in this century has given rise ...customs designed to help people to help themselves. If a suspected ...communicates with any one of the complainant side, he is bound not to

South Abyssinian girl. (From a photograph.)

go away before the affair is decided; and if he does, it is regarded as an admission of guilt. At times even formal leagues are made for mutual assistance. A great part of the province of Hamazen, bordering on Azameh, formed in the 'thirties a federal republic, all the inhabitants having their differences settled by umpires of their own, choosing their local authorities independently, and often even refusing successfully to pay the taxes which they owed to the governor of Adowa as the price of their independence.

The social relations of the Abyssinians show how few elements of culture may be possessed by a religion of high origin. In many respects the Mussulmans and perhaps even the Jews are at least not behind their Christian fellow-countrymen. Although the equalising effect of a priesthood counted by thousands, and drawn from the people, must naturally be taken into consideration, semi-civilization, ignorance, poverty, the pressure of cramping conditions, are even more opposite levellers. Not although, but because, an early medieval strain runs through the population, are soldier, merchant, landowner, peasant, regarded alike. There is

hardly any distinction of culture, master and servant can stand on a footing of friendship. The fact that the population is thin, and the soil propitious, prevents any great inequality of property. Besides this there is the peculiar kind of slavery which takes a very easy form in Abyssinia. Most rarely does a slave suffer severe chastisement; it is thought a good deal if he has irons on his feet. In order to be able to take a share in the slave-trade, Christian Abyssinians go into secret partnerships with Mussulmans. Most of the slaves are Gallas from the south, or negroes imported as "Shangallas" by way of Fazogl and Sennaar.

Boys are baptized forty, girls eighty days after birth, and confirmation is administered later, for a small fee. Circumcision, which both sexes undergo, is an old custom, as is also the festival at the entrance upon maturity. The boy who is becoming man goes with his companions before daybreak to the house of his maternal uncle, who shaves the hair on the front of his head, gives him his blessing, and presents him with a spear and a heifer. Marriages are not always made in church; parental consent is enough, without religious rites, for a valid marriage. Among the nobles polygamy is practically in force.

North of Abyssinia as far as the Beni Amer (formerly as far as the Atbara), dwell pastoral peoples, showing in their legends, their speech, and their religion unmistakable traces of a former connection with the Abyssinians. Traces of Christianity especially survive in all the races bordering on Abyssinia, in the south far beyond Shoa, and above all, among the Bogos and Mensahs. These relics of an old religion have so passed into the popular consciousness that the absence of them, as in the Bareas and Kanamas, is a matter of emphatic recognition. Munzinger relates that the Bidel tribe on the Baraka, who are Mussulmans, but speak Tigre, in their processions for rain, invoke not the new Allah but the Christian God of former times.

The Bogos who live immediately to the north of Abyssinia are a pastoral race of Abyssinian descent. They were in former times directly subject to the emperor, and sent their small tribute of sixty cows to the court at Gondar. When the emperor died they all shaved their heads as for the loss of a kinsman. They formed a self-governing aristocracy with rights and pedigree of their own. Oriental monarchs in ancient and modern times have troubled themselves but little about internal government and administration of justice among their subject peoples, and the Abyssinians have always been most concerned to get their tribute. The Bogos were a strong and redoubtable race, and brought from their home a certain amount of culture, their priests, and their form of worship. The old culture has quite disappeared under pressure from Abyssinians and Turks, though traces of a better past are not lacking. The Mensahs and Taknes are nearly akin to the Bogos. Towards the coast are the Beduan (singular Beduj) an impoverished branch, who give the impression of a people that have seen their prime. The name Beduj has become a term of abuse. Close to them the Hababs pasture their herds, inhabiting the Kelan chain of hills in summer and descending in winter to the Sahel. Like the Beduan they profess Islam; though many tribal, family, and personal names are still those used in Abyssinia. Their language is almost pure Ges, which, though in Christian Abyssinia it is preserved only in ecclesiastical books, survives with so little alloy among the herdsmen that

Abyssinian theologians have to ask the Hababs when they want to know the meaning of some forgotten word.

The Beni Amer, who feed their herds on the Baraka, are a stock numbering several hundred thousand, among whom are reckoned the kindred branches of the Helkotas on the Baraka and the Mennas on the Khor el Gash. A warlike and predatory people, they are dreaded by their neighbours more than any perhaps except the Barakas, also akin to them. Herds of cattle constitute the wealth of these nomads, who farm but little. They have acquired slaves by raids upon the Bogos, Bazers, and other tribes; and by the unions between masters and female slaves the whole physique of the race has been altered. Their slave tribe, the Kishendowas, are native serfs, governing themselves under a chief. Manner, customs, and laws point to a stock of predominantly Arab descent. In addition to the nobility and subjects of the Beni Amer there are sheikh-families, a foreign element in the people. Within the nobility there is an older group, said to be of Arab stock, which in former times ruled the people. While the nobles feel themselves to be two families at most, or owing to intermarriage only one, the subjects, who dwell either together with them or in their own quarters, are broken up into a number of tribes. No Beni Amer can become slaves; only those imported from without are truly slaves, while those born in the stock can only be regarded as serfs. The appellations of the tribes and their settlements are taken from the family names of the nobles. The linguistic distinction by which the Beni Amer are divided into the Hassa and Bedanieh groups divides the nobles also, who belong to the same dialectic group as their subjects. Ethnologically as well as locally the whole race is an intermediate stage between Abyssinians and Nubians.

§ 8. THE BERBERS.[1]

The primitive population of North Africa—Settled tribes and nomads—The Berbers of to-day—Half-castes—Berbers and Arabs—Dress and weapons—Did the Berbers build cities?—Kabyle[2] villages—Kashbeh—Agriculture, industry, and trade—Position of women—Political life—The jemaa—The independence of the Kabyles—Religious tendencies—Berbers compared with Arabs.

THE population of North Africa belongs to-day to the two great families of the Hamites and Semites. The Hamites are the older, and are indeed the earliest inhabitants of whom history tells us. Until the seventh century A.D. the country, with the exception of a narrow strip on the coast, was in their possession. To the Egyptians, as their pictures show, the physique of the peoples bordering on the Mediterranean appeared nobler, and their colour fairer than those of their other neighbours, their manners and religion equal, and they gave them the name of *Tehennu*, "the fair people." Their language is the same as that spoken to-day from the oasis of Siva away to the western slopes of the Atlas; and the scanty remains of the language of the Guanches, the aborigines of the Canary Islands,

[1] The name Berber (? from *Barbari*) was found by the Arabs already existing in Morocco, and the name Shulu (vagabonds) was introduced by them as a term of contempt. Amásir is the singular of the names Imázir and Másir applied to the Berbers and Tuaregs; and Wetzstein derives *Mauri*, Moors, from Máhir, a corruption of it.

[2] Kabyle is an Arabic word meaning "tribe." The French use it wrongly to denote the Berbers of the Atlas; but they speak of Berber-Kabyles and Arab-Kabyles.

show Berber affinities. Hornemann, who first compared the [illegible] the people of the Libyan Desert, and those of Morocco, found [illegible] over the wide region of North Africa and the Northern Sahara [illegible] says Rohlfs, "the differences between the various dialects [illegible] great, but not so much so as to make comprehension difficult [illegible] Berber-speaking peoples. When some Tuareg chiefs came [illegible] several years ago, they found no difficulty in getting along with [illegible] Jurjura mountains."

Into this unity of language existing over a quarter of [illegible] destroying and refashioning influence of great historic [illegible] Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, North Africa passed [illegible] Christianity, at first firmly rooted, was again extirpated. [illegible] migration flowed [illegible] Western Europe [illegible] the Arabs turned [illegible] districts favourably situated [illegible] nomadism into an [illegible] their pastoral life, and [illegible] the towns that their predecessors had founded. In course of time great part of North Africa became as Arab as Arabia itself, and Algeria. Arabic is spoken to-day by twice as many people as speak Berber. Half Morocco is an Arabic-speaking region, though pure Arabs are actually confined to the northern and central third of the Atlantic coast. Arabic prevails from the Algerian frontier to the Straits of Gibraltar, and inland to Fez and the line from Mogador to Marakesh. The three great Berber groups are the Riffians in the north, the Brébers in the Atlas, and the people of Sus between the Great and Little Atlas. Negroes from the Western and Central Soudan have also come in great numbers, and have especially influenced the town population in Morocco. The Khartin, desert nomads to the south of the Atlas, are a tribe wholly composed of Berber negro half-breeds. Lastly came the Turks and the Europeans after them, and to-day North Africa seems not far from being as closely attached to the movements of European culture as in the Roman times.

A man of Dakhel. (From a photograph.)

If North Africa is favourable to foreign influences, on the other hand it offers means of resistance to the violent assaults of tribes or nations. The desert of the interior is a place of retreat into which settled races never pursue nomads willingly, and the Atlas is not well adapted for the invasion of foreign hosts. The Berbers of Kabylia escaped all constraint from strangers till 1857. Except the Arabs, who have attained powerful influence through their religious propaganda, we may readily grant that a great part of the Berbers have received no foreign blood, be it

from Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, or northern races. When the Emperor Alexander Severus, born in Leptis on the Great Syrtis, came to Rome 300 years after the Roman dominion began, he had to learn Latin. The colonists built themselves towns; the Berbers lived in the country, some probably in certain localities as now, but by far the greater part as nomads. Proper towns were first built under Massinissa, and Cirta for this reason bore his family name. Not one of these larger Berber places has remained.

Only old information, difficult to verify, points to any strong admixture as undergone by the North Africans in prehistoric times. One form of early monument well known in Europe, the stone tables which the Celts called dolmens, recurs so frequently in the parts inhabited by Berbers as to have been taken by some for evidence of an ethnological connection between the ancient populations of North Africa and Europe. The quantity of strange-looking ruins gives a wonderfully churchyard-like look to the silent country. In those thinly-peopled regions, where the inhabitants are possessed by a deep reverence for everything sepulchral, and a holy awe of all that is uncommon, they have been preserved almost uninjured. There are sepulchral mounds with three or four stone-circles on their slopes, and an upright stone on the summit stone-circles, the blocks of which are connected by cyclopean walls, stone avenues crossing each other in a kind of network, great square enclosures of large blocks surrounding four smaller stone-circles. Most of them are burial-places in which the dead are interred in a sitting posture. Bronze implements are more often found in them than iron. In Morocco, in a district of independent Berber tribes, General Faidherbe discovered four large groups, regular cemeteries. Near Rohaia in the province of Constantine alone he counted nearly 3000 sepulchral chambers of stones put together in a square and covered with a slab of rock in the dolmen style. They were often surrounded by stone-circles. Pots are found, and ornaments of copper and bronze, but also iron articles. In Eastern Algeria, too, numerous stone monuments were found; on a single elevated plain at least 10,000 were seen together. That burials took place here even in historical times was shown by a coin of Faustina in one grave, a piece of an ancient column in another, in a third a tile with a Roman stamp. From Eastern Algeria Letourneux cites a sepulchral inscription in a language closely akin to that of the modern Tuaregs.

Our thoughts are led elsewhere by the gigantic monuments whose nearest congeners have to be sought in Egypt. The so-called "tomb of the Christian woman," which the only ancient author who mentions it denominates "common monument of the royal family," is the remains of a polygonal pyramid, with columns suggesting the Ionic and Doric styles, pilasters, and three sham portals of which one is a monolith 13 feet high. It is a few miles west of Algiers. The height of the monument is some 130 feet, its diameter 200. Akin to it is the monument of an old sovereign of Numidia, the tomb of Syphax near the ancient Sila, a stepped pyramid of the Egyptian type, on a polygonal base adorned with sixty half-columns; the columns of the base recalled the clumsy columns of the oldest Doric style. Carbuccia's excavations, though incomplete, seem to prove that this also is a sepulchral monument. Rohlfs mentions a round-walled circle with round holes at regular intervals for the insertion of columns, in the Beni Mgill district, in the Atlas of Morocco; and he heard this called the "Christian market-place." In the 'forties the French found remains of Egyptian sculpture at Cherchel, and

far away in the heart of the Tuareg country, Duveyrier fo[illegible] Egyptian influence in the ruins of monuments. To a later pe[illegible] massive ruins of towns, palaces, and mosques, the discovery of [illegible] of Wady Mga is due to Largeau and Tarry. Where to-day a [illegible] tend the date-palms of their Arab lords, at the time of the seco[illegible] there stood flourishing towns with palaces, mosques, and fine [illegible] buried in the sand.

Other customs, and therewith other races, are indicated by ca[illegible] of Ain Tarsil in Morocco. They lie, a long row of excavations in [illegible] close below th[illegible] side walls, more [illegible] high and nearly [illegible] are undoubtedly [illegible] men. The inte[illegible] to be remarka[illegible] Hooker conside[illegible] ancient dwelling[illegible] remember also [illegible] Canary Islands, [illegible] distance, the G[illegible], to embalm their [illegible] and lay them by the[illegible] together in large ca[illegible].

Negro of Beni Meslem. (From a photograph in Dr. Pruner Bey's Collection.)

The great[illegible] of the Berber population [illegible] now Arabised in speech and religion. Here, too, Arabia has shown its capacity for assimilating. In Algeria, the Berber language has dropped almost to a dialect of Arabic. Conforming in these respects to their conquerors, the Berbers are here in the way to lose their nationality. In this respect, the distinction made by the Arabs, in naming their tribes, between "Ulad" and "Beni" is significant. The former are the noble warrior tribes, descended from the conquerors; the latter hold a lower position and are as it were associated only nominally with the others. The prefix "Beni" is thus found almost universally among Arabised Berbers, while "Ulad" is applied principally to nomad Arab tribes. The historical facts testifying to a considerable mixture are numerous and undoubted from the time of Ibn Khaldoun. Yet genuine Arab privileged villages, the so-called Marabout villages, the inhabitants of which claim descent from the Prophet, are found in the purest Kabyle districts. The so-called Moorish population of the towns in which for centuries all possible elements, even western, have been fused together, affords no point upon which the anthropologist seeking to distinguish types can fix; and the same is true of the great roads followed by traffic and conquest, as that from Constantine to Biskra, or the valleys which divide the two Kabylias. In none of the Arab and Berber tribes do we meet with a single type; and Topinard merely got the impression

[illegible] may perhaps show a simpler composition than the Arabs. Apart [illegible]es of fair people on one hand, and the indubitable negro-hybrids [illegible] found the forms most frequently recurring to be individuals with [illegible] face, vertical profile, high broad forehead, strong contraction below [illegible]es; narrow, finely cut nose, projecting sharply from the forehead, [illegible] teeth. This type of face goes frequently with a cold stern expres- [illegible]ly bearing. It is the commonest in Algeria, both in towns and in [illegible] the coast and in the interior; and perhaps increases towards the [illegible] Morocco. Probably we have in it the oldest Algerian type. The [illegible] the noble Arab type, Topinard found it most in the Marabout villages

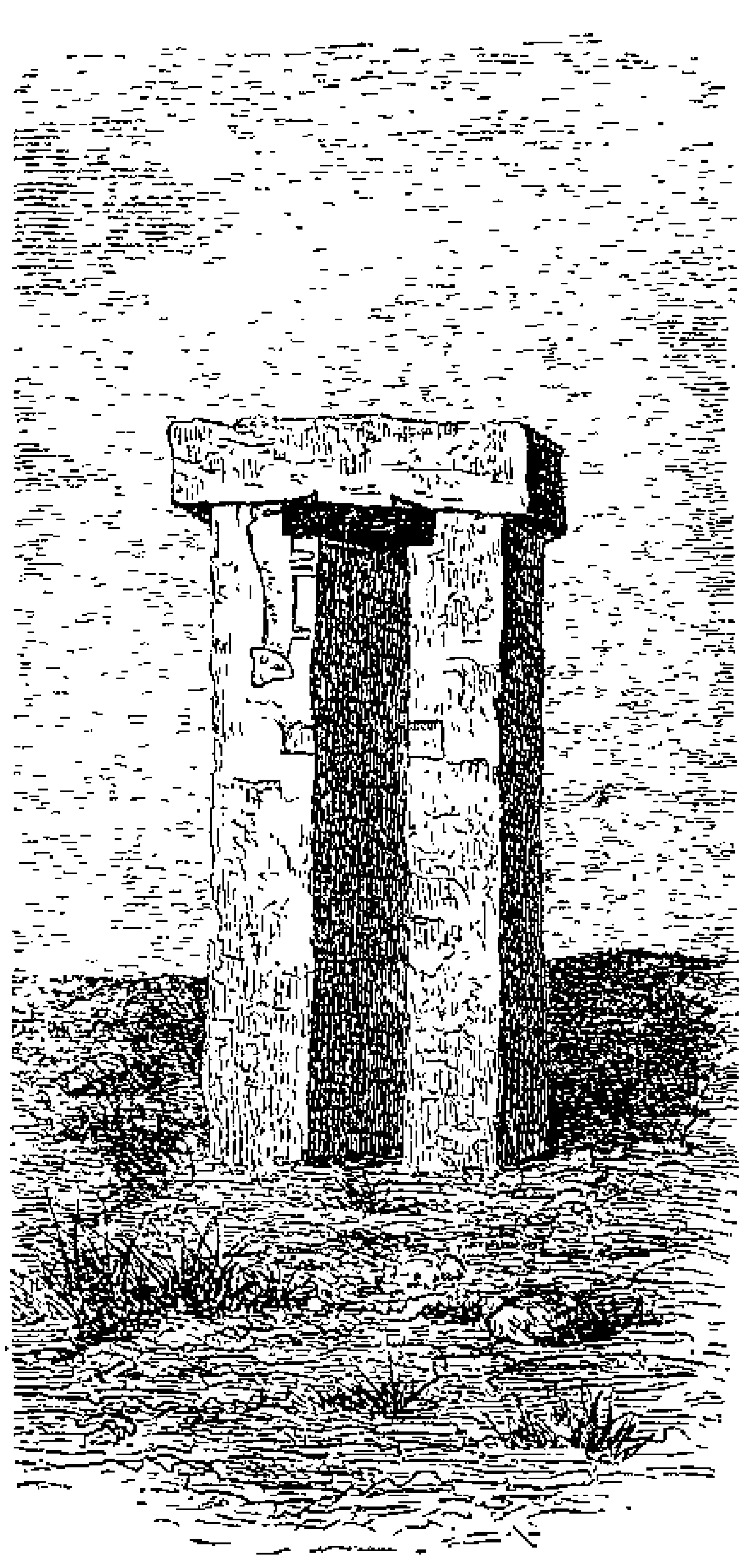
Full face view of the same.

and among the western Arab tribes; Abd el Kader was a fairly good specimen of it. A third type is the aquiline nose, with a curve continued even on the under-side; forehead not very broad, round, retreating; the lower part of the face somewhat retracted, throwing the nose into such prominence as to justify Faidherbe's remark: "The Arab face is all nose." It is in truth a Semitic physiognomy, found in purity only among the Arabs. The fourth type is a short oval face, flattened in the region of the cheek-bones; nose short, blunt, inclined to flatness, often somewhat concave with wide nostrils; eyes small, chin round, the two middle incisors often protruding. This type absolutely predominates in the Kabyle population; it is rare among the Arabs, and most frequent in Great Kabylia. Connected with it is the fifth type, also decidedly Kabyle; round full face, pointed lower jaw, prominent cheek-bones; perhaps a purer type than the last.

We have more than once alluded to the fair Berbers. Ought these to influence the ethnographic position of the Berbers? Rohlfs says: "I am sure that no one has travelled about Morocco more than I, and I never but once found a light-eyed and fair-haired man." Amid a predominantly black-eyed and black-

haired population, light-eyed and fair-haired individuals occur even more rarely among the Arabs than among the Berbers. In families, too, where the parents are dark, children with light eyes and hair are seen; to which in Algeria must be added the influence of Teutonic colonists.

In so various a mixture the differences have ultimately survived in conspicuous expression only when they were protected by natural or social institutions. The Berber nomads became Arab, while the farmers held fast to language and customs. North Africa was not made to contain an exclusively agricultural population. The conquerors, no doubt, classed all the inhabitants together as Berbers; but it is everywhere clear from their descriptions that two fundamental elements, one stationary and one armed, existed side by side. Pliny's remark about the Numidians clearly indicates a nomad race: "They are incessantly changing their pasturage, and take their tents with them." A geographical division of Africa into two parts, with their frontier near Lake Tritonis, was generally presumed; the nomadic part to the east, the settled peoples to the west. It is known, too, that the Arabs did not merely inundate the land as nomads, but from the very first owned cities, and that principally. We must also beware of making the contrast between Berbers and Arabs merely a case of that much older one between settled people and nomads. Only with this precaution may we follow Topinard in drawing a sharp contrast between the races.

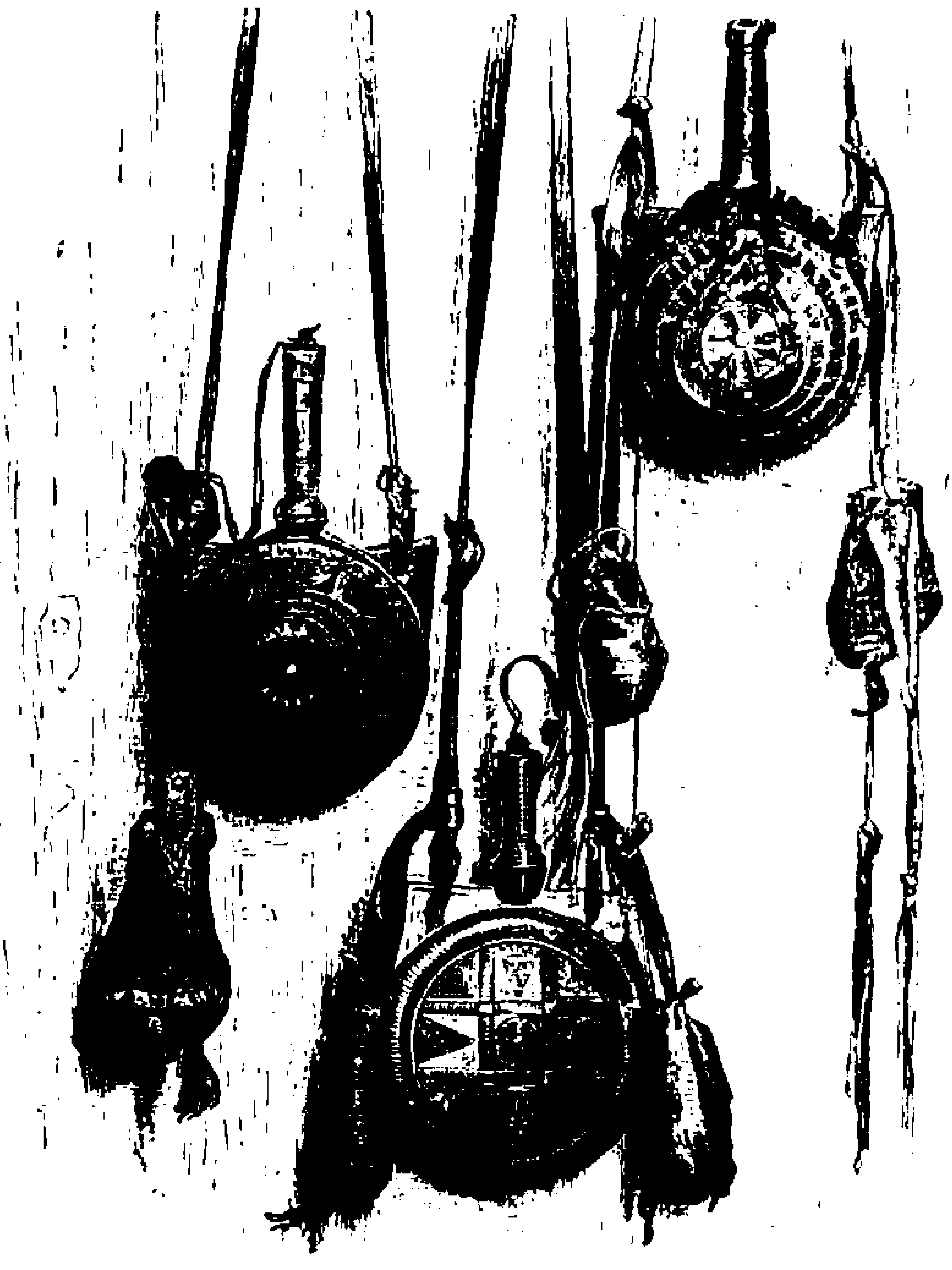


Ancient stone edifice near Kafr Dowan. (After Barth.)

The Arab is a herdsman and a nomad, living in tents; he is a born horseman. In character he is slow to move, indifferent, inclined to consideration, indolent; his expression is fixed, his look is not open, his demeanour is stiff and unemotional. He follows the Koran in the spirit and in the letter. He submits only to force, and in all ranks of his social structure we find an absolute authority. The Berber is opposed to him as farmer, artisan, or tradesman. Settled, laborious, he lives in a house and tills his garden and fields. A certain parochial spirit, attachment to personal independence and communal freedom, are very highly developed in him. As a soldier he is an infantry man. He may have changed his religion ten times over; now he is a Mussulman, but without conviction. You get furthest with him by means of fair treatment. The expression of his face is open, kindly, and emotional. He lets himself go, takes an interest in things, likes to chat, is good-natured. His demeanour is grave but natural; he is also loyal to the core. It will be seen how much more social than anthropological the contrasted characteristics are. To Jannasch the Berbers whom he saw in Morocco

[illegible] busy bees, the Arabs like drones. In his view also the Berber's [illegible]ective, persevering nature marks him out as the future hope of [illegible]orocco, and makes him more accessible to attempts at conversion [illegible]. The Arab acts more quickly, according to the impulse of the [illegible]ins unstable, loves and honours violent acts.

[illegible] of the Berbers was originally made from home-woven cloth, and [illegible]cture of [illegible] has al- [illegible] one of the [illegible]portant occu- [illegible] their house- [illegible]. The man's [illegible] is in the [illegible] of a tunic reach- [illegible] the knees, the woman's consists of a somewhat longer shift. For hard work men put on a leather apron; and in the cold season and when on journeys a burnous, usually a piece of family property, some generations old, full of holes and ragged edges. The women wear a coloured cloth over the shoulders. The men cut their hair short, and let their beards grow after attaining manhood. In certain districts there are little peculiarities, such as the small silver nose-rings worn in El Jofra, and the like.



Powder flask and bullet pouch from Algeria. (Stockholm [illegible] Collection.)

Both races share a curious prejudice against working in metal, but this is more sharply marked in the Arabs, who hold all handicraft in lower esteem. It even happened once that the chief of a Berber tribe was also the best smith in the tribe, and that eight of his sons were smiths too. The whole tribe of the Beni Sliman is occupied in iron-manufactures and the iron-trade. On the other hand, Marabouts are not allowed to work in metal. The dislike to metals, not excepting gold, assumes the character of a superstition. The nomad Arab needs iron as much as any one, but he buys his weapons in the city; while the Kabyle deems himself fortunate to have a smith in the village to mend his tools. When the Berbers speak of a village, the smithy is the first thing they mention. Some tribes are

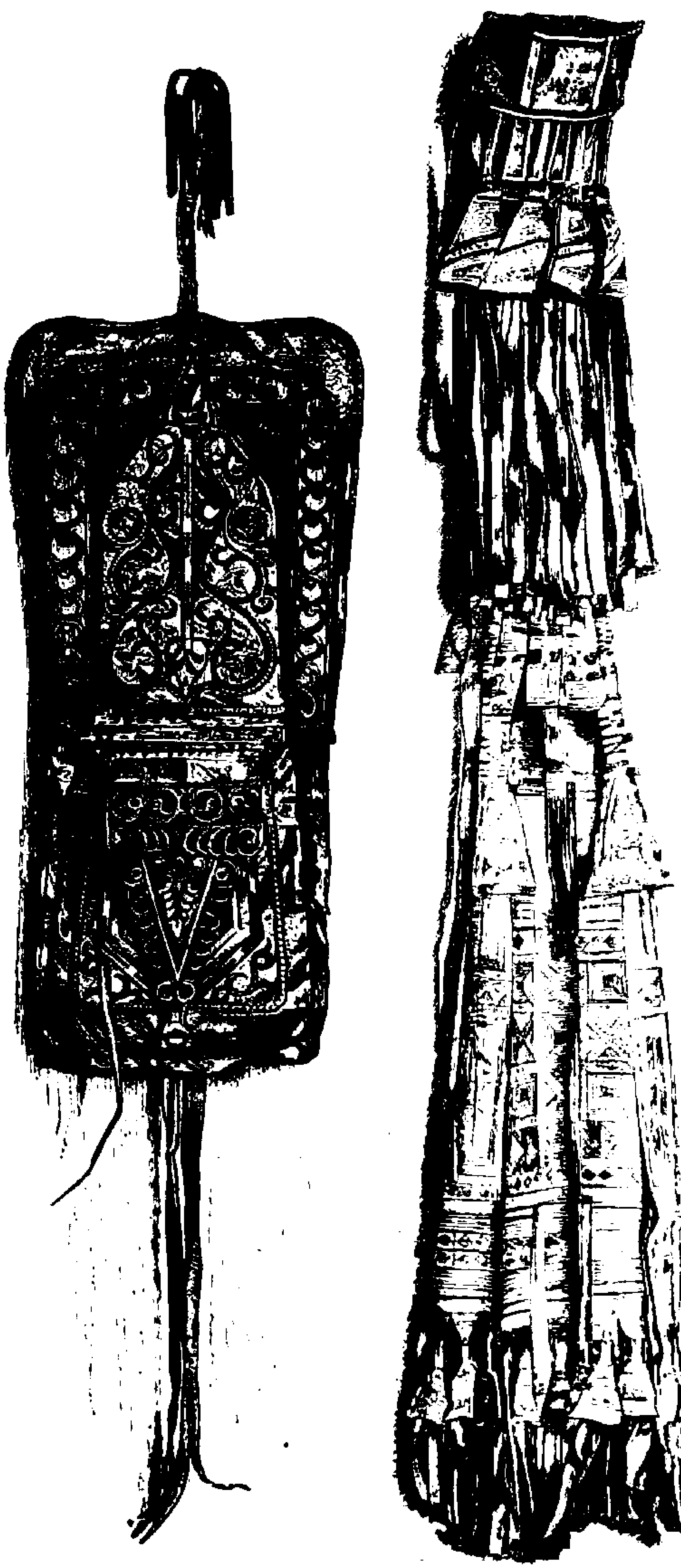
especially clever as armourers, and make a considerable pro[illegible] The Beni-Abbas made firearms before ever the French came [illegible] and even cannons are said to have been made by boring, [illegible] Beni-Fraussen. The Berber's weapons are now those of the Arab[illegible] sword, the slightly curved and highly ornamented *Kandjar*, and [illegible]

The Berbers are not great town-builders. The first of the[illegible] Amru ben As, [illegible] Kabylia, describe[illegible] people who wen[illegible] deal with horses, a[illegible] Rohlfs, indeed, [illegible] dictum that no [illegible] ists; but that i[illegible] We find freque[illegible] Roman and Gre[illegible] been destroyed by [illegible] in some cases, wi[illegible] the Berbers, were [illegible] Arabs. The Ara[illegible] predominated i[illegible] the Berber tribes di[illegible] protection to [illegible] them as in their [illegible] forts. The [illegible] Berber village, in their [illegible] and in their two-storied, often stone-built, houses, have something of the look of a town. They have places, large and small, consisting of huts and houses, and only a small part dwell in tents; while the Arabs live in towns or villages of tents. Where possible, the villages stand on the summits and slopes of hills, and are always adapted for defence by a bank, a wall of stones in layers, or at least a hedge. There are huts of turf, and huts built of clay tiles, with mortar made from lime and clay, or cow-dung. The sloping roof is covered with reeds, straw, or stone. Within is found the living-room on the right, the cattle-stall on the left. The dwelling is surrounded by a garden or small corn-field. In Kabyle villages the second story is usually not added till a son marries; in the villages of the Western Atlas, the greater part of the upper story consists of a sort of rough verandah, ill suited to the severe climate of that mountain-country. Doors here are never more than about 4 feet high. The natives pass the winter in cellar-like vaults beneath the houses; and for the sake partly of warmth, partly of defence, the houses in a village are built so close together that they often produce quite the

Leather pouches of Algerine work. (Stockholm Collection.)

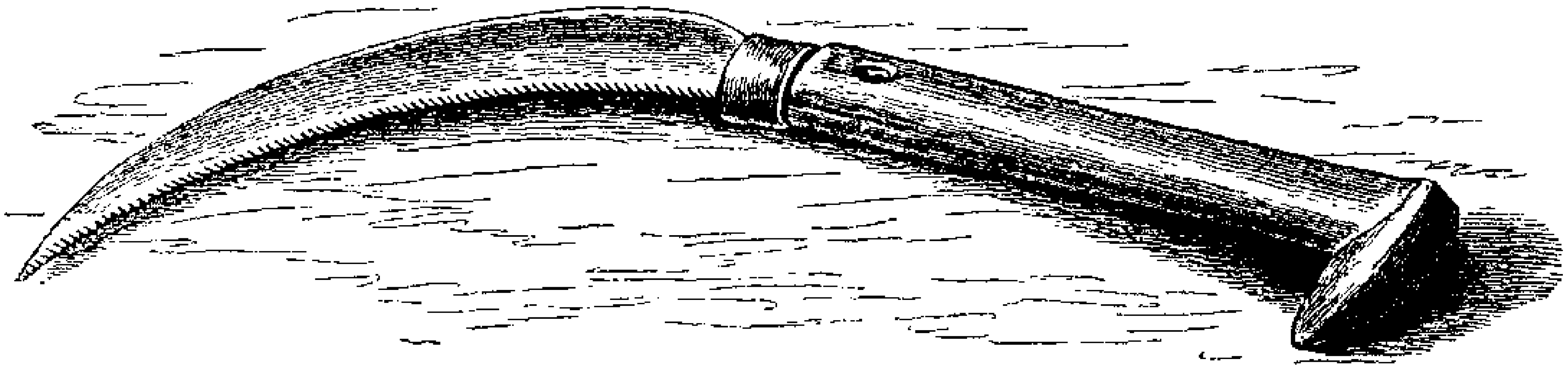
[illegible] of a castle. [illegible] houses, or [illegible] the gover- [illegible] other persons [illegible] which are [illegible] throughout [illegible] are built in [illegible] style. A lofty [illegible] wall surrounds [illegible] spacious courtyard, [illegible] the sides of which [illegible] little buildings for the servants and the body-guard, while in the middle stands the dwelling-house occupied by the governor and his family.

The Beni-Mzab of Southern Algeria, who number from 50,000 to 60,000 souls, and have remained freest from all foreign admixture, are the only tribe who live in large towns, and they were town dwellers even before the arrival of Islam. The most important of the Mzab towns is now Ben-Isguen. It is surrounded by a wall of hewn stone with towers, flanking-works, and breast-works. In the gateway tower are the quarters of the guard and the place of assembly for the notables. No stranger can own property in Ben-Isguen; and as the presence of strangers led to disunion, the *Jemad* resolved to offer compensation to all such if they would leave the town. In Morocco, be-



Leather Pouches of Algerine work. [illegible]

side the coast towns and the three capitals, Fas (Fez), Meknes, and Marakesh (Morocco), there are to-day few large or populous towns; and all have fallen much from their brilliancy and splendour in the flourishing times of the monarchy. Of Al-Kazar, famous even in the thirteenth century as the nursery of Arab culture, of its flashing domes and delicate arcades, of its rich library, its lodging for pilgrims, its school of learning, its great hospital, and its countless mosques, nothing remains to-day save a wide field of ruins where the descendants of all that learning and culture live in wretched mud-huts built against the old wall. When we hear that a minaret 225 feet high is the only stone edifice in the city of Morocco, where, moreover, the ground-floors are built of clay and straw, and at most the houses of more than one story are of brick, we think that all these towns must have been far inferior to Cordova and Granada. And as regards the inhabitants, one recognises from the greater number of negroes, from the darker tint of the Arabs themselves, and the lower level of general culture attained by the town Arabs in Morocco, that one is far from the centres of pure Arabdom, Mecca and Cairo.



Sickle from the Dakhel Oasis—one-third real size. (Munich Museum.)

Agriculture, which is carried on even on the slopes of the mountains by dint of laboriously laid-out terraces, has changed little since the earliest times. The plough, which often turns the same clod over twice in succession, is the same as we see in ancient Egyptian pictures, and the careful irrigation equally recalls Egyptian models. The sickle, as represented above, is a slow-working tool, toothed like a saw. With few exceptions the crops are what have always been cultivated—barley, wheat, lentils, vetches, flax, and gourds. Tobacco, maize, and potatoes have been introduced, and perhaps red pepper also; the aloe and the prickly pear, called in Morocco the Christian fig, have altered the original character of the landscape in many spots. Cucumbers, gourds, water-melons, and onions form a chief part of the diet. A great part in the domestic economy of the natives is played by a small antichoke, *Cynara humilis*, which grows wild in the balks between the fields; great heaps of this prickly vegetable are offered for sale every morning outside Tangier. Corn is trodden out by oxen, and kept in osier baskets narrowing to the top. The Kabyles understand grafting, and many of them own fine orchards; vines also being found among them. The Beni-Abbas tribe in the Algerian Atlas is renowned for the abundance of its walnuts. Lastly, they keep many bees, whose wax forms an important article of commerce. Meals are opened and concluded with a drink made of a strongly-sweetened infusion of green tea and mint. Tea-drinking probably took root in Morocco about the beginning of the present century; coffee came by way of Algeria, and came into use slowly in the towns through the medium of the Algerians. At

banquets the viands are brought in on large earthenware dishes with high basket-work covers, like in form to our beehives, but twice as high.

The industries of the Berbers are manifold. They supply their own needs and likewise produce for trade, they mine iron, lead, and copper, smelt, refine, and forge these metals, and cover the articles made from them with classical Arabic ornament; they press olives in home-made oil-presses, own flour-mills, and have their own mill-stone quarries, even travelling into Arab districts to build mills for

Brass dish of Algerine work. (Stockholm Collection.)

the Arabs; they burn tiles and lime, and know the use of mortar; they make a black soap from oil and an alkaline earth; they spin with the wheel brought by the Arabs into Morocco, plait, weave, carve wood, and make pottery. In Kabylia the hides required by well-to-do Berbers in their tanneries are collected by poor Arabs. Among tribes in a favourable position for trade, like the Beni-Mzab, industry is highly developed. They make gunpowder on a large scale, and have nearly 5000 looms, on which the women weave stuffs of a coarse but firm texture, highly esteemed; the Beni-Mzab burnouses and carpets are found throughout North Africa. The industry of the Morocco towns is famous by reason of its gold and silver embroidery and its leather work; as well as of its pottery ware, glazed, and unglazed. This is made also in Algeria, but of less handsome quality, and even in Europe finds a good sale as Fez pottery. The articles are of pleasing shape, painted blue and green in the simplest geometrical patterns, the effect of

which is often heightened by round spots of a shining red lacquer, thickly laid on. The metal embroidery is in large demand among the local wealthy Jews and Arabs; the latter especially decking their wives and daughters sumptuously with the most beautiful gold and silver embroidery. In Morocco the manufacture of the precious metals is in the hands of the Jews. In its collective industry the Berber stock is superior alike to its ancient African neighbours to the north, and to the Arabs; and nothing but Moorish exclusiveness has hindered it from asserting itself with more energy. The high position now held by it in industrial and agricultural activity connects it more closely with Europe than its dolmens and stone implements.

We have a genuine race of traders in the Beni-Mzab, among whom all adult males devote themselves to trade. They keep up a connection with the oases of the Sahara, their traffic being especially brisk with Twat and Tidikelt. Ben-Isguen again is a trading town of importance even according to European notions. With such activity as this, many portions of the old Berber race are by no means poor. In Kabylia, with its wretched villages and simple inhabitants, enormous contributions, levied by French officials, were paid almost at once. Since they have been governed from Algeria and Tunis by Europeans, Kabyles, Kroumirs, and their fellows have streamed into the towns, where they do good work as artificers of all kinds and as servants. Returning with the wages of their labour, they buy themselves a gun, a wife, a site for a house, and food, and are happy. Wherever the Kabyles own property in the plains, whither they have always striven to go for the sake of better soil, they have soon been subdued. The firmness of their attachment to the soil is a distinctive characteristic. The security and definiteness of individual property, as a rule insured by well-marked boundaries, has been adduced as a ground of yet deeper agreement between Berbers and Europeans.

In labour women hold a conspicuous place. In the flourishing trade of burnouse-weaving among the Beni-Abbas, the men's business is to fetch the wool and to cleanse, and afterwards to sew the stuff prepared by the women. While men undertake the heavier agricultural work, the women tend the important oliveyards and vineyards throughout the Atlas country. The man grows the flax, the wife weaves it. Plaiting, especially of the *halfa*, is shared by the women and the old men. The men act as commercial travellers. Whether from natural disposition, or owing to Semitic influence, the Berbers are by no means slack in trade; and when field-labour is at a standstill, they like to go off in trading parties of two or three. If the Kabyles are generally designated in contrast to the Arabs as sedentary, this does not exclude the carrying on by many of them of an active trade as pedlars. They hawk every possible kind of small goods, even of European make, and as a rule bring back from their journeys quantities of wool obtained by barter. Even in the remote days of the fourth dynasty, small groups of people from the west migrated into Egypt, appearing in public exhibitions as dancers, boxers, and wrestlers, just as to-day the Moghrebin travel about Egypt as jugglers. These are Berbers, mostly coming from the south-west of Morocco, and split up into corporations, speaking a jargon of their own.

In other respects too, woman's position in Berber life is, in spite of the heavy burdens which she has to bear, better than among the Arabs. In many usages, no doubt, little of this can now be recognised. The husband buys the wife, and

can repudiate her, nor has she any right of refusal. He is quite ready to shift all harder work on to his wife's shoulders. But on public occasions woman can make her voice heard; she can inherit; female saints are held in as high honour by Berbers as by Christians; up till now, she has succeeded in keeping polygamy away from the huts of the Berber people; and still more, the Kabyle women have stood firm in battle beside their husbands. It is characteristic that the Berbers do not share the Arabs' taste for fat women; they value not only the eyes of the gazelle, but the gazelle-like figure. Among many Berber tribes the law of inheritance is such that the eldest daughter's son succeeds. South of Morocco proper Rohlfs found among the Berbers that the "Savia Kartas," a religious corporation, and the chief spiritual authority for the whole of Wady Ghir, was commanded, not by the male chief, but by his wife, who attended to all spiritual affairs. More than in other nations do the men abide by the women's decision. Only one woman in the village is held in low esteem, the *kuata* or "go-between"; even though she arranges only lawful wedlock, and is so far an indispensable person.

The political structure of the Berbers is based on the *Jemaa* or commune, a small sovereign republic in itself; and real passion is shown in defence of the independence of this political unit. The name which they have retained from ancient times, Mazig, the Maxyes of Herodotus, embodies the same idea as that of the "Franks"; and hence, after the revolution of July, certain serious Frenchmen hailed them as brethren in thought and in name. Yet the long warfare waged between the French and the Kabyles was due practically to the failure to recognise this local autonomy. The Berber's village is his state; and the government is formed of the assembly of all the mature male inhabitants, constituting the *Jemaa*. In its hands are administration and justice, war and peace, legislation and taxation. The executive officer is the Amina, a kind of mayor, who is elected by the qualified village burghers from some influential family, in which the dignity is often for some time hereditary. But the political elementary organism of the *Jemaa* is in turn limited in its autocracy by religious restrictions, again by the vendetta, *rebka*, which supersedes all other justice, and yet again by the *anaia* or safe-conduct guaranteed by individuals or villages, attested, and thereby sanctioned, by a present, also by the special law of the markets; finally, and most effectually, by the voluntary associations or *sofs*, which recur in a thousand forms. The strong-armed labourer unites with the man of property; a few agriculturists combine for the cultivation of some particular plant, or women for breeding poultry or ducks. But there are also *sofs* with political objects. Inasmuch as they take up blood-feuds they produce parties which split up whole tribes for generations. In opposition to the judicial method of the *Jemaa*, the association inclines to lynch-law if a verdict be displeasing to any of its members. Feuds permeate the body of society here like cracks in a ruin. It is very usual in the smaller communes for two *sofs* to be so equally balanced in the *Jemaa* that this is wholly neutralised. The *Jemaa* assembles on stone benches in a public hall in the middle of the village; and the *sof* has so penetrated the life of the people that frequently, as in our parliaments, the right and left sides are traditionally occupied by different *sofs*, who contend with each other from the same place year after year.

These *sofs*, however, extend beyond the village-boundaries, and from them are developed what have had a more salutary effect on the position of the

Berbers, namely, the leagues which have always made head against invading conquerors when opposition, village by village, ceased to yield results. Thus the Kroumirs, who in 1881 formed the pretext for the French expedition to Tunis, were a confederation of four groups, possessing over 12,000 muskets. The Arabs felt the independent character of these people, irrespective of the success of their religious propaganda; and the Turks only subdued the mountain Kabyles by making use of their internal dissensions. Some tribes remained independent until the French entered Kabylia, in others the Turks had the right of appointment to offices, and from some they received a nominal tribute. But how little the tribal organisation has altered through all these mutations we may learn from the fact that of the five main stocks mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, Tendenses, Massinenses, Isaflenses, Jubaleni, Jesalenses, three still exist in the Imsiss, Flissas, and Beni Jubar of modern Algeria. Julius Honorius mentions the Baoures and Abannes as neighbours to these tribes; and they are the Babors and Aitabs of to-day.

The Arab conquest has given a certain superficial varnish of nomadism to this indigenous political organisation of the North African countries. In Tunis, for instance, where the settled population is so strongly represented, the administrative system of the country is based not upon the district, but upon the tribe. The ruling power in the country appoints the Kaid at the head of a tribe; and the Kaid is a little sovereign, whose autocracy is less affected by the lord of the country than by the sheikhs of the sub-group, or the marabouts and *savias* as the possessors of religious influence. In this tribal organisation, which among the half-nomad Kroumirs, the Maknas, and other Kabyle stocks, has become as strong as among the purely nomad Arabs, lay the greatest difficulty for the foreign conquerors of the country. The influence of the Dey of Algiers and the Bey of Tunis in mountains and deserts was only nominal; and, in fact, beyond the coast district the Bey governed only the plain of the Mejerdah. In the south the governor of Kairwan had greater authority, for the nomad tribes were directly under him. But since these have joined in two great confederacies, at the head of which stood respectively the Urghemmas on the Tripoli frontier and the Beni-Zid south-west of Gabes, the degree of their independence has depended on their own will and pleasure.

The Berbers are a warlike race, as is shown by the fact that they have never cheerfully or completely bowed under a foreign yoke. The Romans repeatedly had serious wars with Berber tribes, whom they called "the most stubborn people of Mauritania, sheltered by mountains, which are their natural fortresses." In the conquest of Algeria the French overcame first the Turks, then the Arabs, and the Kabyles remained an independent remnant, only to be crushed after a series of laborious struggles. When a boy had attained sixteen years, he was brought into the *Jemaa* and received weapons, which he carried till he was sixty. Apart from nightly raids upon hostile tribes, war is declared by special messengers. The exchange of sticks or guns renders an armistice inviolable. Since French officials have used all possible efforts to get rid of fighting, assassination has taken its place. Formerly the conflicts had limits both in place and time; villages had to be avoided, and on several days of the week, besides Friday, there was a "truce of God."

The organisation of the Beni-Mzab, who are more inclined to peaceful than

to warlike action, and are well-to-do, is interesting. Isolated in the midst of the desert, they had to seek means of defence against the attacks of the Tuaregs. In every mosque is a tablet on which is inscribed the name of every man fit to bear arms. Each is bound to possess a gun, a pistol, a sword, and a certain quantity of powder and ball. Every town is surrounded by a wall, carefully built, and several armed inhabitants are constantly on guard in the towers. Parties among the Beni-Mzab have often taken nomad tribes into their pay in their domestic conflicts.

The Berbers have become decided Mussulmans. The strength of the Mahommedan varnish is shown by the confusion of Kabyles with Arabs, even so late as the "'fifties." It was a great blunder on the part of the French administration, but shows how customs and dress had become Arabised. Saints, both male and female, receive yet greater devotion from the Berbers than from the Arabs. Around the tomb of a saint his whole posterity settle, illustrated by the veneration paid to him; and thus sacred villages of notable size have grown up. Hooker relates how, in descending into the Aid-Mezan valley in the Moorish Atlas, his followers hailed with loud prayers the first view of the lofty walls of the sacred tomb of Muley Ibrahim, the most famous shrine in the hill-country. Almost every village has its saint, whose cult, if locally limited, is rendered all the more intense by local patriotism. Sanguinary village feuds have arisen from contests as to the sanctity and miraculous powers of a marabout.

Among the Berbers the absolute power of the *Jemaa* does not admit the influence of Arab marabouts. Hence the hereditary priests dwell with their families and dependents in the villages, where they are out of their way. Their power is also reduced by the number of the brotherhoods, or *khuans*, which repeat the *sof*-system in the religious domain, entering into rivalry with the marabouts, as the *sofs* do with the *Jemaa*. Yet in Kabyle insurrections the marabouts have often taken the same leading part as in those of the Arabs; and they have even pressed their church into the service. In one Kabyle village Carette found a mosque of two stories; the lower a powder-mill, the upper a place of worship. The marabouts' claim to influence also lies partly in the fact that in an irreligious society, which is not on the average very particular about keeping the precepts of Mahommed, they embody obedience to the law. The Berber cares less than the Arab about performing the prescribed ablutions; in Ramadan he often breaks his fast before sundown; he eats, without scruple, the wild boar that ravages his fields, and indulges freely in the fig-brandy which he laboriously distils. In return for this he cultivates the land of the abstemious marabout, builds his house for him, feeds and clothes him if necessary, and suffers him to find fault as much as he pleases. In the popular assemblies the marabout often takes the place of honour in the middle, where he stills the tumult of opinion. Thus the holy man acquires a prominent position, based more than among the Arabs on moral superiority. Observers who have studied Berbers and Arabs side by side notice in general the weaker religious feeling among the former. They have, however, superstition enough. For every day of the week they have a good or evil interpretation; they never leave their house without exorcising evil spirits; a hare or crow denotes bad luck, two crows good luck, and a jackal the same. It would be interesting to know what relics of a former belief exist among these people, whose religious history has been so varied. Among the Berbers and

Tuaregs the cross is common in tattooing, amulets, etc. Marmol says, speaking of the Beni-Jubar: "The inhabitants are Azwags, who make crosses on their face and hands." When the Arab invasion burst upon them in 643, Maghreb was peopled throughout with Christians and Jews; and now, with the exception of a few Jews, there are none but Moslems in western North Africa. As early as the fourth century Arianism had made deep divisions among the Christians of Northern Africa, and the storm of Islam broke with devastating force upon the schism-rent Church. The Beni-Mzab adhere to none of the four great Mussulman denominations; and the genuine believers call them heretics. They have, in fact, retained both Christian and Jewish usages. Berber erudition is not highly esteemed; in any case a Maghrebi scholar is not thought much of in Cairo, for he speaks Arabic badly, and is somewhat ponderous. Yet the Berbers, being practical people, get more good than the Arabs from the schools which the French have introduced. The ambitious Beni-Mzab, though they get all the work they can out of their boys, do not neglect their education. In this Arabic is used, though Berber is the language of daily life.

What are we to say as to the future of these peoples, so fortunate in natural parts, yet hitherto so strangely under the influence of others? We know too little of the Berbers of Morocco, and can here speak only of those of Algiers; and these have given proofs enough of their quality. While the Arabs are more stable, not coming to meet culture, and for that very reason giving way before it, the Berbers are more mobile, more receptive, even though more abject, owing to centuries of subjection. France may well succeed, in course of time, in turning the Berbers into the nucleus of a capable Algerine and Tunisian population, progressing independently, and acting as her allies in the work of civilizing Africa.

§ 9. THE RACES OF THE SAHARA

Relations between the Sahara and the Soudan—Desert peoples in the Soudan—Older testimony—Agriculture and cattle-breeding—Salutary and injurious effects of want—Migration—Trading spirit—Love of robbery—Murder and war—Trade and traffic—Industry—Salt-trade—Towns—Spiritual influences of the desert—Acuteness of the senses—Superstition—Independence—Political institutions—Religious actions—History of the races of the Sahara—The Tibboos; their distribution and special characteristics—Tibesti—Borku—Ennedi—Kawar—The Tuaregs, Ghat, Asgar, Air or Kelowi.

FROM an ethnographical point of view Sahara and Soudan cannot be separated. For one thing, they are neighbouring districts, lying side by side throughout their whole length, divided only by climate, and thus compelled mutually to exchange populations, and to undergo reciprocal shifting. One is a desert, the other in great part plateau, or the transition from plateau to arable land; and hence arises a mobility in their peoples, causing mighty streams of migration from the Sahara to the Soudan, which on its side offers opportunity enough for a roaming life.

In the Central Sahara and the neighbouring districts of the Soudan dwell the great stocks of the Tuaregs[1] and Tibboos,[2] who speak dialects of Berber alloyed

[1] Tuareg, properly Tawarîk, the collective form of *tarki*, is derived from the Arab *terek*, "to give up," with reference to their abandonment either of Christianity or of their Mauritanian home.

[2] Mussulman historians of the sixteenth century write Tubu. Barth heard Tebu in the Soudan, and was the first to note that the people's own name for themselves is Teda. The ancient name Garamantes, Edrisi's Zoghawa, Leo Africanus's Qoran, apply obviously to particular sections.

with foreign elements, among which Arabic has had most influence, as being the speech of the new religion, of the sovereign power, of trade, and generally of the race which in manners and customs stood nearest to these desert folk. The two have exchanged both manners and parts of speech. The Meshagra Arabs dress like Tuaregs, and pay their taxes to Tuareg chiefs; but many more Tuaregs have adopted Arab ways, and the Arab element is advancing in the desert. On the other side, the negro languages are advancing from the south, above all the Houssa, which is brought in by trade. Von Bary's Kelowis spoke only Houssa, and they came from the district between Sinder and Kuka. Even the people of the village of Guri, between Ghat and Ajiro, were "more negro than Tuareg, all speaking Houssa, and few understanding Targi." The women were ugly, the children quite naked; they had beehive huts, but were fanatical Moslems. Another cause is the importation of negroes by the slave-trade, which is now nothing to what was when the Barbary States traded openly in slaves. And all these influences affect widely-scattered races small in numbers; for the total number of Tuaregs and Tibboos cannot be more than a million.

To say nothing of the Turkish invasion, which flung its waves as far as Fezzan, the mobility of these warlike races is to be considered. The Tedas of Tibesti extend the area of their power by raids in the most various directions. It is the chief's first right to appoint the leaders of these. Traced by plunder and devastation, the sphere of Teda distribution extends northward to Medrusa, south of Gatrun, on the road to Tejerri. Medrusa was found by Nachtigal, in 1870, deserted owing to the frequent inroads of the Tedas. To the westward they have a historic right to take toll in the oasis of Yat. Kawar is their largest oasis on the west, but further west lie Jebado and Agram, with a mixed population of Tedas and Bornu people. This brings the western limit of the Tedas to 12° E. Where Tuaregs and Tibboos march together, raids of one upon the other go on almost incessantly. The Tuaregs of Arjijo fall upon the Tibboos of Abo on no pretext worth mentioning, and take all their camels, but leave them their slaves and children, and receive from their sheikh the order to kill no one. Sheikh Brahim ul Sidi, the learned Tuareg, gave a charming answer when asked as to the origin of the various Tuareg tribes: "We are," said he, "bound together and mingled like the fabric of a tent, in which camel's hair and wool are woven." History proves that many desert tribes have been recently and accidentally formed. "Natives," says Nachtigal, speaking of Borku, "who had no camels left to necessitate or justify a nomadic life, fugitive murderers, prisoners of war who from religious considerations had not been made slaves, but yet not set free, perhaps also manumitted slaves, may have settled down, gradually acquired a little property, married among each other, and occasionally with nomads, and so in course of time have formed a new tribe, held in more or less contempt by pure nomads."

In the eastern parts of the desert, which border on the oldest historic territory, it is possible to trace the population further back. Here the oldest population of the oases is of Berber origin. In Siva a Berber dialect is spoken to this day, and in the Little Oases is a colony from Siva which has retained its Berber language. Berber place-names are found in districts which now speak Arabic. Within historical times colonists came over from Egypt who built noble temples as memorials of their existence. In the oasis of Chargeh was found a temple with the name of the Persian king Darius; and Egyptian place-names have also been

Landscape in an oasis of the Sahara. (From a photograph.)

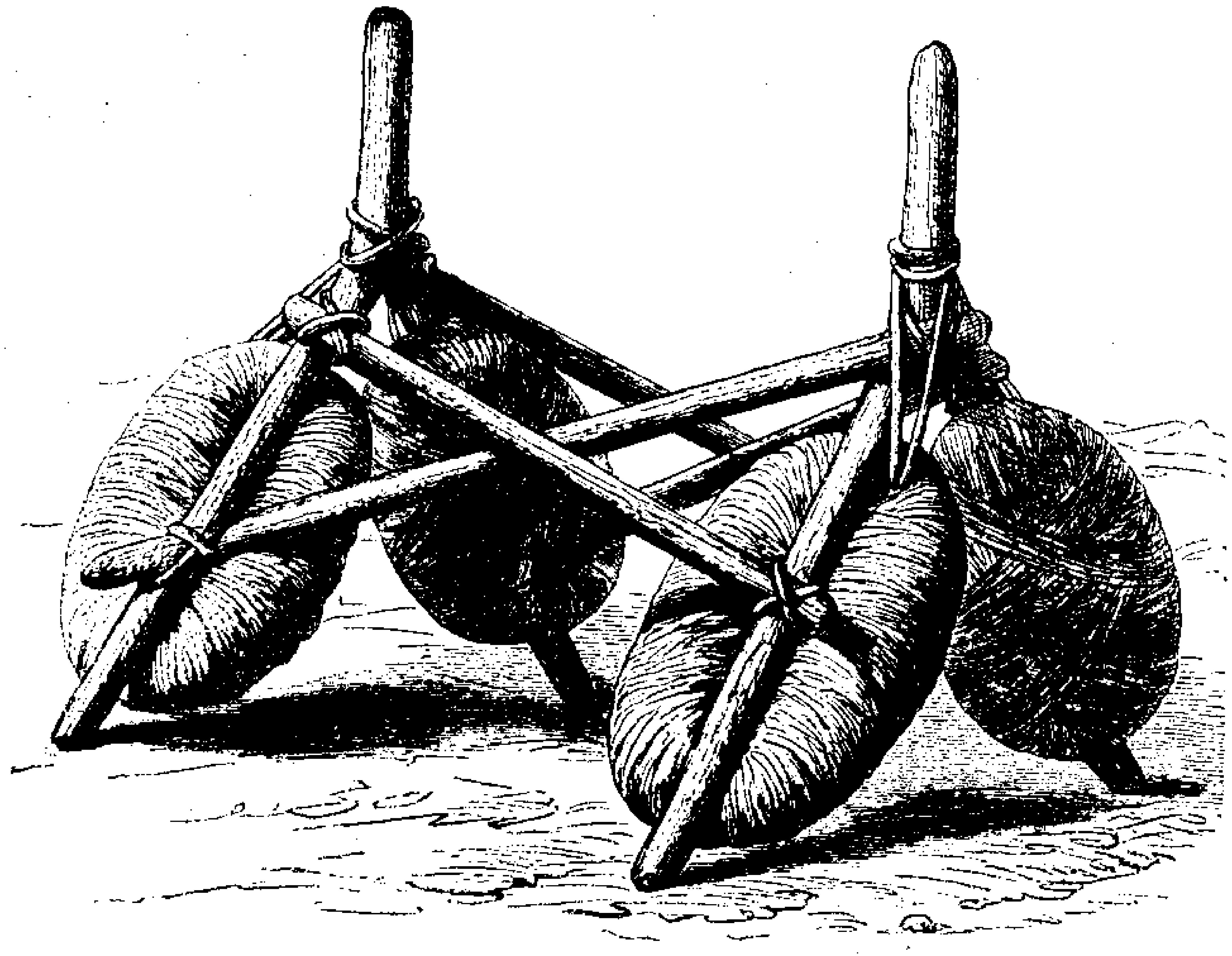
found there. The p[illegible] may be divided prin[illegible] and Egyptian types; [illegible] the almond-shaped eyes [illegible] on the other the more [illegible] eyes, and the nose neither [illegible] at the tip nor with a [illegible] ridge, which here, as in t[illegible] European forms. Fair-ha[illegible] eyed people are not a[illegible] As a third, and, nominally [illegible] element, occur Arabs, transi[illegible] from their pastures on the [illegible] Nile, and in the regions on [illegible] Of far greater influence in [illegible]tion of the people are the negro[illegible]ally women, introduced as slaves [illegible]. From them Rohlfs expects an ever-increasing "negroisation" of the [illegible]an oasis. Lastly we find also gypsies who are known by the name used in the Nile valley, Rajari, but who speak Arabic. In their unsettled life, in their occupation as small smiths and tinkers, and in the loose living of their younger women, they recall the members of their stock elsewhere, and stand in the same kind of client-relation to the rich inhabitants of the oasis.

An important point in the history of all the Sahara peoples is their connection with the Soudan, the most populous region, after the far less accessible Nile valley, with which the Sahara comes in contact. The close relations between the Tibboo peoples of the eastern Sahara, especially of Tibesti, and the dominant race in the region of Lake Chad, is one of the fundamental facts in the ethnology of Africa.

The starting-point for considering the history of the Central Soudan must be the Tibboo race, which has played politically a small, but ethnographically a very large part. Leo Africanus speaks of a people called Bardoa, and gives the boundaries of their country so precisely that one cannot fail to recognise the present Tibboo country. He also makes the King of Bornu a scion of the

Libyan or Berber race, as he supposes it. To this day the Bardai valley, whose inhabitants might properly be called Bardewa, is one of the most important districts in Tibesti. The Kelowis still call the chief of Bornu "the Sultan of the Tibboos." We shall see in § 10 how closely the Tibboos are connected with the Kanuris, the ruling race in the Central Soudan.

The distribution of population and the intercourse derive their character from the way in which small fertile districts are scattered about the barren desert. The nature of the desert is such that separate habitation is less frequent than the crowding of the people into the oases where life can be maintained round the springs and wells. It is an insular existence, and the idea universal among North Africans that Europeans come from little islands strewn about in the ocean is



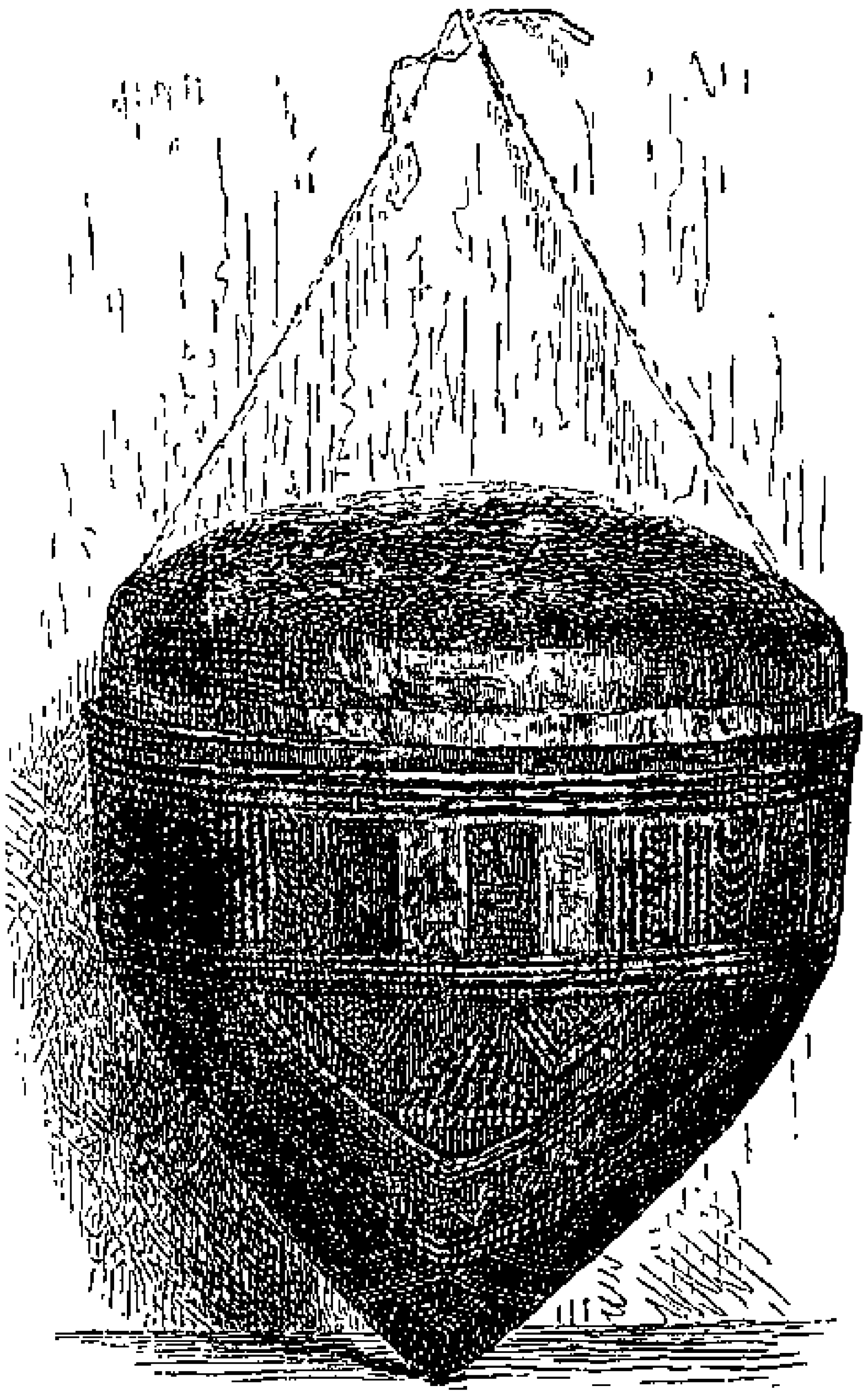
A Tibboo camel-saddle. (Berlin Museum.)

but a reflection of the way in which they are themselves distributed. The broad desert gives on the one hand a large scale of space, while on the other it compresses all life into narrow limits.

The conditions for settled life are found in any large measure only in the hill countries. Where earth and water collect in valleys and depressions, enough to form oases, or where on the edge of the desert the rain, which never quite fails in any year, maintains the soil sufficiently to produce food for scanty and easily-contented herds, the tribes collect either in permanent villages of the lightest construction, or in pastoral camps. Here again the handsomest, and at the same time the most important, plant in cultivation is the date-palm; while for corn we find wheat, *duchn*, and durra.

The nomad Tibboos and Tuaregs live under the same kind of tents as the Arabs, also in tents of leather, or in hastily-constructed huts of grass or brush-wood, which are the usual habitations of the slaves. In the permanent settlements, on the contrary, we find houses or huts of stone and clay, from which all the splendour of Egyptian and Berber architecture, traces of which remain even in some

parts of the desert, has disappeared. They hardly stand out from the ground, and are everywhere the same, low, gray, dismal, flat-roofed, windowless caverns. Murzuk, indeed, boasts a street of immoderate breadth, but the houses, built of clay, have a look of poverty, though several possess stories, and windows that can be closed with shutters. Thirty years ago Ghat contained some 250 houses, and huts of palm-branches all round it. The serfs have their own town, Barakat, south of Ghat. The life-blood of Ghat is the desert traffic on the one hand, and on the other the subterranean water-courses flowing from the mountains, at the foot of which the town stands on sand-hills; and the life of all desert towns rests on similar bases. The desert long preserves whatever cannot be blown away, and the ruins of old stone houses are common; in Air whole plateaux of the hills are strewn with them.



A Tuareg provision-box. (Stockholm Collection.)

The Tibboos are among the best camel-riders of the Sahara, deriving from their own best qualities, combined with the most advantageous qualities of their animals, a capacity for remarkable performances. Denham wrote seventy years ago: "Since Sheikh El Kanemy's residence at Kouka, couriers have occasionally passed between Bornou and Mourzuk—a circumstance before that event unknown. The Tibboos are the only people who will undertake this most arduous service; and the chances are so much against both returning in safety, that one is never sent alone. The two men we had encountered were mounted on superb makerhies, and proceeding at the rate of about six miles an hour. A bag of parched corn, and one or two skins for water, with a small brass basin and a wooden bowl, out of which they ate and drank, were all their comforts." From the great traveller Mohammed of Tunis, too, we hear expressions of the highest admiration for the care taken by the Tibboos of their camels and horses. They reject with the utmost precision the smallest addition to the established load, and attend with unremitting zeal to the welfare of their animals. "As soon as the caravan left a halting-place, my Tibboo seized the camel's rein, and walked the whole morning, as he went along tearing up continually the plants which are found by the road, and giving them to his camel to eat. When we halted, he had a bunch of these plants ready, made the camel kneel, and fed him with them. Owing to this care the camels of the Tibboos are always strong and healthy in spite of their long journeys." They take no less care of their horses, the breed of which, as well as their equipment, shows Arab origin. "Their saddles are of wood, small and light; the pieces of wood of which they are composed are lashed together with thongs of hide, the stuffing is camel's hair, wound and plaited; the girth and stirrup-leathers are also of plaited thongs, stirrups of iron, themselves very small and

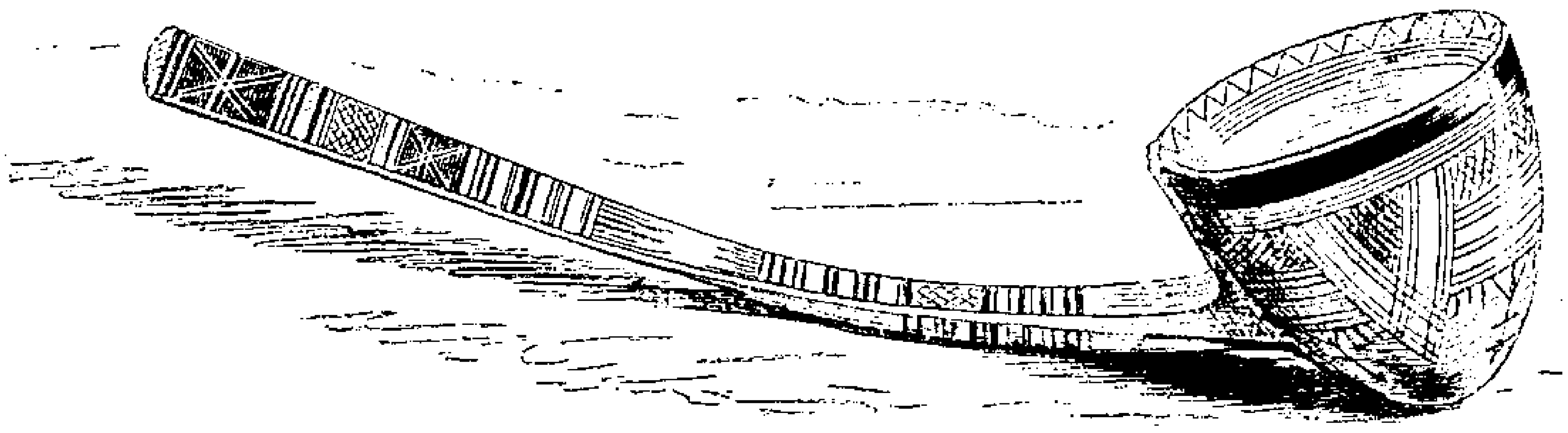
these four toes only are thrust, the great toe being left to take its ... They mount quickly by the assistance of a spear which they place on

Trooper of the Sheikh of Bornu's body-guard. (After Denham.)

the ground; at the same time the left foot is planted in the stirrup, and then they spring into the saddle."

Necessity, which makes these sons of the desert so inventive, causes them also to regard neither law nor conscience in the choice of means to their end. As Nachtigal says: "The universal competition for a scanty property makes the individual reckless, suspicious, and treacherous. Each seeks to injure the other,

and in that needy world all in the way of all. Every man lives for himself, and any thought of fellow-tribesmen, any sentiment of nationality, any effort for the common welfare is far from him. People are united by a common danger from without, or by a raid undertaken in common, but never by community of labour or innocent national life. Their assemblies are meetings for the practice of sophistical argument and subtle misrepresentation, and often end in bloody conflicts." No Tibboo or Tuareg goes unarmed, even in his own village. Even the women carry a dagger under their robe, and a cudgel attached to their thong-girdle. It sounds like irony when we find an earlier traveller connecting these weapons with their love-intrigues. Nachtigal found the women no less quarrelsome and covetous, hard and faithless, than the men. But they are people of great self-respect. They may be beggars, but they are no pariahs. Many races in their circumstances would be more wretched and depressed; but the Tibboos have steel in their nature. They are as well fitted to be robbers as



A Tuareg spoon. (Barth Collection, Berlin Museum.)

warriors or rulers. With all its jackal-like coarseness, there is something imposing about their very system of plunder. "These Tibboos, ragged, always fighting with utmost poverty and constant hunger, make the most impudent claims with apparent or real belief in their justice." The jackal's law, which regards the goods of a stranger as common property, is the greedy man's defence against privation. The insecurity of an almost constant state of war tends to impart to life something demanding, and instantly pressing for, realisation.

Nowhere is insecurity so great as in the desert, nowhere is the fate of a human life which has ventured outside the protection of walls or weapons, so hard to calculate, as is proved by the fates of Nachtigal and of Miss Tinne. The unfortunate Dutch lady, who left Murzuk at the same time with Nachtigal, in order to travel to the Tuaregs, living to the westward, who are said to hold firmly to loyalty, religion, and the sanctity of agreements, was killed and robbed. Nachtigal ventured into the home of the most violent and ill-famed Tibboo tribe, and returned without bodily injury though with much suffering and mortification. Human life obviously weighs little with characters like the Tuaregs; and Von Bary says that it plays a very small part in their estimate. This appears also in the cases of MM. Dourneaux, Duperré, and Joubert, in the massacre of Flatters's expedition, and perhaps in the mysterious death of Von Bary himself. The three missionaries of the Algerine society who were murdered in 1881 only one day's journey south of Ghadames, after having to all appearance made themselves highly popular in that town, are a fresh proof of Tuareg treachery. Even in the wars of these people among themselves, chivalrous qualities rarely appear. A dispute is fought

out coolly and recklessly with rapine and murder. The war which in 1877 raged between the Tuareg peoples, the Asgars and the Haggars, was carried on in the form of raids on each other's caravans. Suspicion is the first principle, and the custom usual among both Tibboos and Tuaregs of covering the face contributes to implant it more firmly. The mode of greeting when two people meet, by sitting for half an hour opposite to each other with spears raised, is a custom dictated by the same feeling. A meeting with another caravan is opened by advanced posts on either side, while the two caravans halt. The long guns are got in readiness, the flaps are unfolded from the locks, and the weapons held in both hands high over the head. At last they begin a shouted conversation, recognise each other, assure each other of the most peaceful intentions, and part with the best wishes for mutual welfare. The suspicious rabble that roam about the desert on swift dromedaries outside the caravan tracks are stopped by stronger opponents and well beaten, if not lynched; and poor Bedouins get robbed on these occasions.

The caravans require large provision and move slowly; not to be wondered at, when even in places near the Mediterranean border of the continent, any traces of the effects of traffic are so small. The high prices resulting from this kind of traffic make foreign goods attainable only by the well-to-do. There is said to be 100 per cent difference in prices between Tripoli and Ghat. The absence of any real exports contributes to this, since the slave-trade has been reduced, and the West Soudan has taken the direct way to the Atlantic, the trading towns of the desert have dwindled. Except the produce of some soda-lakes, no single product of Fezzan pays to transport to the coast. The wealth has departed, families once prosperous have become poor or emigrated, and a few others contrive with the utmost activity—it happened in one family that three brothers were constantly travelling—to attain the most modest results. At Ghadames, the most important trading-place in the Sahara, at most 2500 camels now pass through in a year. Industries have naturally retrograded at the same time.

The desert caravans, taking up and setting down individuals or parties all along the route, do not form the only possible mode of intercourse. Single pilgrims and adventurers try their fortune out in the wide uninhabited desert. Where there is so little to live upon, one must keep in movement if life is to be endured. Hence the Tibboos and Tuaregs, those at least who are settled along the great traffic routes, are enterprising travellers and traders. The traffic of the Eastern Sahara is in the hands of the Tibboos no less than that of the Western in those of the Tuaregs. They trade partly on their own account, partly in partnership; or again they guide caravans or let camels to them. The Tibboos have for long been of most importance on the much-frequented road from Bornu by Bilma to Fezzan; but they also drive a lively trade between Fezzan and Wadai. On the other hand, the direct traffic between Wadai and the north coast, which only began in this century, is supported chiefly by Arabs. They have from of old had trading connections with Wandala in the south of Bornu. Barth met a Tibboo on a trade-journey at the town of Saran in the north of Adamawa; and Tibboo merchants go with the salt-caravans from Kelowi to Kano. A Tibboo travelled all alone with a single camel from Ghadames to Ghat, an achievement which even Tuaregs thought a plucky performance. It is also said in Bornu that they can make their fortune where no one else has a chance. The chief lines of the Tuareg traders are from Ghat by Air to Bilma, and from Twat by

Taudeni to Timbuctoo. Ennedi, Bilma, Taudeni, denote some of the few spots in the inner Sahara where there is abundant trade, and they are salt-emporiums.

Rohlfs looks upon the Tibboos as forming the transition between the despotic constitutions of the great negro empires north of the Equator, and those free and independent Tuaregs, Berbers, and Arabs who lived south of the Great Atlas partly as nomads, partly settled. Whether this is connected with the low opinion which the independent Tuaregs have of them, must remain uncertain. The inhabitants of Tibesti form no fixed state. In the north of the country an elective prince, the Dardai, presides over the assembly of nobles. He is chosen in rotation from four different families. His advice is also sought in all important affairs, but frequently not followed; he himself is more closely bound by the consent of the council. In the south a prince of the numerous Arinda family holds the like position.

The tribal organisation which we find sharply marked among the Tuaregs can be traced in vestiges among the Tibboos. We seem to find it in the peculiar laws of succession among the little people of Kawar, famed for salt, where two related houses take the succession alternately. In strong contrast to the negro peoples proper, the ruler has no power of life and death, and levies no kind of tax or tribute. He is the supreme arbiter in internal dissensions, and the leader against external foes. In social organisation the Tibboos, owing to the lack of large towns and industrial activity, are far behind the Bornuans and the Houssas. Blacksmiths and silversmiths are regarded as outcasts. No Tibboo may marry a smith's daughter, and no smith obtains the daughter of a free Tibboo. To insult a smith is looked upon as cowardice. Yet neither in speech, hair, figure, nor colour, are these despised people distinguished from the other Tedas.

The Tibboos hold the central part of the Sahara. Tibesti, Borku, Wanyanga, Kawar, and some smaller oases are their domain; but to the south they extend by Kanem, to the east shore of Lake Chad, and almost to Baghirmi.

The first impression of the physique of these people is that they are a well-built type of humanity, of middle height, trim, well proportioned, with hands and feet smaller than might be expected even from their elegant figures. Their great leanness, a consequence of the climate and their mode of life, has a not unpleasant effect with a build of this kind, and contributes to the impression of elasticity and nimbleness; and their performances in running, jumping, endurance, capacity of bearing hunger and thirst correspond. On the average perceptibly fairer than the bulk of the Soudanese, though darker than many Bornu people, the Tibboos are in colour from dark brown to coppery red. Their long faces show seriousness and intelligence. Nachtigal says of the Tedas of Tibesti: "Their features are pleasing in their prevalent regularity and delicacy, and might be called attractive, did not a dark, suspicious, false look obliterate the first favourable impression." Tibboos whom Von Bary saw at Ghat were, as contrasted with the surrounding Tuaregs, uglier, blacker, with larger mouths and of smaller stature. Those of Tibesti and Borku seem to be the best favoured physically. The younger people have a proud free carriage, and Tibboo girls are often charming objects. When the roundness of youth is gone, their sinewy lean frames give them an angular, hard, masculine look. The hair of the Tibboos being less woolly, gives the impression of growing longer than that of other negroids. The beard is scanty.

PRODUCTION [illegible]

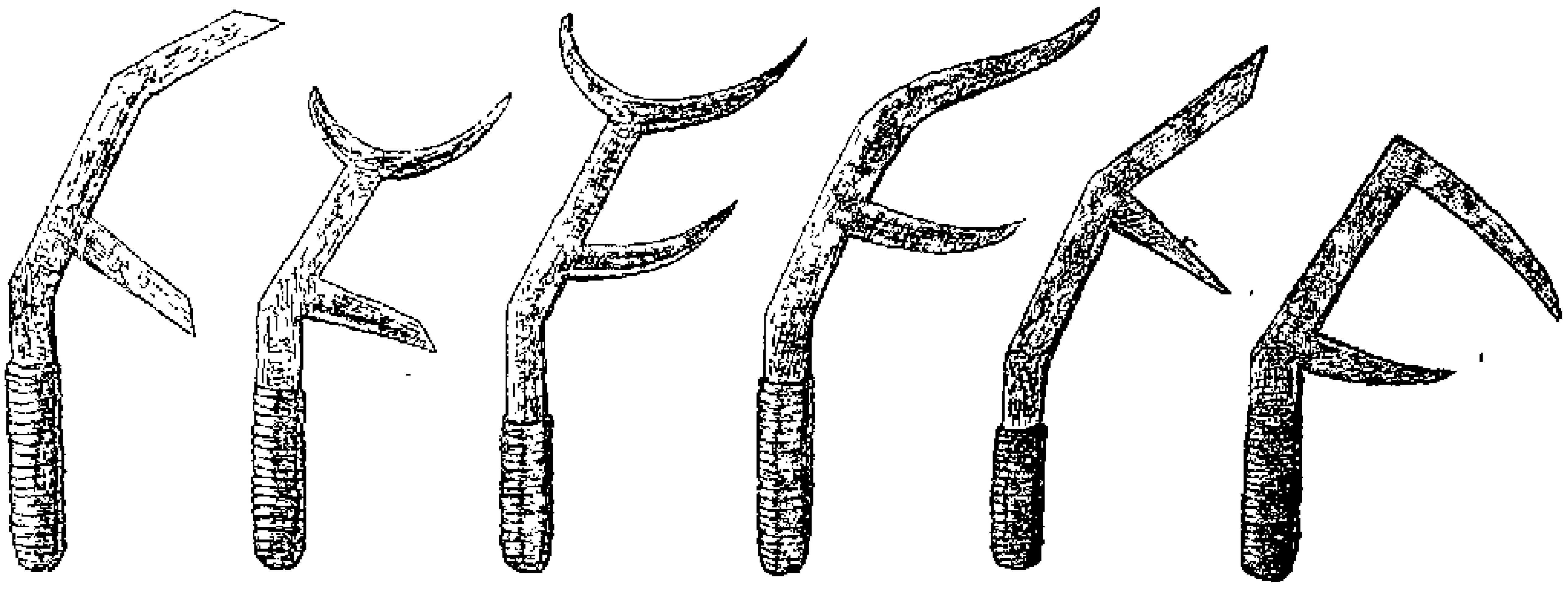
They share with the Tuaregs the custom of tattooing the face with longitudinal scars, three or four of a side, extending from the temples to the zygomatic arch, adding some cross-slashes as a sign of mourning for relations, while other cuts are made below the eyes. Farther points of similarity are the tendency to veil the head, and especially the face; the curious mode of greeting by crouching down; and the weapons. Silver clasps round the arm and ankle, rare elsewhere in Africa, and pieces of red coral in the nostrils as part of feminine adornment, lead us to infer close connection with the Arabs. Owing to the small development of their industries, the Tibboos are led to import sundry things from abroad; and thus as far as Bilma one finds their women with Houssa handkerchiefs over their shoulders, while the men, when they can afford, wear Bornu *tobes*. The poor Tedas of Tibesti, living away from traffic, wear only a sheep-skin round the loins. The simplicity of the Tedas contrasts with the usual negro love of finery. Their mat-huts show more correspondence with the Nubian Arab than with the negro style. The Baele build these huts round, but among the South Fezzan people they are rectangular. These latter dwell almost everywhere isolated, while the Baele of Borku and Ennedi live in little villages. Bows and arrows are rare, spears and throwing-knives usual. Firearms are as yet little known. Where camels or horses are owned, saddle and equipment generally show their Arab origin. The riding-camels are reckoned among the best in the Sahara, and exported to long distances for stud purposes. Settled populations are found wherever the soil permits of agriculture, but these are always at a disadvantage as compared with the nomads, and socially inferior to them. The settled people often, like the inhabitants of Borku, hold among the purer Tibboos the position of a half-bred race recently sprung up.

The hill-country of Tibesti is to the Tibboos what the Haggar mountains are to the Tuaregs; the centre of their world, the mainstay of their liberty, and in a certain sense the source whence new supplies of men are ever flowing to replenish their tribes. This rocky and hilly country of Tu—the name is said to mean "rock"—in the middle of the desert, was known by the ancients to contain a race whose description in Herodotus (*Melpomene*, 183) suits the Tedas of to-day. It is curious that the historian does not place them among the Libyans, but expressly designates them Ethiopians. The next we hear of the rock-dwelling Tedas is when some European travellers, bound for the Soudan, see their rocky fortresses from afar, and collect information about them in Murzuk and Bornu. Thus secluded, the people of these mountains are a type by themselves, unique in all its features. "In the Tibesti," says Nachtigal, "we meet with a homogeneous population. Throughout Tu no Arab, Tarik, or free Bornuese has settled; the individual is a *Tedetu*, the people *Teda*. They are not without individual differences, but the essential physical and mental qualities which are seldom lacking give them a characteristic stamp." Such lands breed peoples, even historical peoples, of sharply-cut natural features.

South of the hill-country of Tibesti lies a group of depressions, the Borku country. In this region of scattered oases, the characteristic features of Fezzan recur, only in a more compact form, and with less of the desert colouring. In this soil the date-palm thrives excellently, and the water-loving doom-palm well. On the fruits of these the inhabitants of Borku have to live, when, as happens at the gathering-time, the Arabs have taken away their dates. As the country is

divided into semi-desert on the one hand, and gardens and date-groves on the other, so the population into nomad and settled. In point of number they are pretty nearly balanced, and are, perhaps, in all 10,000 to 12,000; but, as may be supposed, the latter are ruled by the former. The settled element in the population of Borku, the so-called Dongosas or Dosas, with their bronze tint, and still more their delicate and symmetrical figures, their lean frames, their regular features, contrast with the darker, coarser, more massively-built people of Bornu or Kanem. The inhabitants of Tiggi and Buddu remove their eye-teeth by way of personal adornment. Here, again, the dress of women and grown-up girls is not seldom reduced to a sheepskin round the hips. The mat-hut is almost exclusively the dwelling of the Tibesti nomads, and here is even by the settled inhabitants preferred to the palm-leaf domiciles of Fezzan.

Throughout Borku, Mahommedanism prevails at least formally, and only their



Tibbu throwing-irons—one-tenth real size. (After Nachtigal.)

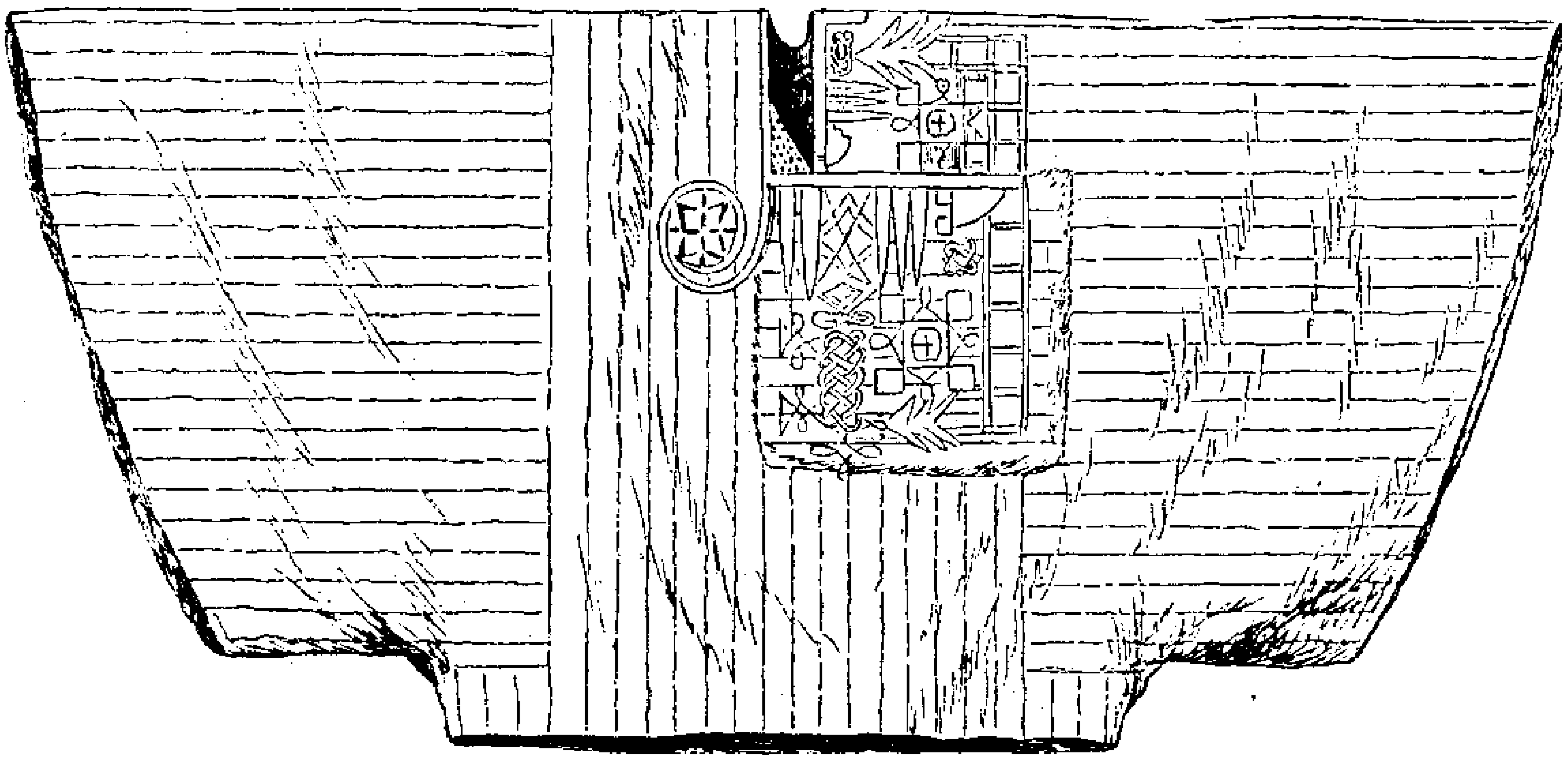
neighbours on the south-east, the Baele of the Ennedi district, have hitherto remained in part refractory to it. Upon Nachtigal's assurance that the Qorans were really Mussulmans, Sheikh Ali of Wadai promised to treat them more leniently. Now Wadai seems to have gained the sovereignty over Borku also.

The Baele, in the group of oases called Ennedi, reckon their country to extend northward to Wanyanga, and southward to the road to Wadai. To the south and east the Baele pass imperceptibly into the Toghawa or Tagha tribe. The valleys are the seat of agriculture, while the plateaux of the Sahara, rich in pasture herbage, support numerous herds. In the north of the country is got the red salt which is the most popular in the Soudan. It is bartered for corn and clothes from Darfour and Wadai, and has become the universal standard of value throughout the neighbourhood. As herdsmen the Baele are confined within narrow limits, since predatory Arab tribes, especially the Ulad-Soliman, have long made the more distant pastures unsafe. Even the south-eastern Tuaregs are said to have extended thus far their razzias in quest of the excellent camels of Ennedi—a distance of nearly 700 miles. External trade is managed by the Zoghawas. Clothing and arms correspond with those of the Tedas.

Kawar or Henderi Tege—the former is the Arab, the latter the Tibboo name—is a small desert-domain of the Tibboos, chiefly visited by the Tuaregs, and now actually subject to them. Its centre is Bilma, famous for its salt, and this salt determines the political fortunes of Kawar. There is no lack of irrigation, but

owing to the compulsory regulations of the Tuaregs the people of Kawar have lost the habit of industrious tillage of the soil. Bilma, with its low irregular houses, constructed of triangular blocks of rock-salt, makes a disagreeable impression. The total settled population, consisting entirely of Tedas and Kanures, is put at 3000.

The Tuaregs inhabit from the great sandy plain of El Erg or Areg in the north, of which Ghadames is the limiting point, to the famous wells of Asin, half-way between the Haggar country and Air in the south. To the west they extend to Twat; to the east as far as the oasis of Wady el Gharbi in Fezzan. Of the region, the centre, the fortress, and the dispenser of fertility to the Tuareg country is the Haggar plateau. The Tuaregs are regarded by the best observers as the purest of the Berber stocks, although they, too, have with Islam adopted Arab customs, and laid aside old local ways. In this connection it is to

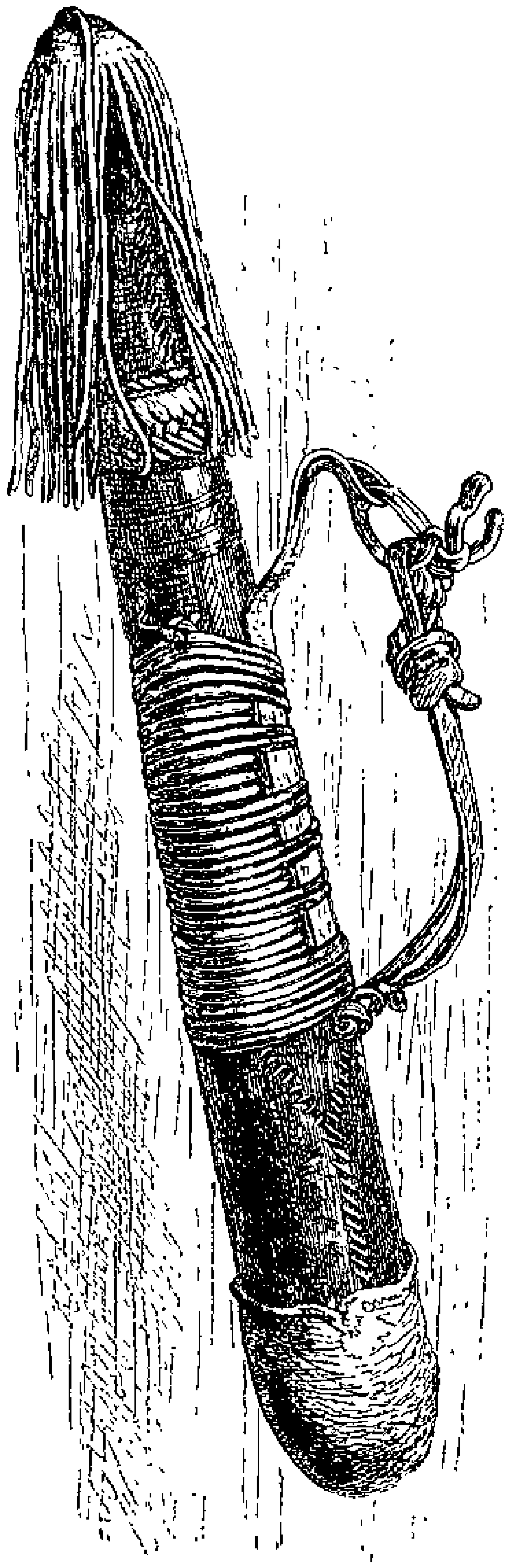


A *tobe* from Bornu; the so-called guinea-hen *tobe*. (Berlin Museum.)

be noticed that persons of dark colour occur less commonly among them, while there are some who in the covered parts of their body are as white as we. Among the Tuaregs, again, the northern group in its hill-fortresses has kept itself purest. The prevalent tint is the reddish-yellow of southern Europeans, only the uncovered parts of the body have become darker with sun and dust. In frame and features they have by some observers been called the handsomest race in Africa. Their muscles are powerfully developed, and their energetic expression corresponds. The sheikhs are usually distinguished by lofty stature and powerful build. This is partly to be ascribed to the fact that when they drove back the dark population they strictly refrained from any intermixture with the lower race. Among the Western Tuaregs, however, there are sheikhs of a Negro or at least Mulatto type, as in Arjijo. Their features are more like those of Europeans than of Arabs. Light eyes occur but rarely.

In the clothing of the Tuaregs the most striking point is everywhere the care taken for the complete covering of the whole body except the hands, the feet, and the tip of the nose. The variable climate may have to do with this. The elements of their clothing are *tobe*, trousers, and *lithan*; this last being a cloth which is wound twice over the face, so as to shroud mouth, chin, and the upper part, and allow only the tip of the nose to be seen. Wound also round the head

and temples, and fastened behind the head with a knot, it forms the whole head-covering. These cloths are to be had blue or white; the former being worn chiefly by the nobles, the latter by the lower classes. To this refer the terms which may often be heard, of "black" and "white" Tuaregs. This covering of the face, found in one or another form among other desert-tribes, and met with far into the Soudan, among Fulbes and Kanuris, but quite universal only here, is said to be due to the religious desire of covering the mouth; one might, however, suppose a previous practical reason in the protection of the face from the fine desert dust, which causes inflammation. However that may be, a Tuareg takes his face-cloth off as seldom as possible, and this is typical of his character. Even when abroad he never changes his exterior. Tuaregs who have come to Paris always kept their cloths on. It is such a distinctive characteristic of this race, that the Arabs called them the "People of the Veil." It is curious, and only to be explained by the less need of protection in their secluded life, that the Tuareg women do not veil their faces, and that this custom has not made its way in, even with Islam. But their position is in general far more free than among the Arabs or other Mussulmans, and they mingle freely in the conversations and other affairs of their husbands. Nor, in the tribes of purer blood, do they misuse this freedom.



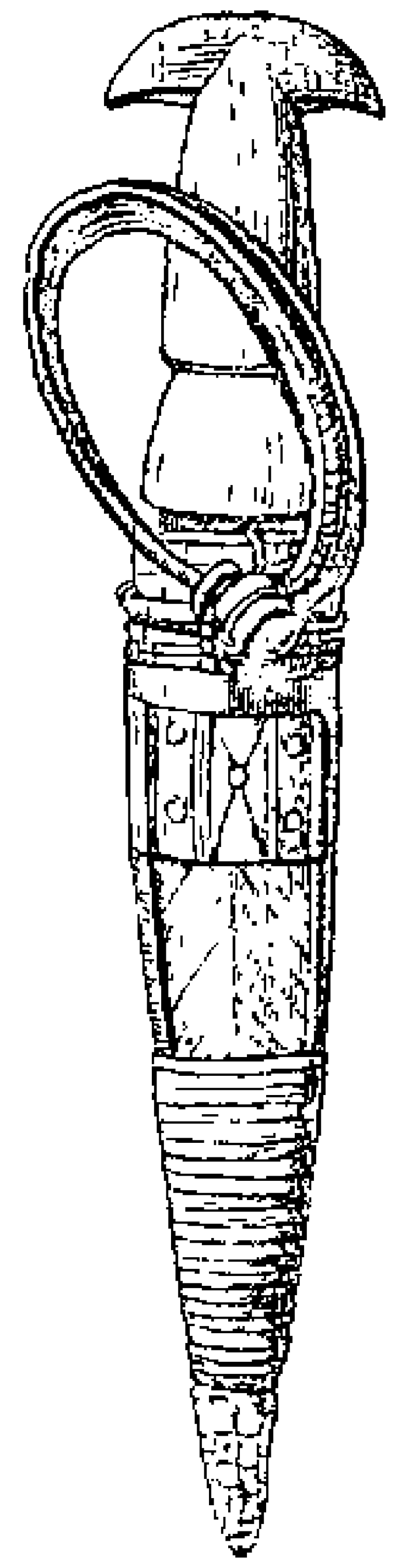
Tuareg quiver. (Berlin Museum.)

As regards the remaining dress, rich and poor, one may even say men and women, wear the same kind of garments, differing more in the quantity of cotton-stuff used than in point of taste or origin; namely, the white or dark blue cloth from Kano, to which may be due the fact that wide baggy shirts and trousers are worn in the parts bordering on the Houssa countries; clothes are tighter among the eastern tribes. The hair is kept short on the scalp, and sticks out at the side or behind in one or two tufts. Boys have it cut like a cock's comb. The two or three long cotton shifts of the women are fastened round the waist with a red linen girdle. A plain cloth, white, red, or red-striped, over this underclothing, covers and drapes the upper part of the body. Wealthy people of both sexes also borrow on occasion richer and more fanciful costumes from the Arabs. The footgear consists of strong sandals from Kano.

Ornament is scanty and confined to the women. We find finger-rings, arm-clasps of glass and silver, and glass beads. The stone ring worn on the upper arm by men of the Awelimidden is to be reckoned as half in this category; and so the pottery rings of the Western Tuaregs, made from a fine earth.

Weapons are quite part of the daily dress, and the Tuareg weapons—sword,

spear, and dagger—all have something massive about them. The spear is either entirely of iron, or the long blade is fixed in a shaft of *korna*-wood. The dagger is as a rule entirely of iron, the short hilt bound with coils of wire, and is attached to the left wrist in such a way that it lies along the forearm, hilt forwards. This mode of carrying the dagger is common also in the West Soudan. Muskets are very usual, no nobleman or freeman being without one. Besides this they also carry leathern shields. In hunting, wooden missiles like boomerangs are used, as in Darfour. Bows and arrows occur as the sole weapons among the lower class hill-tribes of Haggar, who live in the mountains and rank as serfs. Among them, even the stone arm-ring, which looks more like ornament, counts as a weapon, being worn by men on the right arm, it is said, to parry with. The stone is green serpentine from the Asgar and Awelimidden country; the rings are broad and well polished. All Tuaregs, except the Marabouts, wear these rings and esteem them highly; and no ring exactly similar is found among their neighbours. As with the Arabs, the whole social organisation is calculated for war, even in time of peace.



Dagger from Kano, worn on the arm —one-fourth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

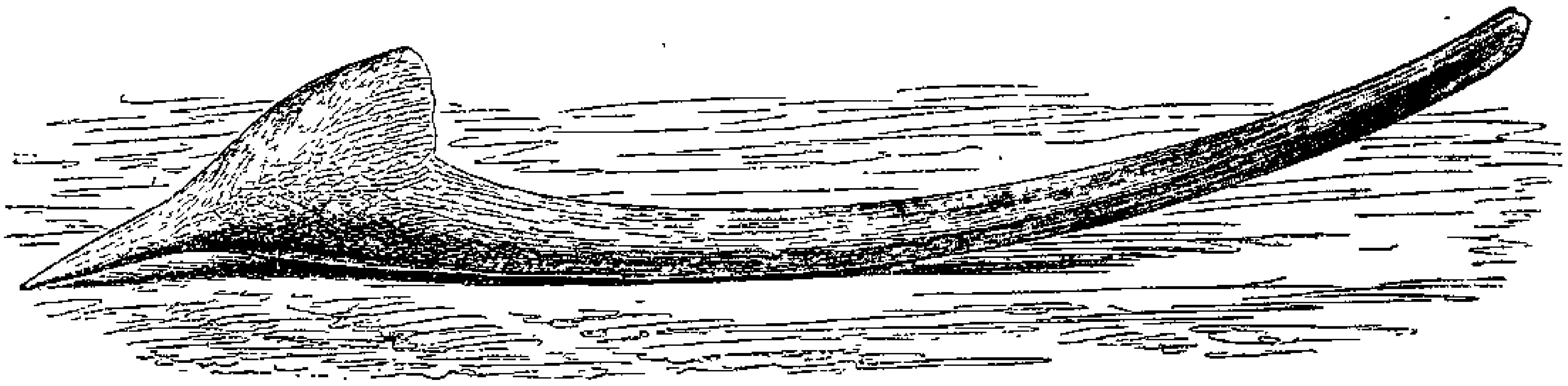
Among the Tuaregs succession in the female line is not confined to chiefs, but penetrates deeply into the whole life of the people. The greater part of the houses at Ghat belong to women, to whom they have been given by friends or relations as wedding presents, or have fallen by inheritance. This alone may explain much that makes the position of women so much better here than in other Mussulman countries. Ibn Batuta, in describing this custom of succession in the female line, says, according to Barth: "I have nowhere before met with this usage except among the heathen of Malabar in India." However we not only know of it among the brother-race of the Tibboos, but we find it among Nubians and Berbers, and indeed in vestiges throughout Africa.

Most of the larger towns of the desert belong to the Tuaregs; and there are few of them in the East Sahara, outside of Fezzan. But they do not make the Tuaregs a town-dwelling people like the Houssas. The oasis of Ghat, which contains the most considerable Tuareg town, is not quite 5 miles in circumference. Though stone abounds in the neighbourhood, the houses are built of mud; and what little timber there is comes from the date-palm. The bright washes which the fronts of the coast-towns show are not found here; the houses have the natural colour of the dry mud. Heavy rain would dissolve them. Only one mosque has a tower deserving the name of minaret. The walls are not more than 10 feet high, and the six gates cannot be firmly closed. To the south is a suburb of some sixty mud houses, and to the west a village of scattered palm-leaf huts. In the middle of the town is the square market-place.

In places where trade and traffic have had a deeper influence on life, reading and writing are very common. Even evening schools have been started for this purpose in the desert towns; and one cannot go through the streets of an evening without hearing the loud monotonous recitation of the boys packed together in a small room, and learning their Koran by heart.

Of their political condition Rohlfs says: "The Tuaregs are no nation in the political sense; they have no general head, forming only a congeries of tribes ethnographically connected, but with so loose a bond that it is mere infatuation to suppose that valid treaties can be made with them. It is possible to make such with an individual, and that he can guarantee security as far as his own tribe goes; but no 'Targi' is in a position to conclude a treaty for the whole Tuareg nation." Yet they are by no means without a consciousness of their national interdependence, and the more enlightened among them have often expressed to Europeans their regret for the civil wars in which the tribes destroy each other for the benefit of Turks, Arabs, and Tibboos.

The Tuaregs are divided into Asgars or Asjers in the east, Haggars in the west, and Kelowis in the south. Each of these groups has its natural centre—for the Haggars the heart of the mountains of like name; for the Asgars the south part of the same, and the oasis lying off it; and for the Kelowis the hill-

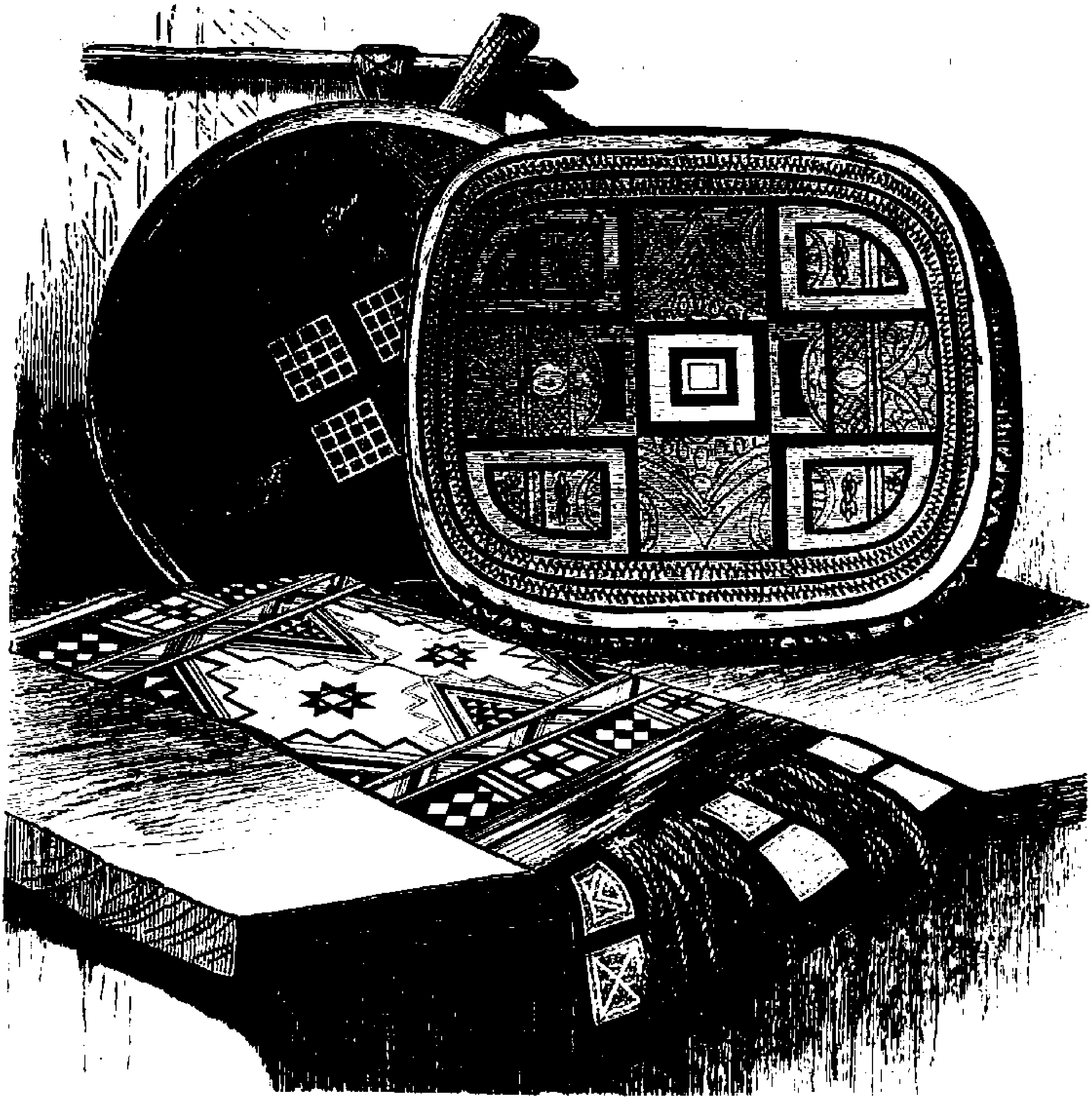


Tuareg throwing-club—one-seventh real size. (Christy Collection.)

country of Air. The Kelowis extend farthest, their domain reaching from Ashagar in the east to the well of Engishan in the west, and at present they are also masters of Bilma. They are far more different from the other two groups than these from each other. The Asgars of Ghat are described as the best representatives of these; bold, hardy, curt of speech, of chivalrous nature, and at the same time intelligent in trade. The people of Air are softer and gentler in their manners, partly no doubt from their strong admixture with Soudanese negro blood. They are counted the best traders of the Sahara, while their pliancy and inventiveness make them capital caravan-leaders. The Timbuctoo people, lastly, have a bad name, as the most faithless and cruel of robbers. The subdivision of tribes, however, goes far beyond this threefold partition, and appears deeply based on the nature of their dwelling-places. From the single Haggar stock, the Kel-Ahamelle, fourteen tribes have sprung, and even the people of Ghat recognise two different tribes among them. The Asgars call themselves Imohag; the Haggars and Awelimidden, Imokhar; the people of Air, Imayirhen. Their language they call Temahak. We meet with the same names again among the Berbers of Morocco.

The Asgar stock in the southern Haggar country forms a military aristocracy, which, though it cannot put more than some 500 armed men into the field, lords it over a territory of many thousand square miles. The largest clan is that of the Ouraghen, including in Barth's time some 150 heads of households. Parts of it live on the north bank and on the islands of the Niger, and another branch is settled near Ghat. Much poorer and smaller is the second clan, that of the

[illegible] whose members still bear the name of royal, though fallen to the depths of [illegible]." But popular songs have not forgotten the beauty of their women, which is a subject as favourite as the wealth of Tunis, the wisdom of Es Suk, and the horses of Twat. The two last clans, Isoga and Hadanara, are scattered all about the desert, and foreign to the generality of Asgars proper. Most of the Hogas have settled down under the Kelowis; but the Hadanaras have taken up

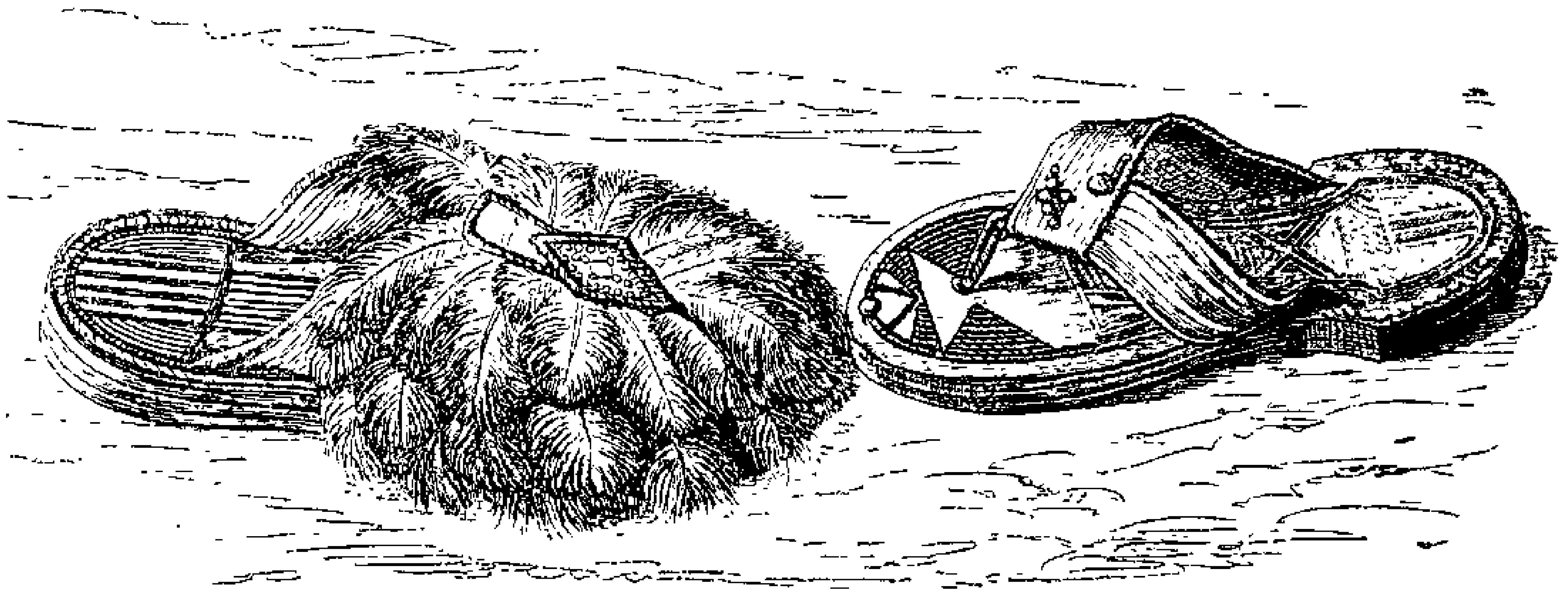


Tuareg and Houssa leather-work. (From Museum.)

their quarters among the Lurads and become wandering freebooters. These Lurads are the serving class to the Asgars, who live upon them, although they are in a position to put tenfold the number of fighting-men into the field. Their position towards the Asgars is much that of the Helots towards the Spartans; but the distance has diminished since the masters also have become in some degree sedentary, have exchanged the leathern tent for the reed hut, and have thereby lost the preponderance which nomadism gives to the ruling stock. Besides what comes from these serfs, the Asgars also live by the tolls levied on

caravans, which, owing to the importance of Ghat as one of the great markets of the West Sahara, is a considerable source of revenue.

The present inhabitants of Air or Asben, the "Alps of the Sahara," show an admixture of negro blood together with the adoption of a number of Houssa words, extending the domain of that language at this point far into the desert. On the other hand, no other Tuareg tribe, perhaps, offers so many notes of the older days of less admixture. Future enquirers will have to seek here in the first place materials for the history of the Sahara peoples. Relics of a stone age teem here, also old deserted stone houses and rock inscriptions. Quite white women are seen among the Kelowis of Arjijo. Many Kelowis wear their hair tied in the Berber fashion, letting two locks fall at the side. They still build tumuli with stone circles of upright slabs. Mysterious houses of stubble and clay, so small



Women's sandals, from Kano. (Berlin Museum.)

that they might almost be taken for tumuli, were found, still inhabited, by Von Bary, near Arjijo. This border people, with one foot in Berber antiquity, the other amid the high material negro cultivation of the Houssa race on the Niger, are a curious branch of the Tuaregs.

§ 10. THE SOUDAN AND ITS PEOPLES

The Central Soudan a world in itself; landscape and climate—Lake Chad; the plains—Transition to desert; the fauna—The negroes; negro traits under the varnish of Islam—The lighter conquering races—Bornu and the Kanuris; smaller indigenous stocks—The Baghirmis—The Mabas and Tunjurs of Wadai—The Fors and Tunjurs in Darfour—Tama.

ONLY a distant echo of the stirring events, restless labour, and marvellous achievement that come to pass in the world, penetrates to the interior of the Soudan. But this new world is already advancing from the Congo and the Niger. Hitherto, even since the presence in Bornu, Baghirmi, and Wadai of a long series of bold and cultivated Europeans, from Lyon to Nachtigal, Turkey alone of all the powers within the Mediterranean and Atlantic region has become intelligible to the Soudanese; for at Murzuk and Kufra she is posted on the route of traffic between the Soudan and the North African coast. But even with this bond of union the Soudan remains, thanks to a physical desert in the north

[illegible] in the south, cut off both politically and in point of culture, [illegible] trust, from the rest of Africa, and from the eastern and western [illegible] of occasional compulsory relations, Bornu, Baghirmi, and [illegible] themselves a little Mussulman world in Africa, showing in [illegible] a total of similar or identical features based on identical [illegible]

[illegible] southern edge of the great desert a series of highlands and lowlands [illegible] the equator and the 20th parallel from the Atlantic to the Red [illegible] Soudan comprises the whole of Central African scenery in all its [illegible] boundary towards the Sahara can only be fixed by climate and [illegible] tion. The rainy [illegible] were squeezed in [illegible] more lasting and [illegible] pounced times of [illegible] ins falling suddenly [illegible] country and about [illegible] may sometimes [illegible] many dry watercourses [illegible] roar with mighty torrents, [illegible] traffic is stopped, and the lake and swamp depressions fill quickly with water, endangering human lives; but many lakes soon dry up again when the dry north-east wind brings back fine weather and drought.

A negro, perhaps half-caste, from Baghirmi. (From a photograph.)

This wide district contains only three streams, which give a character to whole territories; the Niger, the Benue, and the Shari. While the Niger, curving to the north, waters the southern rim of the desert, the Benue comes from the south, where rain is more abundant. Receiving few tributaries in its long course, the former has acquired the name of the Great Stream, Joliba in Mandingo, Goubbi in Houssa. Of the streams flowing into Lake Chad the Shari coming from the south is copious, but the smaller are in the dry seasons mere watercourses. The surface of the lake is therefore by no means open water throughout; about a third of it being occupied by a number of islands; while on the west, swampy reedy shores extend far into the lake, which has the look of a shallow inundation permanent in the middle only. If one enquires about any of the islands, one is told, not of its position in the lake, but of the number of channels which must be crossed to reach it. The level of the [illegible] is remarkably fluctuating, and the variations in the form of the lake com[illegible] who dwell about it to take an amphibious character. One day they [illegible] the lake has taken the ground from under their feet; next day

* [illegible] comes from the Arabic *aswad*, "black," referring to the complexion of the inhabitants. [illegible] the south of the Sahara apply it to the Niger countries exclusive of Timbuctoo, while in [illegible] includes even Nubia.

they settle in the malarious new ground on which the retreating [illegible] fertilising mud.

The water collecting and evaporating has formed beds of [illegible] hollows of these countries; and the abundance of salt is a source [illegible] some of the Soudan countries. The well-known productiveness of [illegible] depends upon it, and the growth of the meadows, the favourite [illegible] of nomads rich in herds, is furthered thereby. It is said of a [illegible] Soudan, "He can eat his fill of salt." Population accumulates, [illegible] exist, in dependence on the salt; and it gives certain peoples an [illegible] could not otherwise claim.

Grass covers the country, from the scanty tufts where the landsca[illegible] into the Sahara [illegible] grasses of [illegible] Sennaar, wh[illegible] giraffe only [illegible] bit of his neck [illegible] boundless prairie. In Kordofan the smaller grass is so thick that one seems to see a "closely sown, immeasurable corn-field." Baobabs, acacias, and other shady trees become more frequent as one goes south. For one coming from the desert there is something overwhelming in this plenty following so hard upon dearth; and in the advance of the children of the desert upon the Soudan, which has affected the history of the world, is as much due to this natural charm as in the march of the barbarians upon Italy. Even the son of the desert is not left cold by such contrasts, be it only for the promise of wealth he can see in the green.

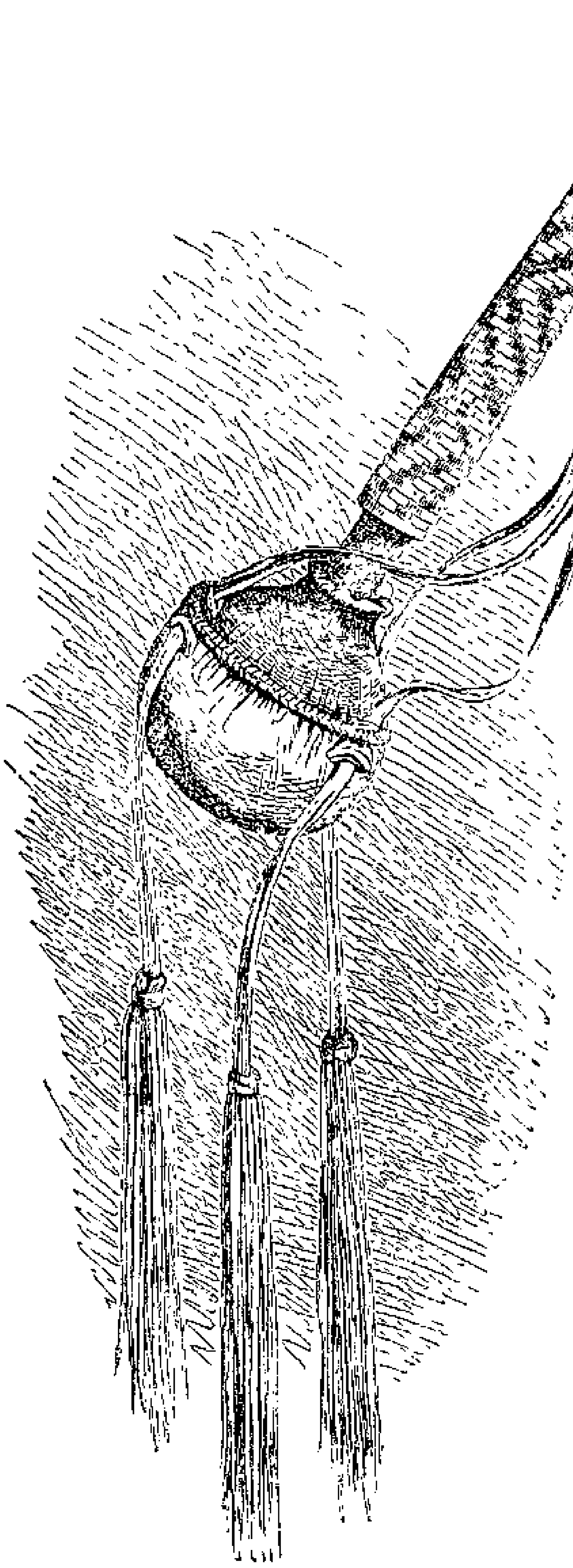
Negro from the Eastern Soudan, perhaps a Nuba. (From a photograph in Pruner Bey's Collection.)

In the east lies a wider zone of transition between the desert and the arable land where rain is plenty. Here the Soudan, with its herdsmen and herds, does not come to an abrupt stop as in the west and in the interior, where the negro farmer even extends across the southern limit of the Soudan, but the negroes themselves have adopted the pastoral life, and developed the type of the Baggara, "cowherds," so that Soudanese conditions recur up to and beyond the equator. All the sharper therefore is the line drawn between cowherds and camel-keepers, Arabs here, Nubians and negroes there; one can fix it about 13° N. Elephants have not yet become unfamiliar objects in the Soudanese landscape. In Lake Chad and the neighbouring streams hippopotami wallow in herds, and crocodiles are yet more numerous. The great beasts of prey are most frequent in the uninhabited tracts between the Soudan and the desert.

[illegible] of the Soudan may be divided without hesitation into indigenous [illegible] We know the history of the Soudan countries better than that [illegible] Africa, and, in the case of most, the date at which they received [illegible] ingredient, as well as the advance eastward and southward of [illegible] rule in the West Soudan. We must not, however, think this [illegible] simple. The immigrations of which we chance to have heard [illegible] have been. In our general introduction we sought to show how, [illegible] of the African races, nature assigned an important part to the [illegible] border district between the greatest cradles of nomad and settled [illegible] Soudan lies the wide zone of contact between the two greatest [illegible] in Africa, the Hamito-Semitic and the Negroid; and the processes [illegible] which here [illegible] on a great [illegible] similar but [illegible] processes throughout Africa. Thus we do not contrast the Mandingoes, the original race of Mandara, the Houssas, the Fors, the Nubas, etc., as settled peoples from the beginning, with the Fulbes and Arabs; but assume beside the admitted immigrants only relatively settled races, no aborigines. The Soudan has always been one of the most open countries on the earth, and we may here expect to find many racial deluges. Legends ascribe an eastern origin to many peoples in the West Soudan, while in the Central they often point to the north. The history of a great race like the Yorubas confirms their eastern origin, or at least their arrival from the east. But as a matter of fact, relations existed between the eastern Niger countries and Egypt by way of Augila even in the eleventh century A.D., and influences from north and east may have affected the Soudan population long before the Arab immigration. To this day the culture of the ruling race is not everywhere in the Soudan the superior; in some respects it is excelled by the remains of native culture, where this has maintained its independence. When one hears in the Bornu district alone more than a dozen languages spoken, one gets the impression of a conglomerate of races. In a small country like Logon language is so lavish, that while the ordinary speech of the people is akin to Musgu, Denham heard so much Bagrimma spoken that he [illegible] for the language of the people; and Barth conversed with the chief of [illegible] in Kanuri. Arabs, too, who have settled here make Arabic current as [illegible] language.

Full face view of the man shown opposite.

Here then we have on one soil the representatives of the Caucasian and the negroid bodily frames. In the heathen tribes of Darfour, Baghirmi, Houssaland, we are in presence of the latter; in the best specimens of the "red" Fulbes and the Arabs, of the former. Both, however, are few compared with the masses of mulatto-like hybrids, with a preponderant tendency to the negro type, which lie between. As the type of this mixture we would take the prevailing population of Bornu, best described by Barth in the words: "Their physique stands about midway between the full-rounded forms of the Hausa negroes, and the sinewy leanness of the Tibbus." The latter have already been noted as no true negroes, and Barth makes a further distinction between the Bornuese with their broad ugly faces, and the population of Kanem to the north, who are a variety of the more agreeable, more regular, slimmer forms. But all have crisp hair and dark skins, with wide fleshy noses. Richardson is thinking of a Berber cross when at Sinder he finds faces more agreeable, and skins fairer. Consciously or unconsciously all, even Nachtigal, fall back on crossing to explain this union of conflicting elements. It is not a very long step from the Arab half-breed to the negroes in the south of Baghirmi, any more than there exists an impassable gulf between the lazy and timid Bornuese and the victims of their slave-trade. Rohlfs found the Baghirmis even darker than the dispersed negroes of the Bolo stock in the Bautshi kingdom. The heathen tribes, which provide most of the slaves for Baghirmi, are only more homogeneous than these hybrids, and a comparison between them and their enemies has often been to their advantage. Their lack of cohesion against the common foe, to whose persecutions they have been exposed for centuries, is quite negro, and lies in the political institutions of all negro countries. The injured person has to get justice for himself. If an oath is necessary, it is taken on the leaf of an acacia, *A. albida*, and this is held as sacred as the Mussulman oath on the Koran.



Bottle for antimony, with leather ornament, from Bida. (Berlin Museum.)

Scar-tattooing is not in use among all these tribes. When it is, sometimes three incisions are made from the temple to the cheek, for a length of some two inches, sometimes short scars at close intervals run round the lower forehead from temple to temple, sometimes a single broad scar is drawn from the edge of the

other countries, only some other political leaven takes the place of the Tibboos. The strength of the Arab element seems to grow as we go eastward; it is strong in Wadai, strongest in Darfour. The history of the latter country is that of the influence of the Arabs upon the Fors. The most important elements in the population of Darfour are Tunjurs and Zoghawas. The former say that they descend from the old Arab tribe, the Beni Hilal; the Zoghawas are a nomad people closely akin to the inhabitants of Ennedi. Besides these, the Jellaba element is nearest in feeling to the Arab. These spring from the most various parts of the Nile regions from Upper Egypt to Sennaar; coming into the country originally as wandering traders, and settling in large numbers at particular spots. They are the best-hated of all strangers, and their very name is a term of abuse.

The Soudan states are Arabised states, as is announced externally by the use of Arabic as the court and official language, internally and impressively by the universality of Islam, and the reverence for it rising to the point of fanaticism. In all these countries the heathen is a foe. The Arab element has not devoured itself in the bloody work of spreading its faith and influence, though this has brought many of its tribes to the verge of perishing. It has renewed and increased itself, and has always advanced.

The Arabs of Kanem, belonging to the Aulad Soliman stock, who in the 'thirties were still roaming between the Syrtis and the oases of Fezzan, and afterwards ruled in Fezzan, conquered Borku, and finally settled on the northern edge of Lake Chad, are the most recent, most instructive, most important carriers of these movements. When they conquered Fezzan they numbered perhaps barely 1000 horsemen; and with the half of these, pursued and smitten by the Turks, they made their way into Kanem. Over an area which in extent may be compared to Germany, between Lake Chad and Tibesti, the Bornu road and the Wadai road, they won in battle abodes for themselves, and from an area greater yet by far they brought together plunder of every kind. In a short time the old process was complete; the peoples of the region became poorer, especially in the indispensable camels, while the intruders became stronger in proportion. In a few years they are said to have carried off 50,000 camels. Their connection with Bornu, which thought to use them as a frontier-guard against Wadai, saved them from what was almost complete extermination at the hands of the Tuaregs. Once again they were overthrown when they set up as confederates with a pretender from Wadai; but Nachtigal found them more dreaded and hated than ever; plundering, depopulating wide regions, and filling even Bornu with alarm. Their station was Bir-el-Barga, in the north-east of Kanem, a country rich in water and pasture. Since then Wadai has conquered Kanem with the aid of the Aulad Soliman, and missionaries from the Senoussia have brought the Arabs wholly within the circle of true believers.

The manner in which these conquerors advanced into the negro countries explains very well the mixture which quickly came to pass upon the conquest, or rather preceded it. Slave-raiding and slave-trading are settled institutions in these countries. When Overweg, in his enthusiasm, advised the sheikh of Bornu to put down the slave-trade, the sheikh coolly replied that he could not get firearms except in exchange for slaves, and therefore he must have slaves. Not till slave-raids have depleted a negro district does the real conquest take place, a gradual process of political and ethnological digestion. Of the Bula

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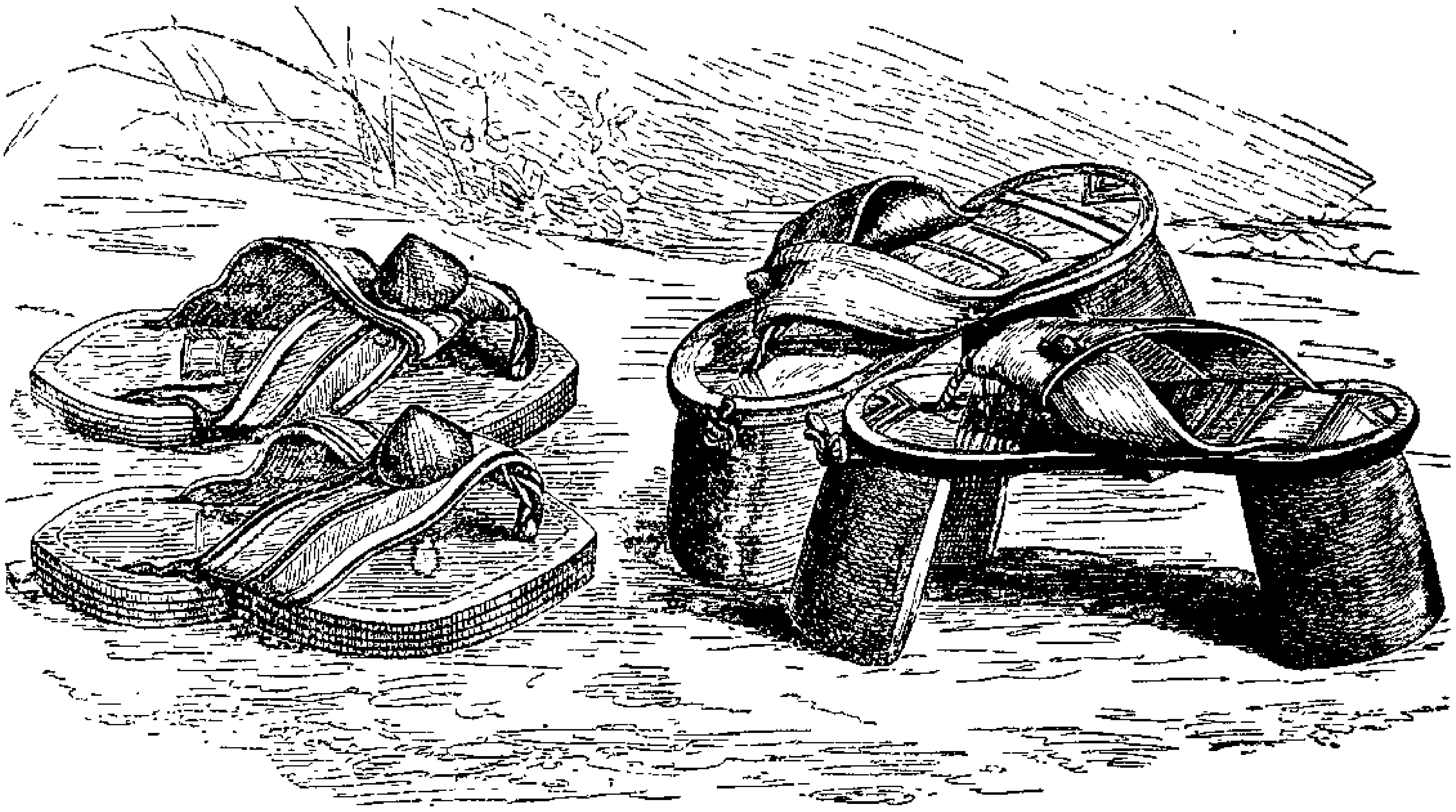
district on the Benue, which is now in a later stage, Flegel writes: "In the Bulas as in the Bassamas I see the last free remains of the populations to whom all the fertile countries on the banks of the Benue belonged before the days of the Fulbe invasion. Their old wide territory has passed into the possession of the Fulbes, and they themselves are confined to this swampy lowland, free indeed still, strong too and capable, from their great number and unity of hatred towards the common enemy, of defending themselves, but girt with assailants like game at a battue." In the east and the west alike a sort of neutral ground divides the two; probably also in the south towards Koncha. Wholly untilled and uninhabited, it forms a striking contrast to their territory as to that of the Fulbes, nor do they dare to venture beyond it. Like a cuttle-fish the conquering race stretches numerous arms hither and thither among the terrified aborigines, whose lack of cohesion affords plenty of gaps. Thus the Fulbes are slowly flowing into the Benue countries and quite gradually permeating them. Later observers have thus quite rightly abstained from assigning definite boundaries. There are many scattered Fulbe localities which look to a particular place as their centre and the centre of their power. Thus Muri is the capital of the numerous Fulbe settlements scattered about the Middle Benue, and the position of Gola is similar in the Adamawa district. As yet there are no proper kingdoms with defined frontiers against each other and against independent tribes. Even these capitals are in other respects still far from being firmly settled. Once for all we may repeat the well-grounded caution of Barth at the opening of his considerations on the "Háusa nation": "If I may permit myself to employ the term 'nation' for the imperfect relations in which peoples like those of Inner Africa stand to each other." The same relations prevail further to the east, but here stronger powers come into question, which work with more concentration. Let us hear Barth's picture of the position held by the small Musgu nation amid these waves of nations in the Soudan: "Towards the north there are the Kanúri, powerful by their numerous cavalry and the advantage of fire-arms; towards the west and south-west the restless Fulbe continually advancing; towards the north-east the people of Logón, originally their near kinsmen, but at present opposed to them by difference of religion; towards the east the wild Bagrimma people, proud of their supposed pre-eminence in religion, and eager for the profits of the slave trade. All these people hunting them down from every quarter, and carrying away yearly hundreds, nay thousands of slaves, must in the course of time exterminate this unfortunate tribe."

The hybrid character of the Soudanese population resulting from all this is no less reflected in the extraordinary medley shown by the ingredients of their culture. We need only refer to the differences in fashion of clothing and dwellings, coinciding partly with Islam, partly with paganism. The dress of the Soudan population, wherever culture has penetrated, is Moorish-Arabian; its basis being the loose trousers on which 20 yards of cotton cloth half a yard wide are often used, and the ample "tobe." Opulence and luxury are shown not by an increase in the variety of clothes put on, but in the thoughtless practice of putting on one tobe over another until cumbrousness and shapelessness set a limit. The tobe is at bottom only a loose, and especially loose-sleeved shirt, made as a rule by sewing together the narrow strips less than a hand's breadth wide, beyond which the weaver's art in the Soudan does not attain. It is adorned by

embroidery on the breast-pocket and neck, and is simple in colour, either white or blue, indigo, light blue, or blue-black. The ornament is usually white. In the West Soudan, where they are cleverer at dyeing than in Bornu, there is a greater variety of colours, and the tobes most in demand come from Nupe and Kano, especially the so-called "guinea-hen" tobe worn by persons of rank, and the Kororobshi tobe, steeped in indigo, blue-black, and fulled till it is smooth, hard, and shiny. The prices of tobes fluctuate between cotton and silk from two and a half to fifty Maria Theresa dollars. The silk-embroidered shifts of the richer women are specially fine in work and ornament. But the foundations of the women's dress in all classes are the shawl round the hips and the handkerchief covering the

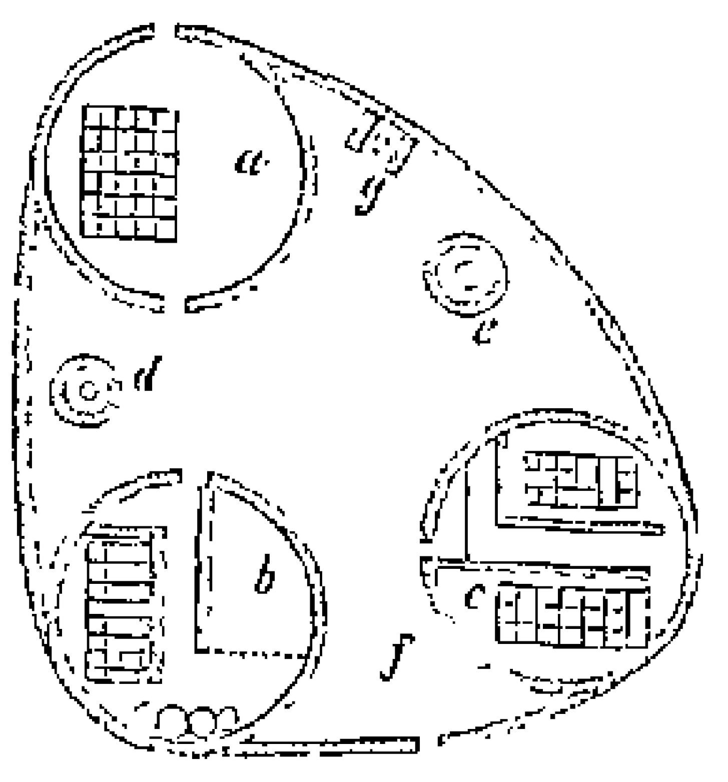


Sandals and pattens from the West Soudan, perhaps Mandingo. (British Museum and Church Missionary Society's Collection.)

upper body. In both, the shiny stiff material of the Kororobshi tobes is employed, and the shifts also are of blue stuff. Shoes of Moorish pattern, of red or yellow goatskin leather, often adorned with silk embroidery, serve for footgear among the richer people. The poor go barefoot, or wear the plainest sandals of buffalo-hide. Silver arm and ankle rings, necklaces of pearls, real or sham, amber and agate, silver rings strung with pearls or bits of coral, and worn in one side of the nose, are the most usual forms of finery. Men go commonly bareheaded; only the Kanembus have a national head-dress like a turban. It is in their negro nature to be able to expose the clean-shaven scalp to the sun for hours together without injury. The Kanuri women wear their hair in little plaits lying in close layers one over another, and pulled out at the ends, at the same time shaving forehead and temples to some height; and the Kanembu women in the same way. Among the wives of well-to-do people a crescent-shaped plate of silver completes the adornment.

Beehive-shaped huts extend farthest to the north in Darfour; but in general, mud and stone edifices predominate. The building is not higher than a man can reach without a scaffold. Throughout the whole extent of the Soudan, accordingly, there is in both the arrangement and the architecture of the towns more of

the African than of the Moorish-Arab style. Monumental works are so deficient that as one approaches by the well-trodden road from the north, tree-tops announce the grove of shady trees under which the mud houses of Kuka are secluded, but nothing is to be seen of towers or palaces. The grey mud walls of the two Kukas, quite recently destroyed again by the Mahdists, the royal town and the people's town, with a wide, and for the most part empty space gaping between them, are hardly to be distinguished from the soil. Abeshe, the capital of Wadai, with 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, presents a more pleasing view, lying on a gentle rise in a broad valley; but its interior arrangement is very irregular. The towns have no real system of streets; only footpaths, twisting and winding between the huts, and at most one very winding street, leading to the king's house, in front of which is an open space.



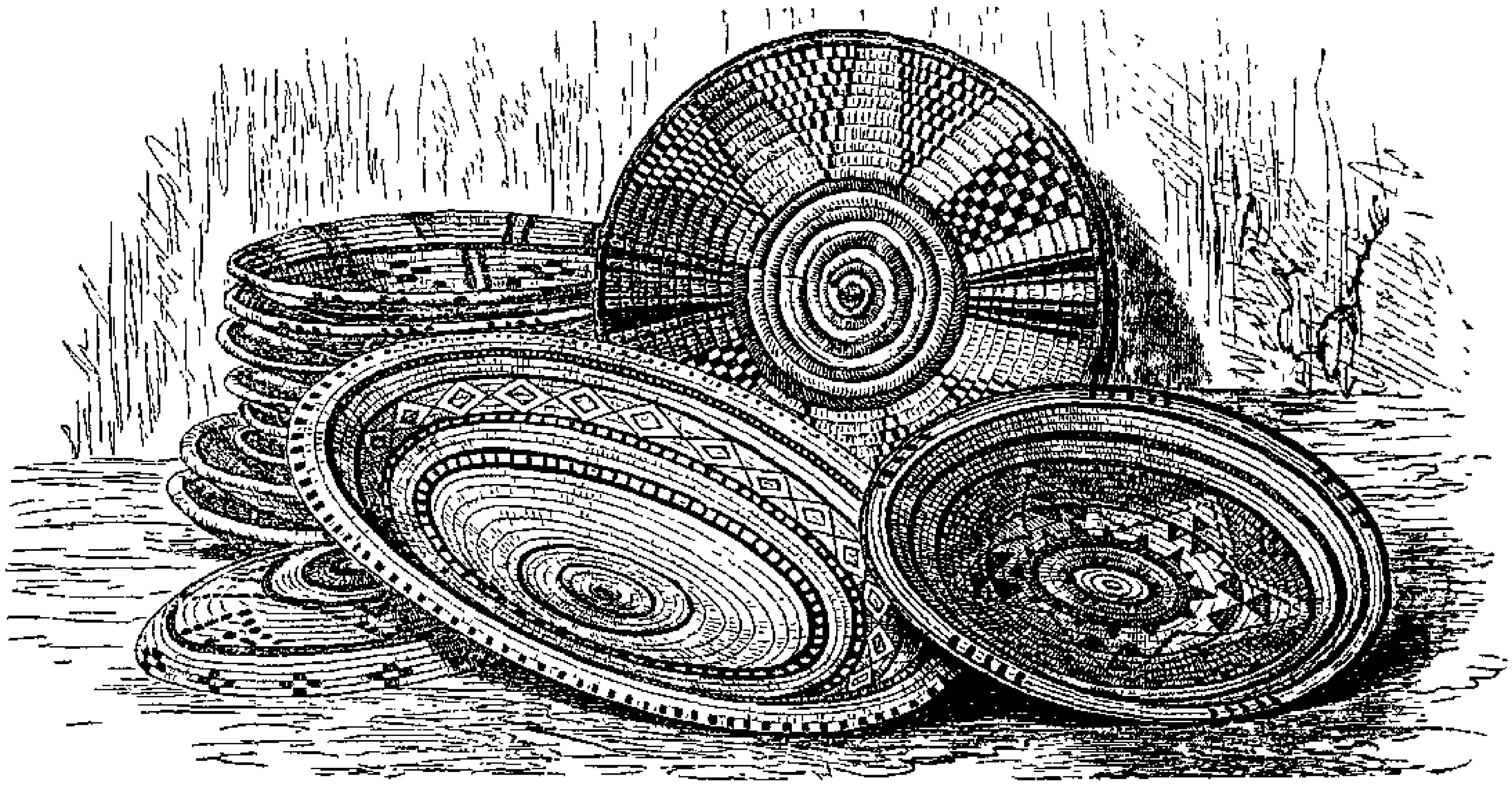
Ground plan of a group of huts in the Adamawa village of Sharau: *a*, entrance-hut; *b*, dwelling-hut; *c*, wife's hut; *d*, water-jar; *e*, corn-jar; *f*, back door; *g*, cooking-place. (After Barth.)

Arab influence, making itself deeply felt in dress and all the important industries subservient to this, has perhaps left the least profound traces on the agriculture which is in essentials that of the negro. No doubt cotton, indigo, and other things bear Arabic names, but this is no evidence of direct Arab origin. For this we should rather be inclined to look to the peculiar distribution of the cultivation of rice, which is found in the West, not in the Central Soudan. Under the state- and society-fostering influence of Islam, a highly developed agriculture has, in spite of the mingling of nomad elements in the population, become the basis of a generally high level of economic life in the naturally rich central and western portions of the Soudan. A denser and more active population, larger towns, better tillage, make the Soudan west of Lake Chad a decided scene of culture. Nachtigal lays stress upon the contrast offered in this respect by Bornu with the vast majority of tropical regions, whose natural charm cannot evoke in us any of the feeling of home: "An attractive country, inhabited by an amiable people, where multiplicity and fulness of life rule in nature as well as in human activity." Like former travellers he notes the central portion of the country with its dense population as a favoured bit of the earth, where the traveller receives an advantageous idea of the industry and dexterity of the Bornu man in a modest situation, and his copious resources. "Whether he goes west or north from the capital all along the roads he meets merchants and traders; in the neighbourhood of the villages his attention is fixed by pasturing herds or the labours of the field, while in the places themselves he convinces himself at every step of the extent and productiveness reached by an intelligent domestic industry." Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade are carried on to an equal extent, just as in the diet durra and milk are frequently of equal importance. If individual elements of the community devote themselves more to the one or the other occupation, according to national tendency or local conditions, division of labour as a higher civilization knows it has not yet made any great progress, and the majority of the population show equal capacity for all fields of labour. Influences spread downward, making themselves felt in efforts to reinforce the moral basis of life and prosperity. So long as Bornu was itself an orderly state, the slovenly life of the negro was

repudiated and extravagance was punished. The highest point of this development is reached between the Niger and Lake Chad, where the kingdom of Sokoto offers a picture of flourishing economic life.

Thus Islam has brought into these countries something more than a new religion. Those who carried it were perhaps of more importance than it was itself; while the success was still more due to the suitability of the human material in the Soudan for forming a fortunate blend. In any case the material culture which came with it has been of great influence. But that the most important of all was the political reconstructions, the size and permanence of which so far surpass the Central African scale, seems clearly shown by the history of the separate Soudan states.

The name Kanuri, applied to what is at present the dominant and predominant



Dishes of basket-work from Kuka. (Dr. Nachtigal's Collection, Berlin Museum.)

portion of the Bornu people, contains no clear ethnographical idea.[1] It is a collective name for groups, from which a nation has yet to be formed. Nachtigal says that there is indeed "a mixed Kanuri race, but no original stock of that name. A homogeneous Kanuri nation could, or can, be formed gradually only by means of a thorough fusion, a common history, and a close political union." Some find in the Kanuris the posterity of the Kanem people who invaded Bornu as conquerors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To these belong first of all the Magomis, a light stock, whose settlements are found scattered throughout the country in small districts or single spots. They ascribe to themselves a noble origin, and the Bornu kings formerly sprang from them. With these conquerors came Tibboos of various branches, who are not reckoned with the Kanuris, for the sole reason that they have kept together in larger communities, and, like so many of their race, have applied themselves to the breeding of camels, horses, and cattle. More fused with the Kanuris is the Teda tribe of the Turas, whose original home was Tu or Tibesti. It must have entered the country in large numbers with the

[1] Some explain the name as "spreaders of the light," *i.e.* Islam, from Arabic *nûr*; others more obviously, as = inhabitants of Kanem.

first immigrants, for fragments of it, small in numbers, are spread all over Bornu. They retain hardly any consciousness of their origin, and share in all respects the language and mode of life of the other Kanuris. Even to this day, however, it is indicative of their origin that the Dirkis of Kawar, a tribe adjacent to the Teda district, have always been referred to them. The Tomagheras are by origin Tedas. Their communities are found chiefly at the outer edge of the kingdom. Even of the true Kanembu tribes a good many have been absorbed in the mixed race of the Kanuris, while the greater part of them has remained scattered about Kanem.

Other elements of the Kanuris have proceeded from the mixture of conquerors with natives; the influence of the latter, as it would seem, in many cases predominating. Such are the Ngomas, the Kawas, and the Ngazirs. Both name and tradition point to one element in this mixture being of Tibboo descent, for Kawa is a Tibboo name.

Kanuris are found in scattered groups as far as the Niger and the Benue. Berebere in Yakoba is entirely inhabited by Kanuris, who have retained their native language. Some larger groups, who live in greater seclusion, may have retained certain peculiarities. But though the Kanuris cannot be spoken of as a homogeneous nation, one point is common to them all; a more or less extensive intermixture with the original tribes. Not all conquerors, however—and this is a point to be insisted on,—have merged in the Kanuris; the Arabs who came with them have never become so fused with them as to be reckoned among them. They are indeed less numerous in Bornu than in Wadai or Darfour, but yet, as our glance at the history of Bornu has abundantly shown, form a very important element in the population. In descent the great majority of them seem to belong to the East Soudan. Those settled from early times, called Wassili, are sharply distinguished from those who appear from time to time as merchants or fighting-men, and are known as Shoas. In many cases the connection with East Soudanese stocks can still be proved. They thrive, in general, less well in the hot, damp climate of Bornu than in the drier East Soudan; but their half-breeds, who occur in curiously small numbers, do better. A new breed has arisen in details recalling its original constituents, but on the whole very little like these, without, however, having yet acquired a homogeneous character. From a physical point of view the change has not been advantageous, for the Kanuris must on the average be called an ugly race. The women especially have lost much of the noble figures and pleasing features of the pure Tibboo and Kanembu. The result of the mixture strongly recalls the Tuaregs, who are neighbours to the Houssas.

When the original inhabitants were numerous or valiant enough to offer a continuous resistance to the invaders, they were able, in spite of the Kanuri settlements with which they were permeated, to retain their language, physiognomy, and customs unimpaired. Thus even to-day in various parts of the kingdom, and especially in the districts on the southern and western borders, they form compact masses of population where the sovereignty of the king of Bornu is not indeed questioned, but the subjection of the people is still in some respects very imperfect. The Makaris or Kotokos, on the southern shore of Lake Chad, are said to be immigrants from the Middle Shari, who partly drove out, partly absorbed, the Sos whom they found there. There are some reasons for supposing that the

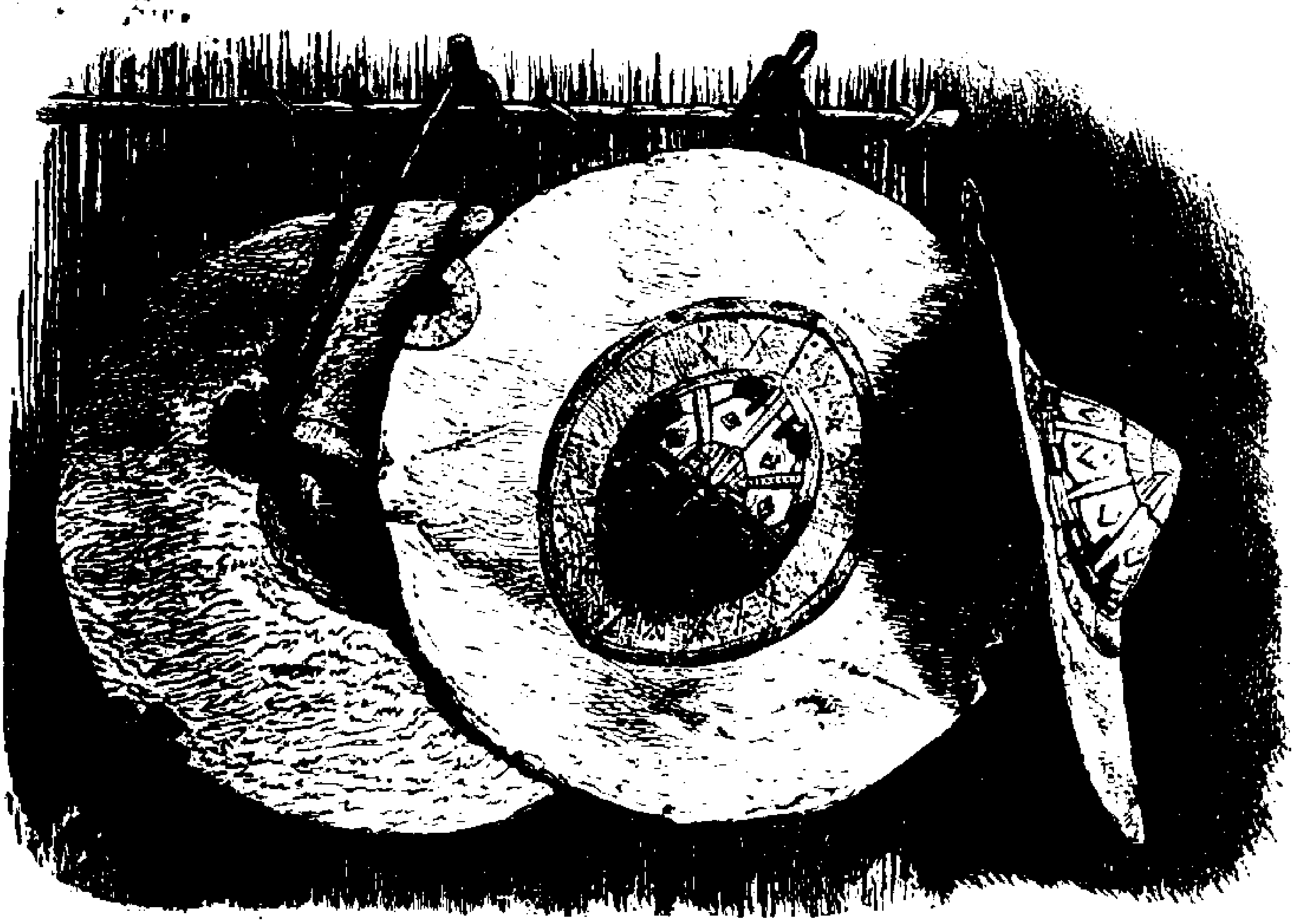
Mangas in the north-west came in from Kanem. The Buddumas on
on the lake, an almost independent little people, won only externally
are said to resemble most the Makaris. In yet more recent times the

Baghirmi trooper in quilted armour. (After Denham.)

one of the most numerous subdivisions of the Kanembus, have migrated from their homes to the parts of Bornu on the shore of the lake, driven out by the inroads of the Tuaregs and the preponderance of the Arabs. The group of the Keribinas, according to tradition a remnant of the "aboriginal" Sos, occupy a

[illegible] inasmuch as they occupy themselves almost exclusively with [illegible] does not enjoy very high credit in Bornu; and are thus compelled [illegible] part a scattered, nomadic existence. A division of them speaks [illegible] language. A stronger stamp of the negro character seems to be the [illegible] common to all these tribes who were apparently earlier settled in the [illegible] Nachtigal describes the Makaris as clumsy figures inclining to corpulence, in [illegible] a darker tint, and less regular physiognomy, slow in thought and action. [illegible] Mangas and Musgus are like them. These alone in Bornu use arrows, the bows being sometimes of African, sometimes of Asiatic pattern.

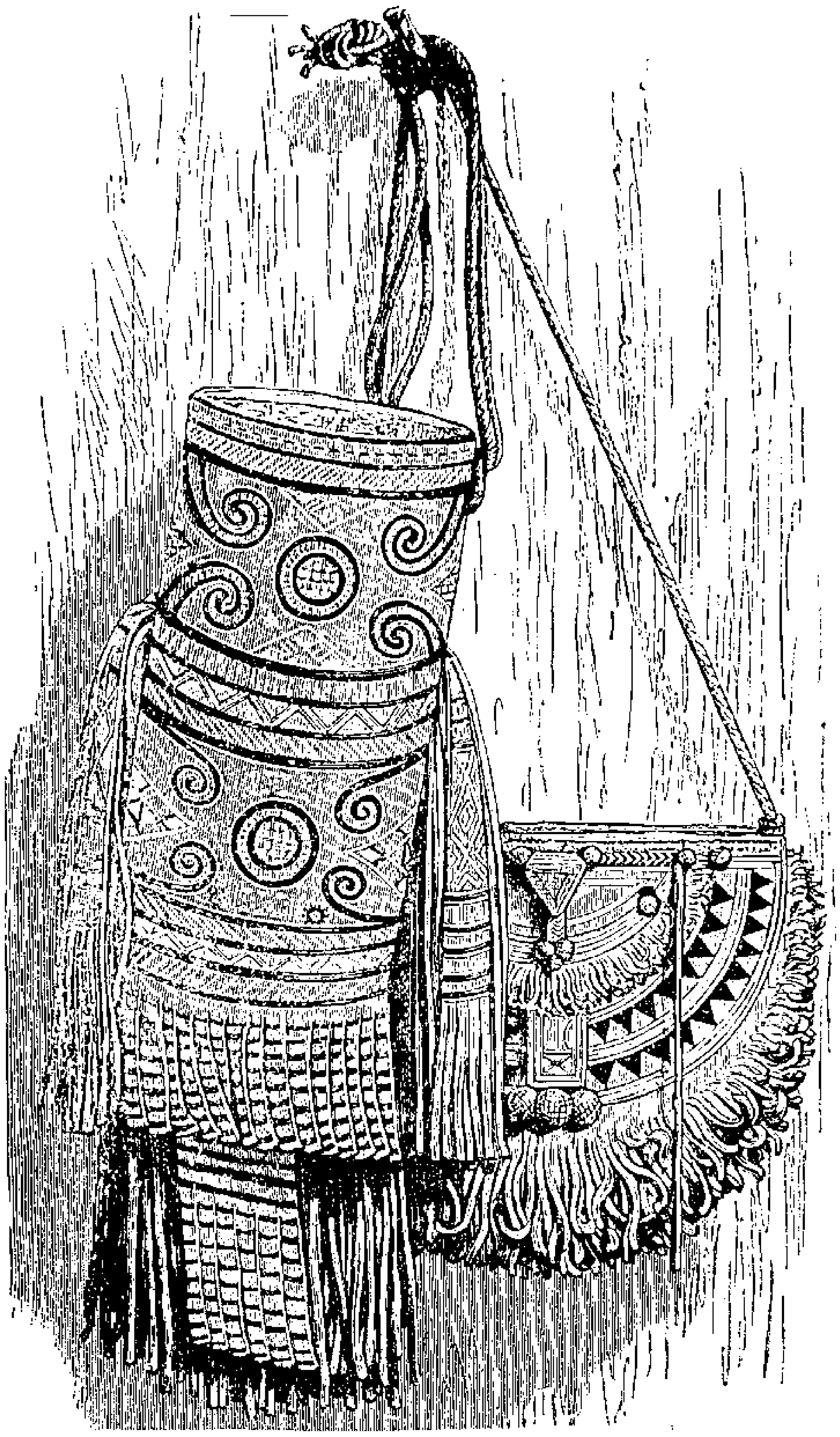
The Baghirmis form three-fourths of the population of their state, the remainder



Shield (three views) from the Bashari of the Nubian Desert east of the Nile—[illegible]
(British Museum.)

consisting of Arabs, Fulbes, Bornuese, Kukas, Bulalas. They also are a politically-mixed race. The name Baghirmi did not appear until the formation of the state of the same name came about. Doubtless the Fulbes and Arabs have never been conceived as part of the Baghirmis, although they became essential constituents of the state; but only the settled population was understood by the name of Baghirmi, or Barma. With the spread of Islam, the contrast with their heathen though kindred neighbours grew, and these did not simply merge in the victors, but were sold; the blending of blood, however, went on unceasingly in consequence of the number of women and girls every year imported from the south. In the slave-trade towards the north, Baghirmi once played the leading part, being specially famous for the manufacture of eunuchs. In other words, of all the Soudan states it most underwent southern influences, looked most to the south, was the most negro in character, and thus formed a pronounced halfway-house between the Soudan states and Central Africa.

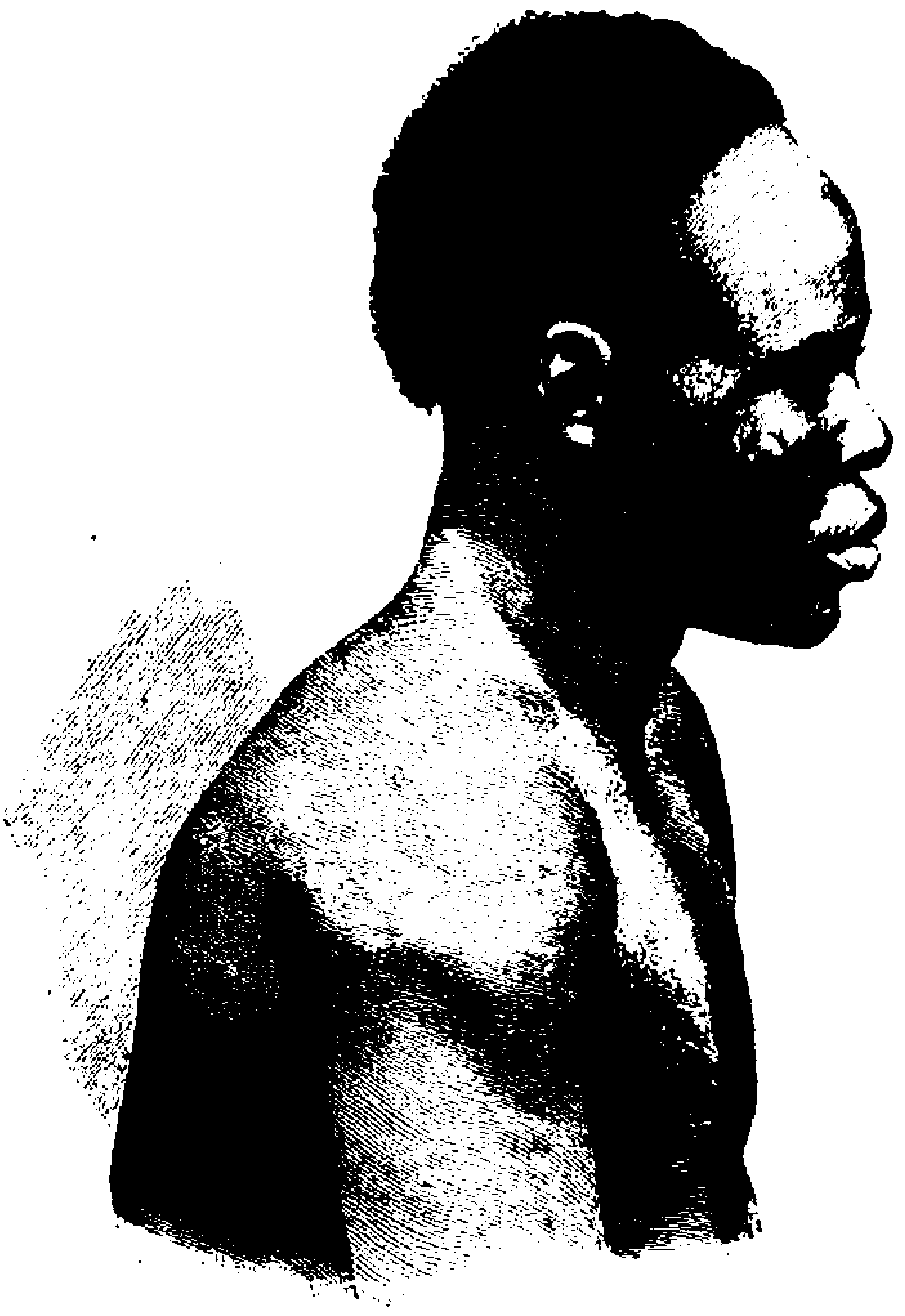
Regarded as human beings, the Baghirmis are distinguished above many of their neighbours by fine stature and pleasing features. Barth gives their women the palm among all women of the Soudan. "If," he says, "they are excelled by them (the Fulbes or Fellatahs) in slenderness of form and lightness of colour, they far surpass them in their majestic growth and their symmetrically and finely-shaped limbs, while the lustre and blackness of their eyes are celebrated all over Negroland." Their long apprenticeship to a warlike and predatory life has made the Baghirmis strange to peaceful labours. From their raids they won power, wealth, respect such as their country, from its unfavourable situation, could never have afforded them through the works of peace. But their good qualities have not been wholly swamped in this. Weaving, dyeing, and leather-work in Baghirmi are no doubt in the hands chiefly of Kanuri and Makari immigrants; but yet in Kuka the slaves coming from Massena are specially prized as weavers. The fact also that Sheikh Ali of Wadai, after a successful campaign, carried away thousands of Baghirmi people into his own country, with the expressed intention of stimulating his own subjects in agriculture, building, and handicrafts, shows that in these respects they had a good reputation, and were superior to their neighbours on the east.


Spear-head case and leathern pouch from the Central Soudan—perhaps Baghirmi—one-eighth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

Of foreign elements beside the Arabs the Kanuris are numerous and widespread. There is in them a strong impulse to movement and love of enterprise. The Fulbes have repeatedly made their way into the heathen countries to the south-east as nomad herdsmen; but even in the interior of the country smaller groups of them are found, often under religious chiefs, "this remarkable race, apart from its cattle-breeding, being chiefly addicted to religious study." The Bulalas, closely mixed up in the older history of Baghirmi as hereditary foes, are seldom to be found in the country; their homes lie between the Fittri district and Lake Chad.

The population of Wadai seems to be a concretion of three still recognisable

the original negro settlers, immigrant Arabs, and Fulbes. To ... added an indefinite fragment of Tibbus. But the present nucleus ...tion, amid which the capital is not without reason placed, the ...sorbed constituents from all of them. This group, which according ... includes the "most honourable, sober, simple, brave, but at the same ...inate and headstrong of all the inhabitants of Wadai," is chiefly com... of bronze colour, among whom, however, lighter gradations are highly ... signs of nobler descent. Among them, or in their close neighbourhood, dwell darker people, distinguished from them alike in language and in customs. The mixture must be varied, especially as the policy of the country is fond of dispersing all over it tribes that have become too independent. As the analogy of its political position places this stock on a line with Fulbes, Kanuris, and Arabs, so the qualities both of physique and character that mark the ruling race lie far less in the negro direction than in that of the lighter stocks of the North Soudan. It is obviously one of the state-founding elements of the Soudan countries, which, coming in from the north, formed a separate racial layer over the darker inhabitants, but afterwards mingled with these, and also absorbed portions of four lighter races which arrived afterwards, such as Fulbes and Arabs.



A For negro. (From a photograph.)

In the history of Wadai, the first race that appears with a capacity for forming a state are the heathen Tunjars from Dongola. Their supremacy was overthrown by Abd-el-Kerim with the help of Fulbes in the east of Baghirmi, and his warfare was at the same time an Islamite propaganda. Nachtigal says: "The adoption of Islam was decisive in favour of the large grouping. Any tribe which declared itself for Abd el-Kerim, Islam, and the new order of things, was true Wadawi, lord of the land and soil, and all who had to be won by force to the new religion are not even to the present day looked upon as having equal rights with the others. All, lastly, who have only in recent times emerged from the

darkness of paganism, are still regarded rather as slaves than as
the power of an idea to found states and form nations be ma
branch of the Zoghawas, a group equally important historically
smith's trade, and is therefore despised. Certain groups of roya
community of abode and occupation become almost separate
instance, the Sultan's bee-keepers, cattle and camel-breeders. All
more or less servants; their lords always spring, as was said, from
of the Mabas, the "royal tribes," whose women alone can bear i
succeeding to the throne. The provinces of Wadai are administered

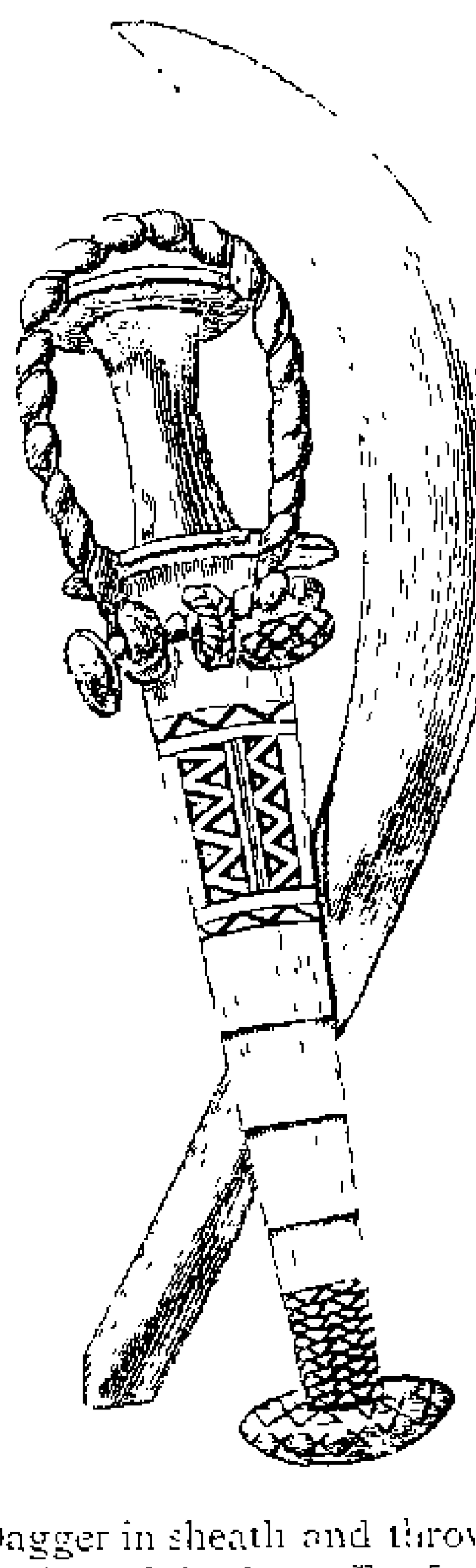
A For negro, full face. (From a photograph.)

who belong to the same royal stocks. Next to them the Arabs are the most powerful, with a government and jurisdiction of their own. Embassies from the Sultan of Wadai, which came to Darfour and Tana, contained two Arab sheikhs out of five persons.

The Arab language and customs are perhaps more widely spread in Wadai than elsewhere in the Soudan. But the Wadawi do not take Moslem usages very strictly. Women do not cover their faces at the approach of a man, but always kneel in the presence of freemen, and crawl on hands and feet before them. The men are no less courageous than violent. They dress in the white Arab shirt and loose trousers, have their heads shaved, and show vertical scars in the region

of the neck. The women wrap themselves in large pieces of cloth which trail on the ground; they wear their hair of its natural length, or lengthened with black sheep's wool, or plaited in quite small tufts. A large piece of coral in the right nostril quite disfigures them. Their necks and wrists are adorned with glass beads. Among the population at large the weapons are lance, javelin, knife, and large dagger; wealthier people have a gun or revolver and a sword; quilted coverings for horse and rider are here also in use. Wadai is held to be far more warlike than Bornu.

Trade not being so highly developed among the Wadawi as among the Bornuese and Fulbes, and their industrial activity being also limited, they have no large towns outside the capital. Wadai is the most thinly-peopled of all the Soudan kingdoms, and a compulsory transfer of border population from Darfour, Tama, Baghirmi, to Wadai territory could not but further its development. In consequence of the missionary activity of the Mussulman Order called Senoussi, which has for a series of years acquired a great power over Kufra in Wadai, religious fanaticism has been more fostered there than elsewhere in the Soudan; a result of which has been not merely the decline of European influences, but also opposition to the spread of Mahdism, as formerly to that of Egyptian domination.



Dagger in sheath and throwing-club from Darfour. (Vienna Museum.)

The population of Darfour (Dar For), which in 1880, before the rising, was estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, falls into two halves, distinct ethnographically and in place of abode. The centre of one is the mountainous part of the country, more densely peopled than other regions of Darfour, together with the damp south; the other inhabiting the plateau-districts. The former is the settled agricultural negro people called Fors, the latter consists of immigrant Arabs, the pastoral, unsettled portion of the population, which has driven back and confined the others; and yet arrogates to itself a superior position on the score of less mixed descent.

The Fors are not only pious to the point of fanaticism; they also have their children taught to read and often even to write by the fakirs, of whom in some villages they have several. They are extremely dexterous in handicrafts, with the result that practically no foreign goods have to be imported into the country save for the sultan and the grandees. Among the people we find little that comes from abroad except cotton goods, and these are to some extent manufactured at home. Knives, axes, spears, all kinds of metal ornaments, even glass articles, according to Mason, are made in the country; not to mention the pottery (with no wheel, however), and excellent plaited and leather work. In the growth of wheat and rice, as in many manners and customs of the Fors, eastern and northern influences make themselves felt. Formerly large caravans went from Egypt to Darfour, and in those days the country itself was richer in exchangeable products, especially ivory and slaves. It is said that every year caravans from Darfour of 10,000 people, armies in fact, went man-hunting into

Darfertit. When Massari and Matteucci went to Darfour twenty years ago, you could buy a pretty boy for 40 or 50 francs. The profit on the slave-raids to the south formed a legitimate item on the income side of the Darfour budgets, besides duties and tributes. The slave-trade suppressed all other branches of production. In Felkin's time, too, a great part of the population of Darfour was occupied in working for the slave-caravans, and fetching food and water for them.

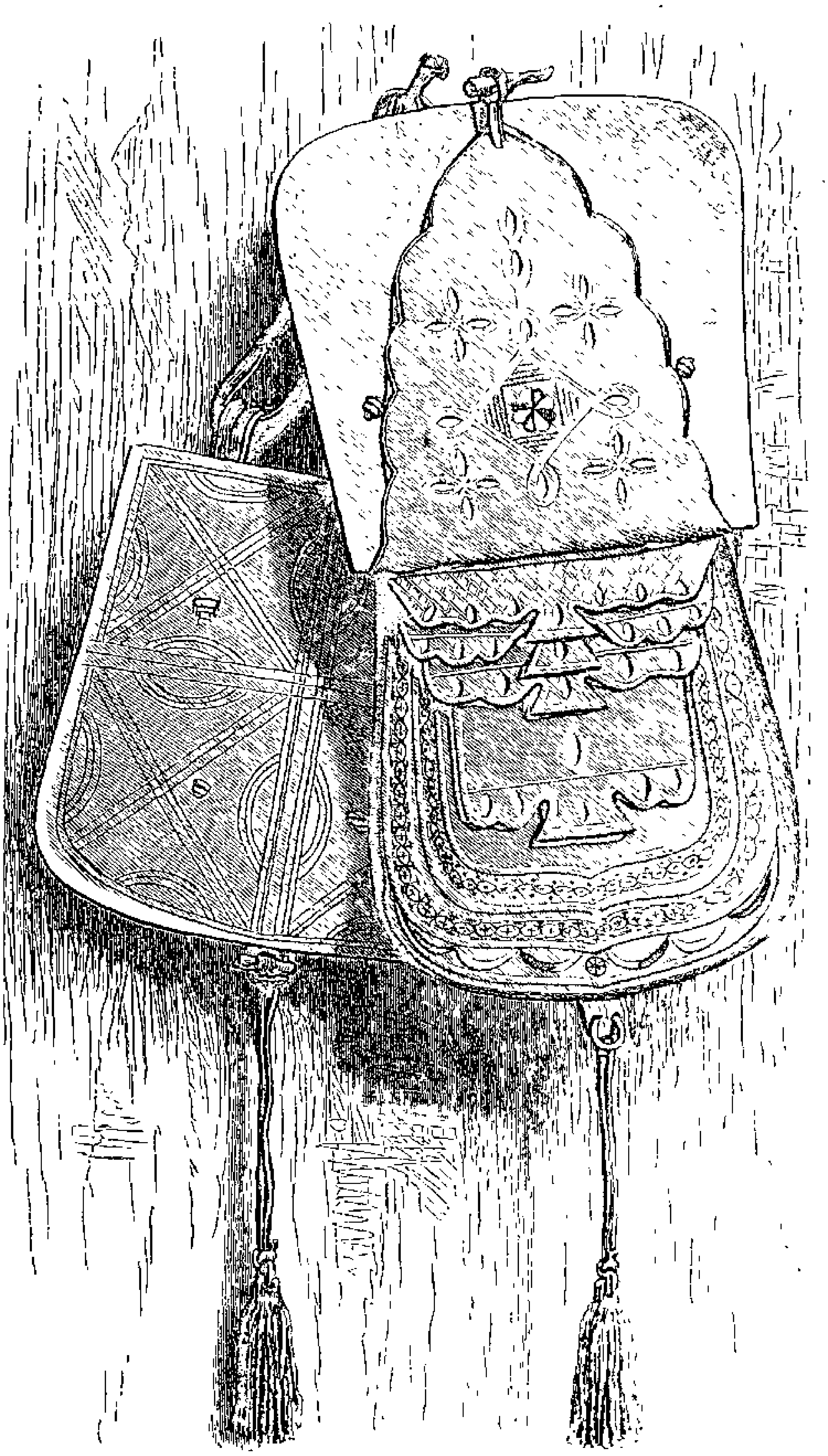
Though the Fors may, as Felkin says, have mixed little with the Arabs, they yet show striking variations from the negroes more to the south, that is, approaches toward their Arab and Nubian neighbours. They do not disfigure their bodies, do not knock out any teeth, do not tattoo themselves, live mostly in conical mud-huts—though beehive huts of grass also occur,—manure their fields, bake bread in flat cakes, keep horses and camels, adhere superficially to Islam, the priests of which, however, correspond to the true negro witch-doctors, while under its varnish survives an old African belief in a god Molu, whose breath is the storm. The great feast of drums, the national spring and new-year's festival of Darfour, belongs wholly to a reminiscence of the old religion. On this occasion children without number are slain in commemoration of deceased sovereigns, and the Sultan looks out for one of white or light fawn colour, with whose skin a new drum is covered. The ground is at the same time grubbed and sown, to symbolize the value of agriculture.

The Fors of Jebel Marrah were formerly ruled by the Arab tribe of the Tunjurs. Although these ruled over Arabs as well as Fors, both their descent and their religion seem gradually to have fallen into oblivion among them, for there are local laws of some antiquity which depart a long way from the precepts of the Koran. Not till the seventeenth century was any restoration of Islam begun, while, with a view to civilization, a large number of strangers were at the same time brought into the country. The arrival of any Fulbes, or people from Bornu, or Baghirmi, who are now settled in Darfour, may practically be referred to this period. The last independent sultan of Darfour fell in the autumn of 1874 fighting against Zebehr Pasha to the south of Tendelti, and Darfour became part of the Egyptian Soudan. At the end of 1883 it adhered to the Mahdi, but seems to stand somewhat aloof.

The same destiny almost simultaneously overtook the miniature state of Tama, the apple of discord between Darfour and Wadai, which had maintained itself in its mountain seclusion, but following the attraction of the stronger power had ultimately come into closer connection with Wadai. The coarse Arab shirt serves as clothing for the men; the women wear two pieces of blue cotton cloth, one wound round the hips, the other thrown over the shoulders. The weapons are spear and javelin; but in the Sultan's armoury are to be found two or three double-barrelled guns in bad condition, a muzzle-loading revolver, and some suits of iron armour. The diet, as in Darfour, consists of stiff porridge, made but rarely with the broth of dried meat, more often with dry herbs which are pounded and boiled, and, failing salt, are seasoned with alkaline water. Little white Venetian beads, which are bought in strings, and European cotton-stuffs, serve for money.

Bornu offers the best example of the peculiar political forms which these states, similar in this as in their origin, have developed. The present constitution of Bornu is a product of the decomposition by Islam and slavery of the old

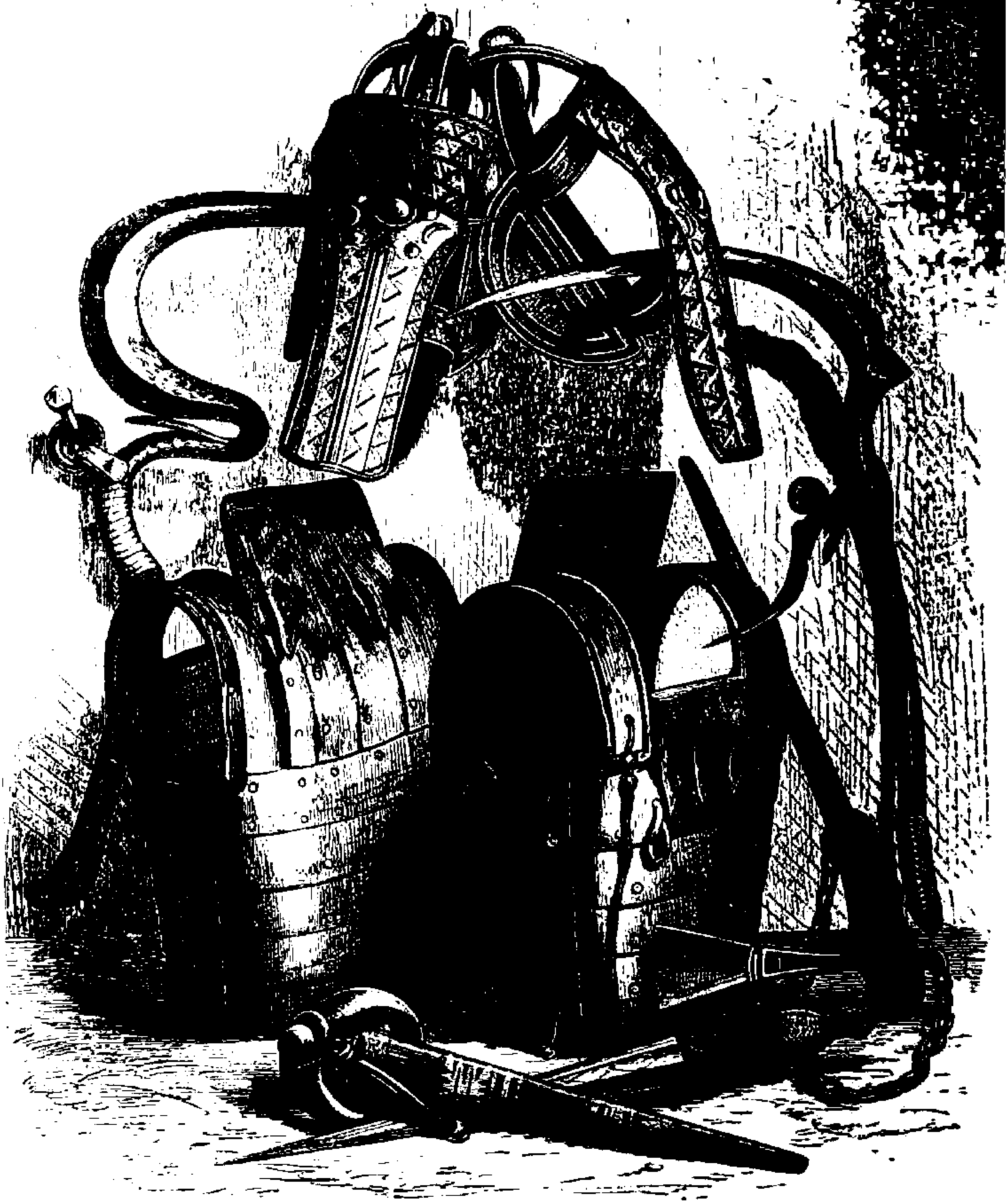
aristocratic institutions existing among their northern founders. The council or *nokena*, which assembles daily about the sultan, retains the forms of a time when the rulers allowed about them, as authorised counsellors, representatives of the most prominent tribes or families, agreeably to the customs of the desert-dwellers; but the essence of them has disappeared. Freemen have not lost the consciousness of their free origin as compared with the sultan's slaves, but the sultans feel more confidence in their slaves than in their own free relatives and fellow-tribesmen, and count on their devotion. Not only court-offices, but even the defence of the country, have for long been by preference entrusted to slaves. The sultan's brothers, as well as the more ambitious and efficient of his sons, are regarded with suspicion; and while the most important posts about the court are in the hands of slaves, those furthest from the seat of government are held by the princes. Salaries are charged upon the revenues of offices and provinces. Individual members of famous families, descendants of meritorious warriors or statesmen, enjoy a certain importance, though only unofficially, simply because no one dares to ignore certain traditional forms of greatness; but the council is composed of members of the royal family and the councillors, who are military chiefs of slave origin—two Kanuris, three Kanembus, three Tibboos, five Arabs.



Leathern pouches from Bornu—one-eighth real size. (Barth's collection in Berlin Museum.)

The most powerful official of the old Bornu kingdom was the commander-in-chief, or *Kaigamma*, who was always by origin a slave. Warlike efforts being

naturally directed southwards against heathen tribes, his chief activity
of administration lay in the districts on the southern frontier from
of Sokoto to Logon. Now the very title of Kaigamma is almost fo



Armour, throwing-irons, battle axe, dagger, from Baghirmi and Bornu. (After Denham.)

the dignitary who most nearly corresponds to him, the *Kashella bilal* has his administrative district in the east and south-east of the country. After these chief officials came the *Yerima*, the free-born son of a princess, and head of the *magomi*, who included all the royal families. The whole north-west of the kingdom was under his command, and he had especially to keep a watchful eye

on the south-eastern Tuaregs. To-day the bearer of this title has come to be one of the least important officials. The successor to the throne, son or brother to the Sultan, may be considered as the third in the old hierarchy of Bornu. Some frontier districts are still under the supervision of the "crown-prince." The slave entrusted with the duty of watching over the personal safety of the sovereign bears the title of *Jeroma*, and has at the same time charge of the royal stable. A peculiar position is taken by the *Ghaladima*, which we meet with in other West Soudan countries. He is a vassal rather than an official, has from time to time to spend several months at court, but holds half independent authority over the provinces to the west of Bornu proper. The post of the *Digma*, a slave formerly nothing but the Sultan's private secretary, and agent in the intercourse of foreigners with his master, was once the most influential in the state, the holder having the administration of large provinces, the revenues of which he drew. Many important offices in the districts on the north-west frontier have passed to slaves; as those of standard-bearer, or sultan's messenger, and thus too slaves are the most influential officials, who have to look after the Sultan's stores of iron, wood, charcoal, butter, honey, and other necessaries of life. In yet higher respect than most of them stand the eunuchs, as overseers of the harem and the palace. These have most completely retained the splendour of their former position. With their influence is frequently bound up that of the women, which is but small in Mussulman negro states. Usually the greatest influence falls to the *magira* or queen-mother, though in Bornu she has never played so prominent a political part as in Baghirmi, Wadai, and Darfour. The importance of the *gumso*, or chief wife of the sultan, depends more on her personality than on her position, while individual princesses no doubt acquire influence by the flirtations to which they abandon themselves with uncourtly openness.

From this order of ranks we see that in Bornu, as in all these conquering Soudan states, military power once held the highest position, but afterwards retreated when the state became peaceful and the ruling classes fell a prey to indolence. Yet Bornu as a great power of the Soudan still sets some store by its army, with which are connected the levies of the tribes in the event of war. The army is represented by the *kashellawa* or military chiefs, the most important of whom watch the frontier, some of them having a seat and voice in the council. Besides this, almost every division of the country has its own *kashellawa*, under whom are placed at times troops from the standing army of mounted lancers—whether in armour or ordinary troopers—and musketeers, mounted or unmounted, in small numbers, together with a small number placed in command of heathen archers and spearmen. There are also mounted bodyguards and small bodies of infantry immediately around the sultan. In all, the standing army of Bornu may be 3000 strong. Only the bodyguard is under the direct care of the sultan, while all the other troops are raised by the military chiefs; certain of whom are sure, through old reputation and connection, of a strong following. Barth describes the march of the army through a clearing, overhung by tall doom-palms, in the Woloje country: The heavy cavalry clad in thick wadded clothing, others in their coats of mail with their tin helmets glittering in the sun, and mounted on large heavy chargers, which appeared almost oppressed by the weight of their riders and their own warlike accoutrements; the light Shirwa horsemen on lean

but hardy nags, armed only with a sheaf of javelins; the cultivated royal slave in his silken robe; the half-naked Kanembu spearmen and spear, half-torn aprons and Berber head-dress; in the distance

Saddle, saddle-bags, and spear-case of a Baghirmi chief. (Berlin Museum.)

camels and baggage-oxen—all full of spirit, and pressing on in the hope of rich booty towards the districts in the south-east.

Yet this is not the whole strength of Bornu. Every prince, official, courtier, in order to stand higher in the esteem of sovereign and people, keeps regiments or companies which are at the disposal of the sultan. Specially conspicuous are the heavy cavalry in their long, thickly-quilted coats, on the top of which they wear several robes of various colours, and with all kinds of finery, and their helmets of light metal adorned with the gayest of feathers; their chargers clad

in the *libbedi*, thick coverings of cloth variously striped. The horse's head is protected by a metal frontlet. When Rohlfs was in Kuka in 1886, they had begun to cast small cannon.

This power would have sufficed to maintain order in the country and to secure the frontiers if the military sentiment had not lost its force. But luxury and effeminacy have in the present century taken increasingly wider hold, and the young kingdom of Wadai has become a formidable rival to Bornu; while of the half-subdued tributary heathen tribes on the west frontier more and more refuse to pay tribute, or like the vassal chief of Sinder in the north-west, have tried to found independent sovereignties. The prophecies of an early collapse of the Bornu dynasty, represented in so unwarlike fashion by Sultan Omar, may perhaps by this time be fulfilled. Bornu was sheltered by its situation from any attack moving from the Mahdist movement westward, and it has in recent years declined any more intimate relation with the Turks; but since Baghirmi has conquered Wadai, Bornu, weakened by internal discords, has as a political power fallen behind the former, and is every day paying for it by the diversion of the trade of the western and interior Soudan to the Niger and Benue. Lately Bornu is said to have been conquered and ravaged by Rabbah, a former officer of the Mahdi.

In an economical respect the chief characteristic of these countries is the transition from the steppe of the East Soudan and its nomadism to the agriculture which, owing to the better water-supply, becomes in the West Soudan ever more prominent, also from a lower and more fragmentary to a higher and more concentrated efficiency in industry and trade, from a small to a developed traffic, and from sparse to dense population. Without prejudice to the primæval forest on the shores of the lake and in the valley bottoms, even Bornu is essentially a land of steppes. The depression of 700 feet in which the great lake lies is an amphibious scene. In the centre and in the south of the country the swamps allow neither garden produce, nor ground-nuts, nor cotton to flourish satisfactorily; in the north the rainfall of summer gives only transitorily a vernal charm to the grey monotonous picture of the lean acacia groves and the thickets of doom-palm. Here patches of alkaline soil occur, here the date-palm still thrives; and with them the loose sandy soil announces the neighbourhood of the desert. In the west of the kingdom the doom-palm forms whole forests. Not till we reach the nucleus of Bornu does the steppe-character undergo material improvement. Here the *deleb* palm has its northern limit, and in the west of the country the *Adansonia* or baobad makes an imposing appearance. In the south, individuals of the oil-palm appear; the cotton-tree (*Eriodendron*) rich in legends, and the melon-tree also show themselves. Soudanese nature here reaches its highest development. Agriculture, which employs neither plough nor harrow, not even the hoe, everywhere directs its attention chiefly to corn-crops, *penicillaria*, sorghum, and maize. Cotton (*kalkutton*), and indigo (*alin* or *nila*), showing in their names their introduction by Arabs, two kinds of ground-nut, sesame, beans, melons, are the other most important crops in cultivation. Wheat and barley are seldom grown by preference, the irrigation for them involving much labour. Threshing is done by oxen, or by hand. Men and women work together at tilling the ground, but the greater part of the hard work which has to be done at home after harvest falls to the women, such as making oil from sesame and ground-nuts, the preparation of the kernels of *hejlij* and fruit of the *karno* and doom-palms,

the cleaning and spinning of the cotton, the manufacture of plaited work such as watertight dishes and baskets; also milking, grinding, cooking, butter-making. The men manufacture the tools of husbandry and other gear, make wooden and earthenware vessels, weave, sow, prepare charcoal and salt. With all this work—smith's work is here assigned to special craftsmen—even the less well-to-do find the help of slaves indispensable. When the ground is sufficiently dry after the rains, the time of travelling begins. Traders, large and small, go about the country; produce is taken to the markets of Kuka and other large places, while manufactured goods, even European, enter the country.

Till lately the trade of the Central Soudan centred in Kuka. That its market could compete with that of the far more industrious Kano, while Bornu is generally in economic matters far behind the West Soudan, was due simply to the excellent position of that capital at the end of the common road from Tripoli by Murzuk and Bilma, which, till the Soudan was opened up from the Gulf of Guinea, was one of the most frequented in Africa; and also to the freedom of trade. "No industry is subject to duty; all goods enter free. Even the great caravans from the Soudan, from Tripoli and other Berber states, have no toll to pay other than a small tax to the guardian of the town gate. Even presents to the Sultan and the officials are here abolished." Rohlfs, from whose account we take these statements, was visited at Kuka by traders from Tripoli, Murzuk, Massar, Mecca, Kano, and notes as very significant the abundance of foreign, even European goods, in the markets of the place.

§ 11. THE FULBES, FULAHS, OR FELLATAHS,[1] AND THE DARK RACES OF THE WESTERN SOUDAN

Position and distribution of the Fulbes in the Soudan—A glance at their history—Their mixture with negroes, Houssas, Mandingoes, Joloffs, Serers, dispersed tribes of Senegambia—Black and red Fulbes—Physical and intellectual qualities—Probable origin—Language—Foundation of States—The kingdom of Sokoto: military system, arms, administration—Foundation of the Bautshi or Yakoba kingdom: economic life. society, dress, habitations, style of art—Pastoral life—Money, trade, industrial castes—The large towns.

THE position, as an element of the population distinct from negroes and Arabs, which in the Central and Eastern Soudan is held by Kanuris and Nubians respectively, is taken at the present time in the West Soudan by a race which, from the Senegal River to the Benue, and from the Atlantic to a point not far from the Nile, is spread over a region occupying far more than half the area of Europe, in no part of it forming the whole population, but predominant in most, and in many places marked off by purely Caucasian racial characteristics. Senegambia, and the countries south of it, when they come down to the Atlantic, represent their furthest advance westward, and here too are the countries where they are most compactly distributed. In the Futa Jallon country they form the chief component of the population. Further to the east they own the kingdom of

[1] Fulbe or Fulah (sing. Pullo, Peul) is the Mandingo name, Fellani the Houssa, Fellatah the Kanuri, Fullan the Arab, Fulde on the Benue. Like the name Abate "white," given to them in Kororofa, these names seem to indicate the lighter colour of their skin. The dark half-breeds are called by the French "Toucouleurs," the lighter ones "Futa-Fula" by the Portuguese.

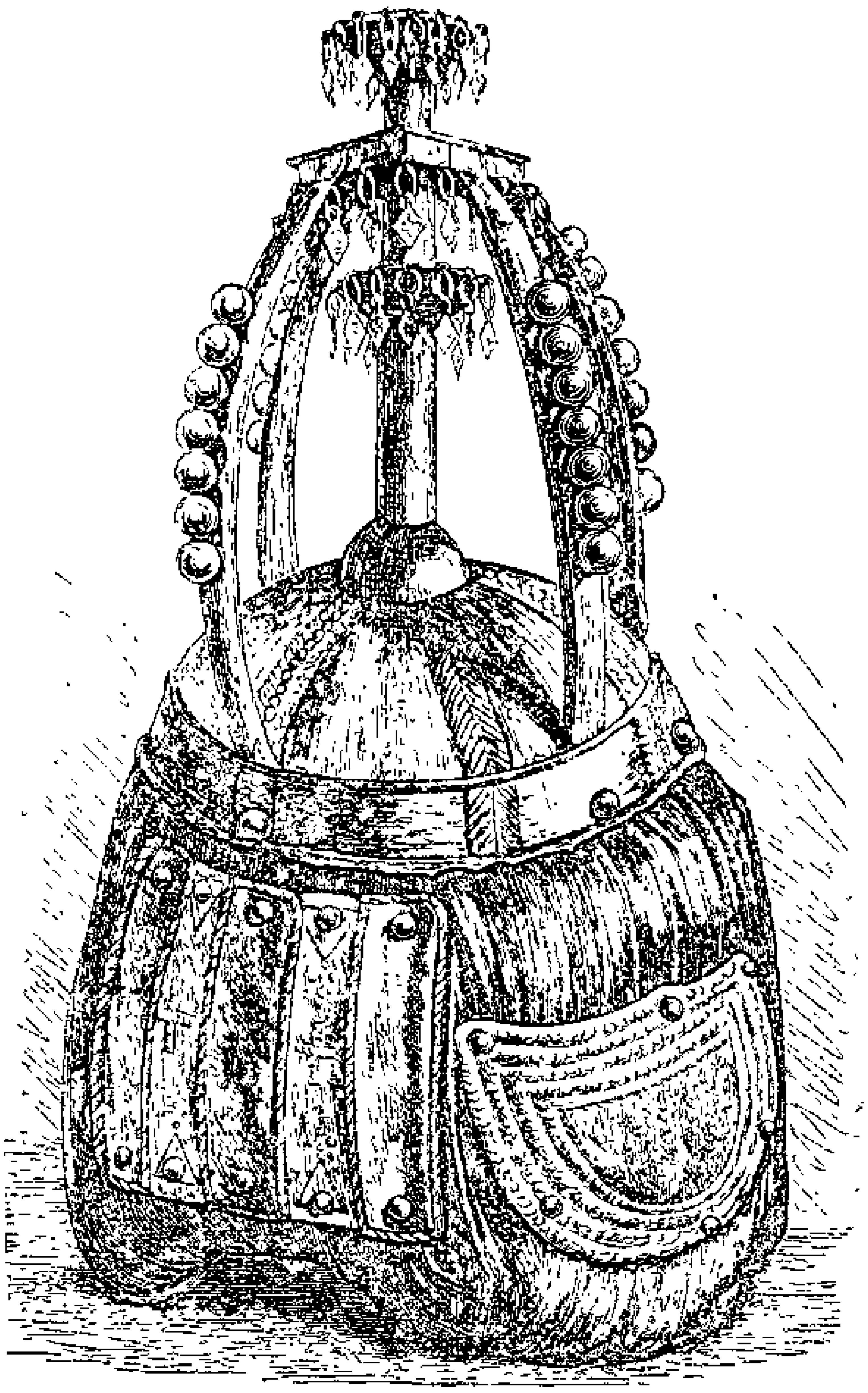
...banks of the Niger, to the south-west of Timbuctoo, and for the ... or so they have been in possession of the Bamana kingdom of ... districts between Massena and the Middle Niger also contain a Fulbe ... individuals go as far as Twat, and Fulbe girls are sold to the harems ... East and west of the Niger the kingdoms of Sokoto and Gunda are ... Fulbes. In Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, and Darfour, we also find them ... in these countries they have not yet acquired any political or religious ... In Adamawa, on the contrary, on both sides of the Benue, they have

A Joloff. (From a mask in the Jardin des Plantes, Paris.)

made their furthest advance southwards, and every year they extend their kingdom, which is half dependent on Sokoto, by merciless and incessant wars against the heathen negro peoples of those parts. But for European colonisation we should in a few decades have seen them reach the Middle Congo as well as the Gulf of Guinea. In this extensive zone of distribution, the Fulbes are most dense towards the west and north, most scattered towards the east and south; in the latter case being peaceful tenders of their herds; in the former, lords of the tribes subdued by their arms. In the former case, too, they dwell in countries where a dense population prevails, and their territory contains several populous towns.

In physical appearance the Fulbes are not uniform; as a conquering race, spread over a wide tract of country, they have absorbed quite distinct national

elements. A striking example is given by Barth in a division of the Wakore tribe, who have settled in Houssaland and exchanged their original language for Fulbe. At the present day in Senegambia, "Joloff" denotes a black man, "Pullo" a red one. But even when Ahmed Baba wrote his history of the Soudan, the Joloffs were looked upon as a part of the great Fulbe race. From the blending of this element with the genuine Fulbe blood arose no doubt that important component of the race the Torode (plur. Torobe) stock, which in the kingdoms founded by Fulbes in the Soudan holds the place of the highest nobility, but is essentially distinguished by its large heavy build and quite dark colour. Other populations absorbed by the Fulbes have sunk below their conquerors. To-day, in the Fulbe provinces of Houssa and Sebbi, we find a guild of brokers known as Janambe; in the sixteenth century these were a separate tribe on the south-east side of the Upper Joliba. This tribe, which has now come so down in the world, contributed most to the overthrow of the powerful Songhay empire. Thus although in the part where the original type has been better preserved, the Fulbes stand quite apart from the negroes, yet in this extraordinarily wide distribution since they started eastwards from Senegal in the fifteenth century, they have by the absorption of foreign elements developed, especially in the more eastern regions, a negroid type. Hence a contrast has been drawn between light and dark, "red" and "black" Fulbes, the former being made to coincide with the western, the latter with the southern and eastern parts of the regions which they inhabit; but this does not apply throughout. In Futa Jallon a light minority rules over a dark majority, yet both are Fulbes. But the dark show the characteristics of a hardly definable hybrid race, while the light are still a well delimited race. The red or brown Fulbes are the slim light-skinned people, noted by Rohlfs as the handsomest of all Central Africans, and by others compared with Berbers and Abyssinians. They are credited with a quick intelligence and a serious disposition. The black Fulbes are the fleshy people whom Rohlfs could hardly distinguish from negroes when he met with them after crossing the frontier of Bornu. Others have distinguished three varieties—aborigines, Fulbes, and hybrids,—even in, for example, Futa Toro, which is alleged to be the district of origin for the Fulbes. And as the mixture with the dark peoples surrounding them is quickly



Helmet of a Bodinga (Sokoto) warrior—one-fifth real size. (Berlin Museum.)

accomplished, the dark Fulbes not only form at present the majority in these parts of West Africa, but are above all the coming race.

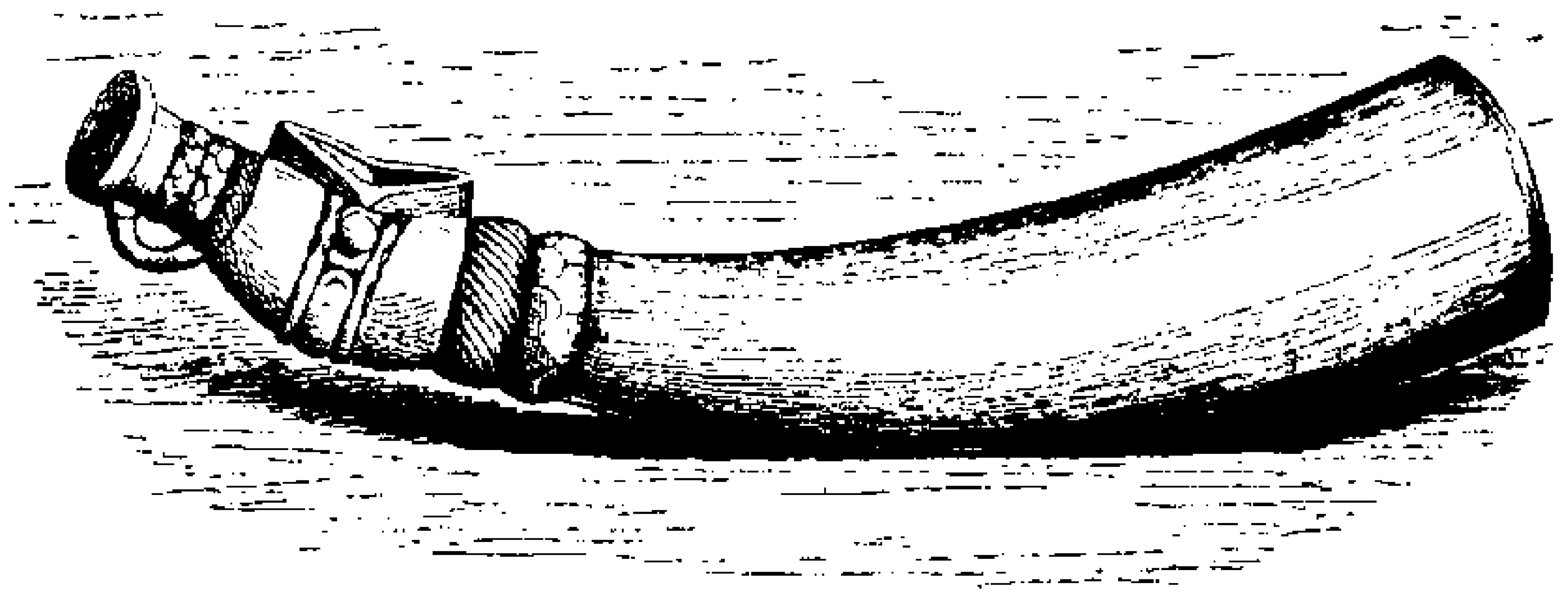
The intellectual qualities of the true Fulbes are also different from those of the negro. What has specially struck all Europeans is their vivacity and acuteness. No African people is equal to them in religious tendency and endowment. As far off as Darfour they provide the "holy men." It is remarkable that in presence of negroes, the Fulbes give themselves the airs of white men, or even regard themselves as superior to whites. "In physical development," says Barth, "the Joloffs may surpass them; but it is just his greater intelligence which gives the 'Pullo' far more expression, and does not allow his features to acquire the regularity found among other stocks."

The Fulbes make their appearance as a pastoral people about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so that they must have inhabited steppe or desert regions not adapted for agriculture. As we look for the home of the Kanuris in Tibesti, we may seek that of the Fulbes in the large mountain-oases of the Tuareg country. Their language in its rudiments is akin to the Hamito-Semitic group. In Melle they professed the Mussulman religion; they were kept down by the Songhay sovereigns, so long as these were powerful. From their earliest seats known to us, viz. on the Lower Senegal, they had by the sixteenth century already migrated far and frequently to the eastward, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century Fulbe tribes are found in Baghirmi. It is remarkable to see how at first this race had to look for its place among subjects instead of among rulers. But in many parts of the wide territory over which it was dispersed, it must have grown up silently; for its first appearance in greater force at the beginning of this century was in irresistible strength. Especially during the long centuries when the Fulbes had no history, Islam must have struck deep root; for at their very first coming into prominence religious fanaticism is a powerful motive for conquest and subjugation. When, by rising against the chiefs of Gober, they gave in 1802 the signal for the great movements which for some decades shook the Western Soudan, they were impelled to insurrection by outrage to one of their Imams, Sheikh Othman; but in the mind of the sheikh himself, their first successful leader, religious zeal was the most potent spring. With his religious hymns he inspired his followers with fresh energy after every defeat, and they had to undergo many. Othman emerged from the struggle with the heathen as the founder of the great empire, and ended his days as a religious lunatic. The blind reverence paid to him was due not to his virtues as hero and ruler, but to his religious enthusiasm. Of his successors, the warlike Mahommed Bello further extended the boundaries of the empire, while that chief's brother Atiko at least kept it at the level on which it had been left by the founder. But it began to drop under Alin, the son of Bello, the connection of the separate provinces growing looser, while the revenue and the military power decreased. Yet the empire holds together to the present day as a federation of larger and smaller principalities.

The position of the Fulbes in history rests upon their conquests and the states they have founded. No one has doubted their warlike character, and their chiefs showed that they knew how to govern. They did not appear on the scene as a race already in possession of culture, but as simple herdsmen, whose rise and spread was accompanied by a certain physical retrogression, owing to mixture with the previously-existing dark races; so that now there are no pure Fulbes.

Nomads at their first appearance, with no cohesion and half-barbaric manners, at the height of their power a minority amid subject tribes who entered into close relations of kinship with them, in their decline almost absorbed by this majority, the Fulbes cannot be judged by the precedent of the Romans, who rose amid their equals to the dominion over their equals; they are much more to be compared with the Spaniards of Central and South America who first subdued the Indians and raised them to a certain level of culture, but then were gradually absorbed and in some measure dragged down by them. Their ultimate aim is not to be seen in the states they founded, but in the way they have become merged in the subject races, to whom they acted as a leaven, gradually raising them to a higher development, physical as well as intellectual. Not without reason does Barth call the Fulbes the most intelligent of African stocks.

As perhaps once did the ancestors of the Fulbes, Arab pastoral tribes roam



War-horn of an elephant's tusk from the West Soudan—one-fifth real size. (Church Missionary Society's Collection.)

to-day about the West Sahara; but the Tuaregs thrust themselves like a wall between them and the lands on the Niger and Benue. There has never been any political power in them, while even at present the Tuaregs only lack men enough to become the one dangerous enemy of the Fulbes. More Arabs stay in Kano than in any other city of the West Soudan, and Moors from the coast towns of North Africa are associated with them; this town may even, as the headquarters of Arabdom, be compared in the West Soudan with the capital of Wadai in the East. Otherwise the small extent to which the Arab element is represented is one of the ethnological marks of the west, and provides different conditions for the activity of the Fulbes. In the influence, or the absence of it, of nomad Arab tribes lies one of the great distinctions between Central and West Soudan.

As we travel inland in West Africa, we do not immediately come upon these light-skinned men, who are in a minority, but upon negro peoples with a great past behind them. Houssas, Mandingoes, Joloffs, are here the representatives of a great if quickly-perished historical development. We seem reminded of the Wahuma countries in the Nile regions. These negro peoples in a predominant position, so far as culture goes, are distinguished by heathen usages and religion from their masters on or beyond the borders of the Mussulman Soudan States. Where these negroes have been most remorselessly repressed and subdued, as in Futa Jallon, the firmest states, of most power to resist Europeans, have sprung up. The great number of internal differences cannot be mistaken; but it would

be idle to seek any uniform notion of them where we see that wave after wave of population has been rolling on for centuries. The only conclusion which seems justified is that the more motley the ethnographic picture, the more recent is the history of these movements; the more homogeneous the character of the population, the longer have its elements been left to themselves. A recognised fact is that in the towns the mixture is most motley, and takes place quickest. Zaria, which was a young Fulbe town in Clapperton's time, made upon Staudinger the impression of a purely Houssa town. The people we are considering are negroes, but they are negroes who, partly through the prevalence of nobler features, partly by the evidence of their history and culture, show the operation of foreign influences. Nor can we imagine these influences to have acted without physical intermixture. The talented Mandingoes are among the ugliest of negroes. A gradual disintegration and development of breeds was here effected, as is proved by the coast-fringe of less-advanced negroes, from the interior; and thus the desert races, just as in the Central Soudan, must have bestowed the impulse. In economic talent and development especially the dark peoples of this region are superior to the lighter invaders, whether Arabs or Fulbes. As Dölter says, the Mandingoes and their kinsmen are the Carthaginians, the Fulbes the Romans of the West Soudan. That some are at a lower stage, and that the level of culture sinks lower especially in the west, is certain. But the sole advantage possessed by Fulbes and Arabs over the Houssas and Mandingoes, with their historic training and high economic level, resides essentially in their power of organising and maintaining states, which quickly subsides in the ocean of negro disintegration and timidity. Both Houssas and Mandingoes are now reckoned cowardly; and if provinces of the Fulbe empire have often had to bow before insurrection of small and weak races, which have even interrupted the communications between the chief towns, Sokoto, Gando, and Zaria, this is essentially referable to the inability of the dark mass to protect itself. The "Houssas," used as police in the European colonies of West Africa, and mostly recruited in Lagos, are in great part not true Houssas, but Houssa-speaking negroes from the hills and the like; the Houssas of the interior are not a warlike stock.

As once a ruling race, still influential from the point of economics and culture, the Houssas adopt the Fulbe invaders into themselves, as their forefathers, nearer still to negroes, once did with earlier streams of population coming from north or east. Their relation to the Tuaregs is an old and firmly established fact, and even Barth called attention to Berber affinities in the noble families in Gober, the country whence the Houssas sprang. As far as Islam extends, the more recent admission of lighter elements shows itself. The heathen peoples, mostly driven into the hills or to the westward, have kept themselves rougher and less mixed; but we know too little of them. It is certain that they are by no means all very dark or negro-like; the Akpolos are even like the Fulbes in colour of skin. Joined to these on the west are the Yorubas and Nupes, closely connected, and equally heathen as regards the majority who form the local transition to the coast tribes, the most negroid of all, and who are perhaps somewhat darker, but cleverer and more industrious than the Houssas. Neither Kano nor Zaria furnishes such fine fabrics as the Yoruba town of Ilorin. On the coast, at the edge, with the old paganism other old points of custom and race have been better preserved than in the interior of the West Soudan.

The Mandingoes are the most widely-spread, and in culture the [illegible] developed of the West Soudan peoples. Their negro exterior, [illegible] tall stature, need not deceive us as to their talent; more than any [illegible] of this region, they have attached themselves to Europeans and [illegible] European colonies. They occupy the district between the Senegal [illegible] Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, and extend inland from the Gold [illegible] slope of the Mandingo highlands. From the heart of this district [illegible] of Mandingo on the Niger-Senegal watershed, a great empire had spread even beyond [illegible] before the [illegible] Fulbes' victo[illegible]. It had bec[illegible] even before the[illegible] thrust them[illegible] a wedge [illegible] and the pro[illegible] solution [illegible] struction was [illegible] as with the [illegible].

Algerine Negro of West Soudanese origin. (After a photograph in the Collection of Pruner Bey.)

Nowhere [illegible] the racial picture so full of contrasts as in the Central and Western Soudan. Beside the almost naked Bissagos and Feloups we have the artistic Mandingoes and the Fulbes in their power and sovereignty; beside the Papels sunk in sloth, the active Houssas. In the East Soudan the adjustment has proceeded much further, and the aspect of the peoples makes another impression. Beyond Sierra Leone the peoples of the interior, who, as it were, only filter through to the places on the Guinea coast, come down to the coast in masses; here the Soudan reaches the sea. Northern and eastern influences therewith unite. The Arabised Berber tribes, the Trarza and their kindred, who reach to the Lower Senegal, and even push beyond it, are 95 per cent negro; but they are proud of their northern descent, regarding themselves as subjects of the Sultan of Morocco, and are fanatical Mussulmans. The Joloffs, who are among the blackest of negroes, but include very many powerful, well-built persons with intelligent faces—the "Laptots" (probably corrupted from *matelot*), who mostly belong to them, are reckoned excellent soldiers and equally zealous Mussulmans—once reached beyond the Senegal; but the Moors have driven them back. Throughout their wide territory between the Senegal, the Falemeh, and the Gambia, the Joloffs are almost without exception Mussulmans.

[illegible] show few successes among them. Their blending with Moors [illegible] even on the left bank of the Senegal, to the formation of small [illegible] and Arabic as well as Mandingo and Fulbe words have passed [illegible] guage. Their neighbours on the south, the tall Serers whom the [illegible] Barbacin, are most akin to them in speech, but have felt in a [illegible] the influence of the Mandingoes and Fulbes, who are said to have [illegible] thither in the fifteenth century from the country at the head of the [illegible] Even to-day they are governed by a Fulbe priest; though paganism [illegible] the mass [illegible] survived [illegible] husk of Islam. Circumcision seems to be an ancient custom among them. The Sarakolehs or Soninkes, lighter in colour, belong to the Mandingo family. Their chief seat is on the Middle Senegal, but they are scattered all over Senegambia. The Kassonkes are nearly akin to them, these have the doubtful privilege of furnishing "Griots" (see below) for the whole country. In Senegambia as elsewhere, the lower tribes are pushed towards the coast, and those of higher development are working from the interior gradually in the same direction. The Papels and Feloups are almost naked tribes, in parts quite poor, the former devoted more to trade, the latter to agriculture and cattle. Next to the Feloups come the Balantes. The Feloups live south of the Casamance River as far as the Santo Domingos or Cacheo, the Papels farther south, and east of them the Balantes. Among these genuine negroes, who are usually contrasted, as indigenous, with Houssas, Mandingoes, Joloffs, are the Biafades on the Rio Gleba, the Nalus on the Nuñez, the Bissagos on the islands of that name on the coast opposite, and lastly the Mandiagos not very numerous, in the islands of Bulama and Galinha, and at the mouth of the Rio Grande; who by closer contact with Europeans have reached a higher stage than the others, and attained a certain degree of usefulness.

Full-face view of the same man

Politically the characteristic of the negroes of this region is disintegration and weakness, while the lighter races gain ground, conquer, and rule. Even their outcasts try to make the easily subdued blacks into material for ambitious plans.

The first aim of a pushing Moor or Fulbe is to bring a herd of subject slaves into the service of himself and his partisans. This has been the beginning of great states, but also of great devastations. Between Koreh and Basulabeh, Bayol traversed a desert more than 50 miles in extent. For two centuries a state of war has prevailed in the Fulbe country. It has been said in the West Soudan that each individual Fulbe immigrant is the germ of future sovereignty over the dark people round him. At first humble, even despised, he lifts his head as soon as he knows himself to be sure of a few comrades; and everywhere it is as certain that they will increase as that they will stick together. Only small fragments who have withdrawn to inaccessible fastnesses remain safe from dissolution; and only in remnants can more powerful political organisations be traced in the smaller negro states of the west. Among the Joloffs, the government, headed in Cayor by a *Damel*, in Walo by a *Brak*, is weak. The power is with the chiefs, who sometimes rule several villages, oftener only one, and the "king" exercises his paramount power only in exceptional cases.

With the Fulbe invasion conditions have come about here which the European hardly penetrates, a state of serfage bordering close on slavery. The serfs live in special villages, cultivate their own ground as well as their masters', can marry freely, but are tied to the soil. In Futa Jallon this system is found side by side with genuine slavery. Before the wider intermixture and transference of language, not only agriculture but industry and trade were entirely allotted to this plebeian chaos. Both economically and politically towns in the Fulbe kingdom hold a prominent position found nowhere else in negro countries. They are the centres of power; at the head of them stand princes of the governing family or elected mayors of princely deportment, and from them political and economical influence slowly makes its way into the surrounding districts.

The course of development is well seen in the small kingdom of Bautshi, the capital of which, Garo-n-Bautshi, is better known under its Arab name Yakoba. Yakoba, the founder, sprang of a princely family in the mountains of Yolia, where it held one of the smallest of negro kingdoms. He came at an early age to Sokoto, and was converted to Islam. Having given proofs of great zeal for the faith, he was enfeoffed by the sultan with the territory south of Kano as far as the Benue, where the newly-founded capital, with the advantage of freedom from tolls, became a favourite market for the people of Ghadames. Yakoba subdued the small surrounding monarchies, and made treaties even with the heathen Fulbes and other infidels, by which in return for subjection he guaranteed them against enslavement; so that, as Rohlfs says, "we have here in the heart of Africa an example of a *habeas corpus* act in due form." Not only does the whole story of this development show the capacity for forming states that resides in the natives of the country; but it is interesting to see how quickly the indigenous element took a back seat, and allowed Yakoba quietly to become a Fulbe state, ranging itself beside Adamawa, Zegzeg and the rest, among the states tributary to Sokoto. As everywhere in the Fulbe kingdoms, the contrast was inevitable between the red rulers and the black subjects. The dynasty was no doubt indigenous, but owing to its submission to Sokoto, to the engagements it had entered into with the Fulbes, and to the system of government borrowed from them, it was regarded quite as a Fulbe government. Fulbes too began to inundate the new kingdom almost before Yakoba had established himself, and

with the favour of Sokoto obtained the best posts, while at the same time the Houssas, economically superior, made their language prevail even in Yakoba's court.

Up till now the Fulbes have been the lords of the Western Soudan, and the cohesion of these states, often said to be dead, is always awaking afresh the wonder of Europeans. Sokoto, the leading and dominant state, is surpassed in size and means by Adamawa, Zegzeg, and Yakoba, and in it, as in these with the single exception of Adamawa, the Fulbes are in a minority. From an external point of view the motive force in the history of the Fulbes is Islam, of which they are fanatical professors, keeping it clear from the idolatrous additions made to it by the Houssas. Even in our time they have borne it in sanguinary campaigns into the heathen countries, until Mohammed el Tunisi could conceive the whole Fulbe upheaval of the present century as an act of religious reform, and in the same way Rohlfs, Flegel, and Staudinger have sought in the religious connection between these states an explanation of their last holding-ground. It is certain that in what are comparatively the purest Fulbe countries, like Futa Jallon and Futa Zoro, the prevailing government is theocratic. With all their warlike actions and all the cruelty with which war is waged, conviction has from the first had more share in these foundations; and with the religious tendencies of the Fulbes the transient power of the sword has not been the only state-forming force. The Fulbe states, like others, in time of peace lose the military spirit, and yet keep standing. One has also to reckon with the economical development of these countries. The labouring men of Kano or Bida know the blessings of peace better than the people of Central Africa. Moreover, the Fulbes are not warlike in the same sense as the Zulus or Waganda, as indeed is indicated by the original simplicity, not to say poverty, of their weapons. Even to this day, bows and arrows, which no doubt they use admirably, are in many cases their only arms. Those who founded states naturally soon felt the need of a stronger armament, and thus in Sokoto as in Bornu we find troops of mail-clad horsemen with sword, spear, and shield, forming the principal force. The short dagger-like sword of the West Africans appears, outside the ranks of the warriors, in many forms, beautifully ornamented. Freemen hold aloof from military service to a mischievous extent, while the standing armies of cavalry and archers are composed, even to the commanders, of slaves. This no doubt alleviates their lot, but caused war to be slackly carried on. In the event of war, all those capable of bearing arms are called up.

In many respects the Fulbe governments differ from those of other Mussulmans in the Soudan, the different basis herein plainly appearing. The position of the sovereign is freer, more responsible, and for that very reason more influential. Among the Fulbes the very humblest is at liberty to bring his affairs before the sultan, or as he is called in Houssa, the Seriki. Even by the latest testimony the sovereign of Sokoto is still a simple man, giving away all his property. In contrast to this simplicity of intercourse is the pomp displayed in posts and titles, in which Yakoba and Adamawa go quite as far as ceremonious Bornu. First comes the heir to the throne, then the *Galadima*, who, however, is found at all these courts; as a rule communication with the subject sultans devolves on him. Next comes the high treasurer, and after him the commander-in-chief, the sultan's private adviser, the steward of the palace, and the chief of

the eunuchs. There are also a *Malam*, who reads out and writes the letters, and a judge. At the court of Yakoba, Rohlfs puts the head of the ironworkers' guild in the fourth place. This prominent position is based on the social system of the Fulbes, in which chiefs of the market, of the tailors, of the butchers, are also known. A special position is held also by the heads and representatives of certain national groups in the remoter provinces. Thus in the court of Yakoba there is a dignitary called *Sennoa* who is over all the non-Fulbes in the country, and to whom all later immigrants have to come on their business. Eunuchs are far less common in these courts than in the Soudan countries farther east.

Otherwise the government of the country consists practically in the collection of tribute, and in the administration of justice, in which the final appeal is to the supreme judge and the sultan. In these matters appears the difference between the hierarchy of a free Fulbe state, with its gradations of village headmen, Imam, and sovereign (who is also marabout), and the pure despotism of a country founded, like Sokoto, on conquest; in the latter, besides, purchase of offices is everywhere usual, which naturally leads to every kind of plundering of the people by their governors. The tribute of Yakoba to Sokoto consists of yearly consignments of slaves, antimony, salt, and shells. Besides these, the overlord levies arbitrary imposts often of a curious kind. If he is in debt to any one, or wishes to make a present, he sends a demand to his tributaries to pay the sum required. Among the revenues of the state are the frontier duties, which are levied in kind or in shells. The chief imports are cattle and salt, for the Western Fulbes in their new abodes in the south have become very remiss in cattle-breeding, and the salt obtained from the ashes of the *runo*-tree is far inferior to that of the desert and North Bornu.

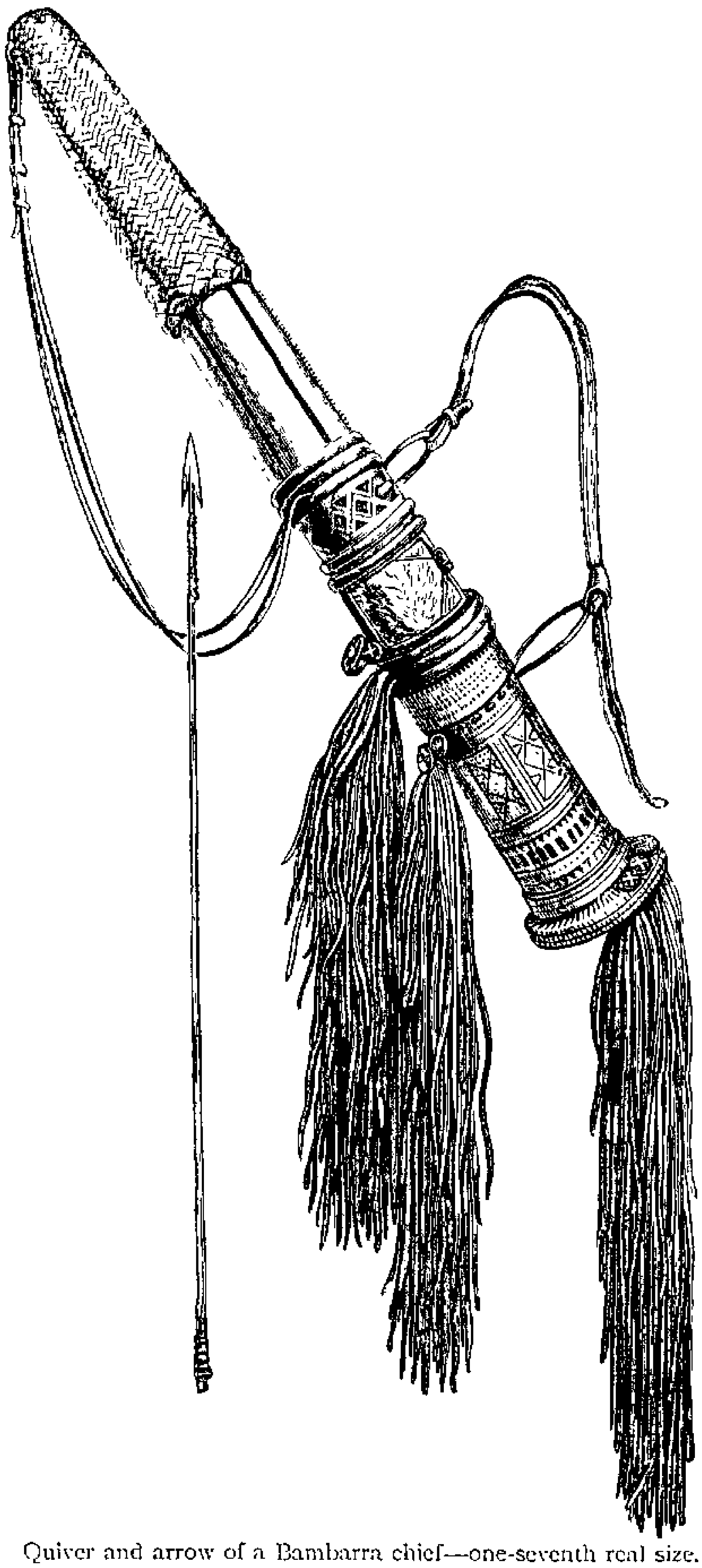
Among all these peoples, society is divided into princes, chiefs, commons, and slaves. The royal slaves play an important part, being soldiers and officials, and able to claim the highest posts in the state. Mild as the slavery is, the abominable slave-catching and the trade are all the more cruel. In the north, indeed, there is little more room for it; and many of the heathen tribes are exempted by treaty; but much man-hunting is carried on from Nupe, from Bautshi, from Muri, and especially from Adamawa. The position of women, owing especially to their busy activity, is not very low here. Morality is higher among the light Fulbes than among their darker subjects; but in this respect the Mussulman Joloffs, Mandingoes, and Gerrs are not always superior to the heathen. Traces of mother-right may be noted, especially in the succession in ruling houses.

Islam increases from north to south; but as a rule only the townspeople and the Mandingo and Fulbe immigrants from the north are pronounced Mussulmans. Among these a knowledge of Arabic is frequent. The negroes, the Houssas especially, are more lukewarm than their rulers. Raffenel classes the peoples of Senegambia as (*a*) religious: Moors, Fulbes of Futa, Bondu, and Futajallon, Sarakolehs; (*b*) indifferent: Mandingoes of Bambuk, Woolli, and Tenda, Fulbes of Kasson; (*c*) irreligious: Bambarras, and some Mandingo tribes east of Falemeh. In the country between the Benue and the Niger, Rohlfs estimates the Mussulmans at a third of the population; only in the Malinke kingdom beyond the Niger-Gambia watershed are the Mandingoes all Mussulman. Islam is the prime motive and means of invasions and wars with the heathen; conversion and subjection are one. To those subdued it soon appears as the means of gaining

power. The most ascetic and intolerant negroes are always the most domineering. But it cannot be doubted that Islam is a moralising influence, and has destroyed many a weed in the field of these races. This is above all true of the extirpation of the often senseless fetish religion with its human sacrifices and other excesses. It is significant that the fetishman of the Gold Coast becomes in Senegambia a *griot*, that is, a buffoon, an itinerant singer, a juggler, or a quack doctor. The influence of the Mussulmans' saints no doubt is heightened by this. Hence, too, it is difficult in the manners and customs of these people to separate the Mahommedan element in legends and proverbs; much easier to bring out the negro traits. Such are the Joloffs' habit of sacrificing an ox on a grave; the permission given among the same people to every one of uttering the whole truth about the deceased in presence of the body; the deeply-rooted belief in magic, which persists in spite of the degraded position of the *griots*. Islam changes the life of the negro in externals, sometimes not very suitably, as in dress. The most revolting dirt is found among the negroes of the Senegambia, who load themselves with heavy caftans, and in them often carry all their property about their persons. The political influence of the mollahs is great at the courts, where they are indispensable as expounders of the Koran and scribes. In the schools, where the children go with their wooden tablets, they display a useful, if limited, activity. Wandering marabouts carry a vigorous propaganda far into the pagan countries, which they easily succeed in doing, seeing that under the pretext of trade, they nearly always appear as the bearers of material progress.

Here and there one finds a great simplicity of dress and living. Very common, as in the Central Soudan, is the tobe (which the Houssas call *riga*) reaching to just above the knee, and with it loose trousers; but in the near neighbourhood of Bautshi the simple covering of leaves appears, the same as on the Welle. Natives of the Upper Benue, in the parts about Jin and Dulti, who are under the administration of a Fulbe governor at Muri, are depicted by Flegel as almost untouched savages. Round their loins they wear a bit of skin or cloth, they are armed with spears, wear a dagger in a sheath strapped to the forearm, and carry whips with two or three lashes of manatee-hide, and a handle covered with crocodile-skin. Women and children often go quite naked. Round the loins or on the upper arm they wear a bit of red and yellow straw-plait, a finger's breadth wide. Their ornaments are hairpins and arm rings of iron or ivory. Leather thongs with panther's claws, antelope horns as amulets, little bags of musk, leather pouches with texts from the Koran, which they wear round their necks in perfect harmony with the magic horns. But this lack of resources is confined to isolated spots in regions where traffic abounds. The products of the industries of Kano extend right down to the coast. The more trade the more cotton goods, and therefore the more abundant clothing. For hard work, however, it is laid aside or tucked up, till only the three-cornered cloth for decency remains. This dress has already made its way far to the south. Even the envoys of the chief of Bassama on the Benue are described by Flegel as half Mahommedan. He was struck by the short sword with rounded point, ornamented with leather-work tassels and worn on a leather belt round the waist; nor were the iron tweezers in a leather case, called *chadde*, and used for pulling out thorns, ever lacking. The clothing material, chiefly unbleached, dark blue, or in a cross pattern of blue and white, are almost entirely of native production, and the dislike

of the Houssas to the gaudy cottons of European origin gives evidence of their good taste. As a head-dress the turban of white muslin is very common; and on a journey some strips of the same are wound round the face in imitation of the Tuaregs. In the north, especially about Kano, and also in Nupe, black and yellow straw hats of a peculiar bulging shape are worn.


Quiver and arrow of a Bambarra chief—one-seventh real size. (British Museum.)

Slaves with short woolly hair cut and shave it into every possible pattern; the curly-haired Fulbes often shave the whole head in Arab fashion, leaving only the "Prophet's lock." The northern Fulbes like to plait numerous little tufts, to which shells or small plates of metal are hung. Among them, too, traces appear of teeth-filing, which they perhaps get from the Mandingoes; while among some heathen tribes little plates of bone or beads are worn in the upper and lower lip. Scar-tattooing on the temples is found in the most various tribes. Glass beads are not highly valued, but imitation amber beads are the fashion among the northern Fulbes. Clamp-shaped anklets and armlets, reminding us of the prehistoric European forms, are especially liked by the Mandingoes.

The dwellings of the wandering Fulbes, and to some extent of the Mandingoes and Bambarras, bear the nomad stamp; on the other hand, the better negro villages offer an agreeable picture of comfort, and even of a certain degree of industry. In the regions of Mandingo conquest large huts and walls are permitted only to the lords; the others have to live in open villages. The usual shape of the huts, both mud and reed, is in the Houssa countries circular, with conical roof; those of reed are carefully woven and more durable than those of mud. The entrance is just high enough for a stooping man. On the Lower Niger rectangular buildings have made their way in from the Soudan. Great care is taken to make a close and smooth floor. In the Houssa countries there are some master-builders

who build palaces and mosques of stone, towers and all; but the great buildings which the Fulbes set up at Zaria and elsewhere in the height of their power have fallen to ruin. The assemblage of people in large towns is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Houssa and Fulbe countries. Towns like Kano, and on a smaller scale Kong and Salaga, give quite the impression of having come into existence through trade only; all the narrow winding streets radiate from the market-places. They are an element in the power and the efforts of the ruling races, from whom the stimulus to build towns has spread far into the negro districts. Moorish influence, exercised at second hand by Mandingoes and Houssas, has caused city life to flourish in North-West Africa without any impulse from Europeans. These accumulations of one-storied houses within extensive walls are among the greatest marvels that Africa can show. The red and grey mud walls of houses and courtyards, crowned with steep straw-roofs, stretch out in endless extent. Great sycamores, interspersed with graceful date-palms, afford shade in the innumerable open spaces and in the wide courts. A brook flows through the town, the broad streets are kept clean, the whole precinct is fenced in by a massive mud-wall, and eleven gates permit entrance. This is Puttkamer's description of Bida before its recent destruction, a town of over 50,000 souls in Nupeland.

The favourite weapon is the straight sword, from 2 to over 3 feet in length, tapering towards the rounded point. The Ilorin and Kelowi swords are shorter. Daggers are unknown among the Houssas. The heathen tribes carry knives with oval handles, having a hole through which the fingers are thrust. Javelins are rare, but the lance 8 to 10 feet long, with a simple head, is frequent. The battle-axe is reckoned as a Fulbe weapon. Throwing-knives appear to have spread only from Baghirmi to Adamawa. But as their chief weapon, the Fulbe herdsmen, the country folk, small travellers, and the heathen tribes, still use bow and arrow; and among the last-named the arrows are often poisoned. The bows show clearly the influence of the Arab bow of two sections, both in their shape and in the attachment of the string (see woodcut vol. ii. p. 253, No. 3); bows of nearly 7 feet long are said to be used by the archers of royal bodyguards. Spears and swords, on the other hand, show a resemblance to Tuareg weapons. The Kelowis do a trade in their iron spears. Firearms are advancing rapidly from the coast and from the Niger; the Nupe people are said to possess a particularly large number. Shields of ox-hide, or of wicker, target-shaped, and the heavy quilted armour for horse and man, are here also the defensive weapons.

The Moorish style prevails absolutely, and the echoes of Moroccan work cannot be mistaken in leather, brass, and iron goods. We find the heavy black jugs with handles for prayer-ablutions, the gay, shiny glazes, in which mica is perhaps applied, leather tanning and dyeing, and the ornamentation of it by stamping, and *appliqué* work, cutting away the coloured side. Kano provides sandals for half the Sahara and the Soudan. The native artistic talent of negroes, more remote from these influences, is especially conspicuous in the Nupe and Yoruba wood-carvings, which are just what the Houssas less understand. Even in leather work the Nupe people are said to succeed better than the Houssas. Among the Afos and Bassais on the Middle Niger, Rohlfs found the most beautiful mats and vessels for eating and drinking. Water-jugs, pots for food, mats, and such articles among the Fulbes testify to the maker's cleverness and sense for colour. In

South Bornu, Rohlfs saw mats as long as a man, elegantly woven, and with a tasteful arrangement of colours, at a price of 4000 to 5000 cowries, or one Maria Theresa dollar. Where the people have laid aside their nomadic poverty and coarseness, the progress they have made under Houssa and Mandingo influence at least testifies to their capacity for learning. Some part of the merit of the progress made by the West Soudan in an economic point of view has, however, passed from Houssas and Mandingoes to the Fulbes. Under their protection this industrial life, displayed to such a point nowhere else in Central Africa, especially flourishes. The coarse cotton-goods of the Futa countries are widely known, and the dyed stuffs of the Kano Fulbes are famous throughout Central Africa. The tanneries of Katsina too are in Fulbe hands. The smiths of Futa Jallon produce excellent work, even flint-locks. In Bornu some of the best weavers, dyers, and tanners are Fulbes. Coming from Bornu, Rohlfs found in the first Fulbe village not indeed the Kanuri hospitality, but he was all the more pleased by the trading spirit which made them bring and offer to the stranger at cheap prices goods of every kind from all quarters. The puzzling position of certain industrial castes show the importance of labour among these people. Workers in wood, weavers, shoemakers, tailors, singers appear, among some of the northern Fulbes, sharply divided into caste-like unions. Among these the *labe* or *laobe*, who roam about in gipsy fashion, all speak Fulbe, and are always workers in wood, are despised, bearing, according to the legend, the curse of disloyal brothers. Smiths are in high esteem with the Fulbes. Iron and gold are produced in the country, copper as well as tin, for making bronze, seem to be imported. Antimony is used as a cosmetic for the eyes. The iron industry of the Soninkes, the like of which is not found among Mandingoes, Houssas, or even the northern Fulbes, is far above the negro level, with its furnaces 10 feet high, set in work simultaneously by a number of smiths at stated times, and its various kinds of tongs, files, and even shears for iron-plate, not in the least recalling European patterns.

Agriculture is at a less high stage. The plough does not extend beyond Agades. The Houssas carefully break up the clods in the fields and heap the ridges with the same weak hoes and spades found in the rest of Africa. Arrangements for artificial irrigation are rare, and the soil only produces a small part of what it might yield. The cultivation of maize is general, and in the north also that of rice and the ground-nut, an important article of export in the northern Fulbe countries, where men devote themselves more to agriculture than in the south.

Cattle-breeding is the affair of the roaming pastoral tribes, and the steppe-like character of the country in the north suits them. Passionate riders, the northern Fulbes especially delight in breeding small but compact and enduring horses. Besides these there are so-called war-horses. Houssa chiefs give audiences in their stables, which indeed often coincide with their dwelling-rooms. There are Nyam-Nyams also in the Benue district, and Bary found that their evil fame had even reached the Tuaregs of Air. Flegel also found the Hubes of the Muri hills decried on the Benue as cannibals. But at the same time he met here with a dense population pointing to a higher culture than could have taken its rise from the Fulbes, their subjugators. On the first approach, and under conditions favourable to the maintenance of old customs, one constantly finds the Fulbes as herdsmen, leaving all industry to slaves or subjects, and by choice attending only to the craft of

war. On the Upper Niger, on the Gambia, in Adamawa, in Darfour they are principally herdsmen. In Bornu, Baghirmi, and Darfour they share the pasture-lands with the Arabs. We must thus regard all Fulbes as primarily a race of cattle-breeding nomads after the fashion of Wahuma or Gallas, who perhaps first learnt to cultivate corn in their present abodes. In many cases they have indeed surpassed their teachers in this as in other matters; and even grow wheat. Beside this, even in the most southern part of their territory, they still do some cattle-breeding, and in Adamawa the cattle have Fulbe names. They make good butter, but have never got as far as the manufacture of cheese. Where they have remained pure nomads they dwell in round huts of brushwood, otherwise they have taken to the more solid negro style of building, and their huts, like those of the Houssas, consist of clay walls and a beehive roof.

The great development of the system of shell money, which only now is supplanting the less practical strips of cotton, shows that in the west we are in a country where trade and life are brisker. Money, especially cowries, is common and is valued. Purchase is possible, not merely barter. Massari characteristically exclaims: "In what country of the earth would you find all the food that you need to be had along the road for a few shells?" The cowrie-counter, a curiosity of the West Soudan trading-centres, counts daily from 250,000 to 300,000 of this small change. The shells are put up in bags of 50,000, and large payments are negotiated with these bags. Yet the small quantity of this money is a constant hindrance to business, all the more so that, by superior orders, in Kano for instance, by order of the sultan himself, cash payments are strictly compulsory. Slaves and ivory come next as the great media of payment.

The export alone of cotton goods, plain and coloured, from Kano to Timbuctoo, was estimated by Barth at a value of 350,000,000 cowries, according to Kano prices. Cotton and indigo being grown in the country, the whole population participates in the profits. Leather goods, especially sandals, are made by Arab shoemakers at Kano, and exported even to North Africa, and an active trade goes on as far as Tripoli both in earthenware vessels of Moorish pattern and in tanned hides. In the Fulbe countries the markets are enlivened by articles as important in Soudan trade as slaves, ivory, and kola-nuts. Soda and salt are imported from Bornu *via* Kano. The traders in the former articles are capitalists undertaking expeditions lasting several years. The *pataki*, or small middle-men, are less respected. Europeans notice especially that the flourishing industries are not, as with us, carried on in huge factories, but that each family contributes without sacrificing its private life.

How came Kano of all places to grow to such importance in industry and trade? It is not old, and its present economic glories do not go far back. While the Songhay kingdom so long preceded even that of Katsina, its inhabitants have now to provide themselves with what they need from Kano, instead of from Katsina, Kano having itself only taken the place of Katsina within a measurable period. In the time of Leo Africanus the people of Kano and Katsina were half-naked barbarians, and the markets of Garo were full of gold and alive with trade; now Kano is a huge town whose manufactures supply a great part of Africa. As Kano to Katsina, so is Bida near the Niger to Rabbah on that river. Both are in the Nupe country. When the slave-trade flourished on the Guinea coast, Rabbah was a centre of the trade; but when Rohlfs was there

in 1867 its once handsome environs lay waste. Now Bida is, or was till lately, the rival of Kano. Massari says that its people are even cleverer and harder-working than those of Kano, and its cotton-stuffs, tobes and trousers of which are sold as far away as Bushire, are excellent. The rivalry between this trade and that of Europe will be interesting to follow. For a time the latter may not be able to place even European goods on the market of Kano so cheaply as the Moors who bring them across the desert. The advantage of African industry lies not only in cheapness of living and a low standard of requirement, but also in the durability of its productions.

C. THE CULTURED RACES OF ASIA

§ 12. THE MONGOLS, TIBETANS, AND TURKIC RACES IN GENERAL

The Mongol breed—Mongols—Tibetans—Turks—Isolated stocks—Characteristics of the three groups—Question of their origin—Inadequate position of their history as written by natives—Present geographical distribution—Territories of Turks, Mongols, Tibetans—Points of intersection—More recent displacements—Tribal legends—Indications of the original home given by language—Graves of vanished peoples in Siberia—Bronze Age in the Irtish district—Mining of the Chudes.

THE Mongolian breed, whose characteristics we have already found among Polynesians, Malays, Malagasies, American Indians, Hyperboreans, prevails over the largest part of Central Asia. Its characteristics are purer in the east and north than in the west and south; the most Mongolic are the Mongols, while Turcomans and Tibetans are less so. In general, too, the nomads in Central Asia are purer than the extraordinarily checkered dwellers in towns. The Mongols proper have, since Blumenbach's time, been regarded as the most genuine type. The marks which led him to take these as the type of his yellow breed of men are the medium height of about 5 feet 4½ inches, the light buff colour of the skin, passing into deep reddish brown in uncovered parts, the dark brown eyes, the coarse, straight, coal-black hair, almost circular in section (masses of fair hair are known among the Buriats, and are yet more frequent among the Meshtsheriaks of Orenburg and Ufa, and brown-haired Calmuck children are often found), the small amount of hair on the rest of the body, especially the face, the short, often bowed legs, the large and, in two-thirds of the cases, short head, the broad face with flat projecting cheek-bones, broad and depressed nasal bone, eyes set obliquely with narrow opening, projecting upper jaw, strong teeth. Owing to their physical strength, little inferior to that of Europeans, their slight sensitiveness to climatic influences and bodily pain, their acute senses, the men of this breed rank among the most capable whom the earth produces. From their movement in the open air, and their simple but strengthening diet of milk or koumiss, these wandering herdsmen acquire broad chests and well-developed muscles. We at once meet with greater variations in the south. In North Tibet, Tibetans and true Mongolians are hardly to be distinguished. The Tibetans who live as nomads south of the Tang-la chain, and pass for more "genuine" than those to the north, nearer the Tangutes, are more slightly built and darker in colour. Their noses are often straight and fine, their cheek-bones less prominent. Their eyes are large and black. The Tangutes of North Tibet are more like Mongols, their faces angular and unbeautiful, their long lank black untidy hair hangs down to their

shoulders, a scanty beard sprouts on lips and cheeks, and the skin [illegible] dark, dirty brown. The physiognomy of the Dalds varies in the Chine[illegible] In descriptions of the Himalayan races, again, we everywhere find em[illegible] upon the ugly angular faces, and frequently the dark colour—Mongo[illegible] in short. The Ladakis and Baltis, who are noted as purely Mongolic, [illegible] compared with the people of Cashmere in many points, but not in beauty. [illegible] boundary between Hindoo and Mongol is sought in a line dividing Kulu from Lahul and Spiti; on one side we find the Hindoo resemblance, on the other the Mongol type. The Goorkhas, a yellow race of soldiers, are famous for their powerful frames and a certain rough massiveness in the form and expression of the

Young Mongol. (From a photograph.)

head. The Limbus of Southern Nepaul and Sikkim, said to be more like the Tibetans, are distinguished from their near neighbours of the plains by darker colour. It is noted, on the contrary, of their kinsmen the Lepchas, that they are a small race, powerful and sinewy, and without the repulsive Tibetan lineaments. Like the Tibetans, not in language only but in breed, are the inhabitants of the highlands of Sikkim, Nepaul, and Bhootan, and then the mountaineers of Lhoba-Daphla, living at a corresponding altitude in valleys up to 10,000 feet, with whom we pass east of the great boundary of religions and cultures in 92° E. Colonies of Tibetans are settled in Cashmere proper, and traces of a pre-Aryan population with Tibetan affinities may be followed up to the spurs of the Western Himalaya, and even to the forest-clad hills at the south-west border of Bengal. Under the term "Tibetan breed" we understand only a branch of the great Mongolic breed. In their faces, which recall the gipsies, Prjevalsky sees a blend of Mongol and Indian features; and when we read of the Kara-Tangutes of the north-western oasis of Guidui that they differ from the Tibetans in having a broader face,

[illegible] ears, and slanting eyes, we may definitely assume that Indian features [illegible] conspicuous in South Tibet, Mongol in North. Some points of physical [illegible] may be referred to external circumstances. The inhabitants of Ladak and Baltistan, countries over-peopled in proportion to their resources, are a small breed; the Baltis being even noted as weakly. If at heights of 14,000 feet, at which the highest villages of Ladak lie, the poverty of nature checks any vigorous

A Turkish officer. (From a photograph.)

aspiration, below 10,000 feet malaria injures prosperity. Even in Sikkim all human habitation is banished from the valleys of the Himalaya owing to the miasma. The few huts lie mostly on the mountain slopes above 7,000 feet. You may travel for weeks without meeting a human being. Only on far-seen heights of the mountain crest have Buddhist monasteries established themselves, from the chambers of which a noble view is gained of the snowy chain.

The physique of the Turkic races cannot be explained without thinking of the alteration of a once purer type by mixture. But that purer type obviously belonged to the Mongol stock in the narrower sense, while the mixture would us

almost as universally to West Asiatic and European influences. The Finnish admixtures not unfrequent among the Tartars of West Siberia, Bashkirs, and other peoples of North-West Asia, remain in a measure within the circle of the Mongol race-characteristics, and accordingly do not effect a great alteration. Even in the district of Aksu and Kuchar, where Potanin thought he found the purest Turkic type, "purer than in Kashgar or Yarkand," we must not expect such pronounced marks as among the Mongols. The Kirghises, who, so far as attachment to their abode and mode of life goes, are the most stationary and ancient of Turks, are described as short, compact, strong-boned, with large short heads, small oblique eyes, low forehead, flat nose, and scanty beard. Similarly the southern Altai people: "Of middle height, lean, flat face, small, foreign, projecting cheek-bones, hair and eyebrows black and straight, deep-set eyes, considerable space between the eyes, no beard." Large parts of the Turk races west and north from the Cossacks have departed widely from the Mongol type. In the Oural-Altaic group the Turkic type undoubtedly stands nearest to the Mongolic, the Finnic farthest from it; but the direction in which the Turkic peoples depart from the Mongol is marked essentially by taller growth, longer countenance — the "horse-faces" of the Chinese chroniclers apply here—stronger beard, less depressed nose, less wide and thick-lipped mouth. Then arises the Usbek type, with oval face, long eyes, thick nose, round chin, and lighter colour. The Western Turks, Crim Tartars, and Tartars of Baku have in general none of the Mongoloid characteristics; they speak Turkish, but by race are rather Aryans. The Osmanlis are a mixed race in the fullest sense of the word, and if Vambéry holds the Turcomans, who for centuries at least have been kidnapping in Persia, for the purest representatives of the Turkic stock, this refers more to manners than to blood. Of the Kara-Kirghises a third are distinguished by scanty growth of beard, and brown hair is frequent in the Tartars of European Russia, while grey and brown eyes are often so predominant that not a single black eye could be observed among thirty Tartars of Kasimoff. The colour of the Turk's skin can no doubt pass into deep bronze; but the white faces of Turkish women are proverbial. If the eyes are not decidedly oblique, the pupils appear larger, the colour passes into a pleasing brown, the eyebrows, naturally almost absent, often grow quite bushy, the beard becomes fuller, and the strong white teeth are less prognathous. Thus we get the handsome Turk of the Black Sea in Asia Minor and in Persia, and even among the Tartars of Tomsk. This is the Turk who gave Heyfelder the impression of a "valiant Jew"; while in the much-mixed Bashkir variety, tending more towards the Mongol, there is a surprising likeness to the Szeklers of Transylvania. The women are longer about taking this step; in their faces one is troubled, even after long crossing, by the strong cheek-bones, and in their figures by the inelegant, sturdy, thick-set shape. Not that they see any defect in this, for where Turks live in the neighbourhood of Mongols, a curious tendency towards the primitive type seems to declare itself in their preference for Mongol wives.

Farthest removed from the Mongol is the Usbek, who has adopted Iranian elements of culture and Iranian blood, so that he reminds us strongly of the Tajik. The Kara-Kalpak is still taller, bearded, and wide-eyed; doubtless the result of favourable conditions of life and crossing. Among the Yomut and Tekke Turcomans one sees quite European faces; more frequently to the south, on the border of Iran. Those who migrated to the Tarim from Lob-Nor are

constantly being joined by fugitives and exiles from East Turkestan; and thus have sprung up the present Tarim people, who are distinguished by the most extreme variety of physiognomies. One finds among them the types of the Sarts, the Kirghises, even the Tangutes; now and then a completely European countenance, rarely a Mongolian. Prjevalsky ascribed the fair persons whom he found here to the residence of Russians of the Old Faith. Stocks and small races of monotonous and poorly-furnished regions appear as abnormal forms. The Kara-Kartshins of Lob-Nor and the Tarim people of medium or small stature, weak constitution with hollow chest, small head, prominent cheek-bones and sharp chin, scanty beard, everted lips, splendid white teeth, but skin of a dark sickly colour, are a stock that has come down in the world and is on the road to extinction.

The character of the herdsmen of Central Asia, when unadulterated, is ponderous eloquence, frankness, rough good-nature, pride, but also indolence, irritability, and a tendency to vindictiveness. In their faces is often a good share of frankness coupled with amusing naïveté. Not until intercourse became frequent with Chinese on the one hand, Indians and Persians on the other, did cunning, falsehood, and vanity wax great. Where agriculture has replaced nomadism, industry and cleanliness have increased, while honesty has diminished. Their courage is rather a sudden blaze of pugnacity than cool boldness. Religious fanaticism is naturally not great. Hospitality, a sacred duty among the uncorrupted Kirghises, is universal. Their quiet retiring style of intercourse forms in Turkestan a great contrast to the loud manner of their Aryan neighbours, whose conversation sounds like quarrelling. The Russians, too, have on the whole unfavourably affected the character of the Kirghises, who in the Orenburg district are now the superiors of their teachers in wideawakeness and industry. Everybody has always found the Mongols proper more sympathetic and simpler than the Chinese. Under Russian and Chinese rule they have laid aside their warlike, rough predatory nature in a higher measure than the Turkomans, who, over a great part of their territory, have not had such powerful neighbours. The old empire has in recent times been most seriously threatened by risings, not of Mongols, but of Panthays and Dungans.

The Tibetan character cannot be uniform. We are reminded of Nachtigal's classical picture of the starveling robbers of Tibesti when Prjevalsky sets the Tangutes before us as people of a gloomy and morose character, who though cowardly are yet dreaded by all their neighbours, who neither laugh nor smile, whose children did not play and were not pert. "No trace of conscience exists; they are the most shameful liars and deceivers." He believed the Mongols, who assured him that no one in Tibet was any better: "Their souls are as black as soot." We will not attach too much weight to the verdict of the traveller who only made acquaintance with part of the country, nor to that of the Mongols, to whom the Tangutes are a menace; but recall what the Abbé Desgodins says of the Tibetans at Tatsian-lu on the western frontier of China: "Not only through their imposing appearance, but through their calm seriousness, the maintenance of exemplary order amid the shrieking and yelling swarm of the Chinese town populace, was the contrast heightened to its sharpest limit. These robust, muscular figures with the bronzed, furrowed, lean, serious faces — these then were the 'savages' of the Chinese." Yet another side is displayed by the settled tribes

in the south and south-west. The Ladakis are counted peaceful [illegible] men, among whom murder, theft, and violence are almost unknown, [illegible] are praised as cheerful and good-natured.

Among the nomads of Central Asia there is no historical work [illegible] three hundred years old, and the reports almost immediately previous [illegible] existence begin to be untrustworthy. No Turkic tribe has a tradition [illegible] traced with certainty beyond a few centuries. Their most prominent [illegible], the Mongol Sanang Sechen, of the stock of Jenghis Khan, who lived in the seventeenth century, makes his ancestor Jenghis Khan become a phœnix, and the king of the Tangutes a lion. Abel Rémusat's opinion of this writer is that he is a compiler of legends and genealogies, whose ideas have become yet more

Old Mongol. (From a photograph.)

indefinite and obscure through Indian influence. Moreover the Mongols did not obtain writing from the Uigurs till twenty years after Jenghis Khan's death, that is in 1247; though it reached Tibet at the beginning of the seventh century A.D., it is said, simultaneously with Buddhism. Thus recent is the origin of Tibetan culture, to which fanciful philosophers of history have ascribed an age as far back as the building of the tower of Babel. But a higher conception of how history should be written did not reach the Mongols with the art of writing; for from that time it was deemed necessary to refer every dynasty to an Indian or Tibetan origin, and hence from that time their works are more collections of Buddhist legends than records of historical facts. The same applies to the Turkic peoples, only there the claims of Buddhism have been transferred to Islam.

Leaving then these untrustworthy sources, let us rather look at the circumstances of their present distribution. Apart from manifold cases in which the two great groups encroach upon each other, owing to causes which may in some measure be clearly recognised in the political history of the last century, the following principles of distribution can be established. In Central Asia, Mongols

and Turks have their northern limit somewhere about latitude 55°; the mass of them lying in the steppe-zone between 35° and 50°. In the south the Tibetans fill the remainder of the Central Asian highlands as far as the Himalaya. To the west they are bounded by the Caspian Sea and the Oural River, to the east by the mountains on the Chinese frontier, and that interesting geological division between husbandry and cattle-breeding in the Gobi desert. The Turks are represented on the Tal-Nor, three or four days' journey west of Kobdo by the Kizeyes, a Kirghis tribe, which twenty years ago strayed over to the eastern slope of the Altai, and spread itself up the Kobdo and its tributaries. The Altai Kalmucks, known as Dvoyedanze, because they are tributary both to China and to Russia, pasture on the southern slopes of the Altai. Turkic peoples again are seated on the northern Altai, having one of their most northerly outposts in those who have advanced to the Chulym. Their language is Turkish, with a mixture of Finnish, and they are obviously Tartars, strongly alloyed with Finn and Samoyede elements. They are gradually passing under Russian influence. It is doubtful whether the Teleutes or Koumandinzes of the Altai who live on the Biya belong to the Finnish or the Turkish stock. They till the land and mix with the Russians. An interesting point of contact is formed by the Pamir or "Roof of the World," the great watershed of western Central Asia. At its northern foot dwells a regular leaven of races in the Kara-Kirghis tribe of the Kiptchaks, whose fame for extraordinary valour is known throughout Central Asia. They settled in Khokand, but even after they were established they remained full of disposition to fight, and have borne the greatest part in all the recent Central Asian revolutions. In the corner between Persia, the Khanates, and the Caspian, naturally the most destitute region of Asia, the Turcomans lead a life of movement. Large numbers of them have settled down on Persian soil, but those who remain independent are for ever fighting with their neighbours. The Tekkes settled in Akhal at the beginning of the last century, and thence made raids on the north of Persia. For want of room part of them went to the Heri Rud, and thence kept Khorassan in a state of disquiet. They were driven back and returned to Akhal, but the limited space again compelled them to migrate to Sarakhs. From hence they made raids to Khiva, Bokhara, Merv, and Khorassan, till the Russians put them in fetters which they will not easily shake off.

At these points where streams of population cross, eddies and surges arise which force the most refractory elements into union. Abbé Desgodins often heard in his house in the district of Atenze six dialects, the speakers all having their homes not far from the banks of the Lan-tsan River, Chinese, Tibetan, Lao, Moso, Leisu, Minkia. Besides these there were fugitives from Yunaan, originating as far off as Bhamo and Kiangtung. North of this, in the old Tangute country, invading Mongols have partly wiped out, partly split up, the former possessors. But for the dignity which the Tangute language has acquired among Central Asiatics, owing to its use in the composition of the fundamental writings of Buddhism, this once powerful people of North Tibet would have almost disappeared. With the Dungans they form the leaven in the racial medley. The Dungans were once energetic and powerful; they have often risen against the Chinese, and at last drove them out of Ili. They were, however, themselves conquered or decimated by Yakoub Beg the ruler of Kashgar, and brought back into subjection by the Chinese. Beside them, other Tibetans and Mongols are

found in considerable numbers in the tract of oases, partly as the result of compulsory settlement on the part of Chinese emperors for the defence of the frontier. Among these are the Dalds. Farther, towards the Koko Nor, are Tangutes again. From the fourth to the tenth century constant streams of Turkic peoples were flowing from the Altai. Advancing to the very heart of Europe in the victorious campaigns of Jenghis Khan and Timour, they left military colonies along their line of march, and yet found their final limit of extension. The substitution of Turks for the Greek and barbarian population of Asia Minor, the mixture of Turks in Syria and Mesopotamia, the expulsion of a great part of the Arian population of Iran, and the disquiet always prevailing in the east of Europe, are some of the great results of this movement.

Among those who have been pushed to and beyond the frontier of Europe are the Bashkirs, living to about 15 miles south of Verkhni Ouralsk. In 925 they appear, in the narrative of the missionary, Ibn Foslan, on the steppe east of the Volga. Having been tartarised and won over to Islam—first under the protection of Russia, then at war with her; once organised like Cossacks, and forming a component part of the Russian army; now a component of the Russian peasantry,—the tribe, numbering some 755,000 souls, has stoutly maintained itself 1000 years on the same soil, in the eastern slopes and the valleys of the southern Ourals, and has only now entered upon the transition from nomadism to settled life in the process of assimilating with the Russian nation. The Meshtsheriaks, 137,000 in number, are divided into Russian and Tartar, according as they have mixed with one or the other. They call themselves Bashkirs, and have adopted their language, religion, and customs. The Nogays, who extend far beyond the Bashkirs like a wedge to the north coast of the Black Sea, did not so quickly come to rest; still less the Ottomans, who advanced yet farther into Europe and have long been settled. Even within the last few decades, Nogays, who had received the allied troops too amicably in the Crimean War, have left the Crimea and settled in the Dobrudja. Cherkesses have gone to Bulgaria, Turks from Bulgaria and Roumelia are still going to Asia Minor, and Bulgarians are occupying the seats of the Nogays in the Crimea.

A glance at the Mongols, the most easterly of the kindred stocks, will make it seem likely that they have not always owned their present abodes. Their name appears first in the thirteenth century. That the Bidas dwelling on Lake Baikal, whose name occurs earlier, were their forefathers, is mere conjecture. In the Chinese chronicles we come across people with red hair, green eyes, and white faces, whom some take for Turks, some for Indo-Germans. It seems clear at any rate that a tribe of them once lived on the Upper Yenisei and Lake Baikal, that another, the Hiungnu, made its home in the Ordos country, and that the trade of the Chinese with the countries west of the desert was much molested by them, until a chain of military colonies was established as far as the Pamir, the point at which all the old Chinese trade to the west turned back. The Turkish Shato tribe guarded the frontier under the *Tang*, to the north of Shen-si and Shan-si. After the break-up of the Tangute empire in the ninth century, it made its way southwards into Tibet to an unknown distance.

At present the Mongols dwell in general east of the Turkic peoples in three great groups:—Mongols and East Mongols in Mongolia proper, Buriats in Transbaikalia and the southern part of the province of Irkutsk, and the Kalmucks or

West Mongols. Sub-groups of the Kalmucks are the Volga Mongols or Kalmucks in the narrower sense, the Dzungarians in East Turkestan and Kuldja, and the Mongols of Tsaidam and Ala-Shan. As larger, more independent, and less mixed groups of the East Mongols, may be distinguished the North Mongols or Khalkas, extending from the Altai mountains to the Amoor,

A Tangute woman. (From a photograph by Potanin.)

and southward to the Skumid in the Gobi desert, and the Chahars on the southern border of the desert, in the south of whose district a fairly dense agricultural population of Chinese is now found. West of the Chahars dwell the Urotes, onward from the eastern slope of the Sumakhada mountains; they have preserved the Mongol character in greatest purity, while the Sunites who dwell about Kukukoto even live in villages with the Chinese. The frontier of Chinese culture has advanced slowly, never once going back, and stands to-day at most points very near the limits drawn for it by soil and climate. Richthofen, who at the end of

the 'sixties first explored these parts of Mongolia, notes how geologically the frontier of Chinese culture always coincides with the watershed and the boundary between geological formations. Wherever the gneiss begins the streams flow to the Chinese rivers; while the waters of the plateau collect in depressions of the volcanic covering into pools with no outfall, or salt lakes and swamps, and form a soil as favourable to herbage as it is unfavourable for tillage. This therefore is naturally the country of the Mongols as the other of the Chinese. This frontier of culture lies far beyond the Great Wall, which 2000 years ago formed the boundary between the races; so that that famous structure has to-day become practically useless and meaningless. Many millions of Chinese now live beyond the gates of the wall. Since that time Chinese policy has found another way to render the Mongols, once China's most dreaded foe, harmless. From the west the Mongols have retreated yet farther, since after the death of Jenghis Khan they had nearly reached the European part of the Mediterranean. To-day only the Kalmucks, and a small tribe in the mountains of Ghour, south of Herat, are all that is to be found of them outside of Mongolia. The rarity of Mongol place-names west of the Oxus points to the short duration of their stay in Western Asia.

The Tibetan peoples dwell on the border between Indians and Turks. Their most advanced members, the Baltis, inhabit the southern side valleys of the Indus, the lower part of the Suru valley, the main Indus valley itself about the confluence of the Suru, and from above Khartaksho to Tulu, and on the north the lower valleys of the Shayok and Shigar, down to 6000 feet. Spiti is regarded as a district of purely Tibetan population. On the Indus they dwell in company with Ladakis, amid Aryan Dards, from Sanjak to Marol, and the Balti country is known as Little Tibet. West of it, Lahul contains a population regarded as a cross between Tibetan and Indian; the Kanets, also found scattered at Kishtwar. In Rupchu are Champas and Tibetans again. Numerous colonies of these peoples have gone far beyond their original districts; and if at the outset a strict separation is found between the old settlers and the new immigrants, as between Baltis and Dards in Bondu, on the Dras, and in other places, mixed breeds at last arise, who are more easily comprehensible in the more Hindooised districts of the Lower Himalayas and Cashmere. The Western Himalayas being more thickly peopled than the Eastern, the immigrants also merged more easily in the old inhabitants. Further east, under more and most recent immigration from Tibet, in the desert central regions, Bhootan, Sikkim, Nepaul, the product of a much older Tibetan immigration, the Lepchas and Limbus live by cattle-breeding and such poor pay as they can earn as porters, speaking different dialects in different valleys, mostly sprung from a Tibetan source. The reports of Tibetan affinities in the mountain peoples, the so-called primitive population of India, are for the time only hypotheses; but people akin to Tibetans can certainly be proved beyond the Eastern Himalayas. Here, again, variety of languages corresponds to the mixture of races. In Lahul there are not less than four languages side by side. In Spiti only Tibetan is spoken; in Ladak and Zanskar, Ladaki; in Baltistan, Balti; Aryan languages are spoken in Astor near Gilgit, in Dardistan (Dardi), in Padar and Kishtwar (Pahari), and in Cashmere. The Tibetan writing is from Indian sources; Arabic is usual as far as Cashmere.

The Turkish tribal legend ascribes to Noah eight sons, among whom were the

patriarchs of Turks, Chinese, Russians, Chazars, under the names of Turk, Chin, Rus, and Chazar. Tutek was the eldest of Turk's four sons; he had twins, Tatar and Mongol, from whom spring Tartars and Mongols. Curiously enough the two groups are not kept genealogically apart, but freely crossed. But these indications refer only to the political and social relations in which Turks and Mongols stood in the time of the Jenghisides, when these traditions were first fixed by writing. The Mongols had carried away with them great hordes of Turks, who afterwards remained under their rule; but in the case of the great mass of Central Asiatic peoples, the nature of their dwelling-places and the variety of historical influences kept them apart even amid the closest political union. This separation lasts to our day; the Turks have fallen under Russian dominion, the Mongols under Chinese. Still earlier, Islam had gained the former, Buddhism the latter; so that the religious boundary coincides for the most part with the racial. In this frontier territory, at Yangi Hissar, took place the decisive struggle between Buddhism and Islam for domination in Asia. From the first, too, the Mongols united their destiny closely with that of Tibet. There the racial boundary can be drawn only with the greatest difficulty, and by way only of indication, since it has retired from the farthest point, the Holang-shan, west of Ning-hia, to which the power of the Tangutes extended it at the time of their greatness in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Tibetan tribal legend knows nothing of the Turks. In the beginning a man with his three sons roamed incessantly about the steppe. The country was not then desert, nor poor, nor cold. Trees bore the most splendid fruits, rice grew of itself, and the tea-plant luxuriated in the fields which Buddha in later days turned into stony plains. Then the father died. Each son wanted to have the body, to bury it in his own fashion; this was the first quarrel. The eldest got the head, went eastward, and became the father of the cunning Chinese. The second was content with the limbs of the deceased. He left his home and settled where the enormous deserts allowed his posterity, the Mongols, room enough to move about. The youngest took the breast and the stomach; and from him are descended the people of Tibet, who in daily intercourse are distinguished by good nature, frankness, and cordial feeling, in war by valour and courage.

Vambéry has endeavoured to turn the Turkic languages to account for gaining a knowledge of their earlier culture in the way which has borne valuable results for the Aryan races. If the Turkish word for winter is derived from one meaning a "snow storm"; if "cold" and "wind" spring from the same radical syllable, and original words are found for snow-shoes and elks, we cannot put the original home of the Turks very far to the south. We must look for it about the sources of the Angara and Yenissei, the Irtysh and the Ob. There is no Turkish word for sea or river. Flesh was the chief diet, millet the chief grain; rice and sorghum are expressed by borrowed words. Metal-working was probably not familiar to the ancient Turks; perhaps they got it first from the Finnish-Ugrian Altai people, to whom have been ascribed the numerous so-called Chude mines. The names for lead and bronze are borrowed from the Mongols.

The root-stock of the Turkic races, when we first catch sight of it, stands between Finnish-Ugrian stocks in the north and Persian in the south, though further north than in later times. We meet with the name Kirghis in Chinese reports more than 1000 years old, from a corner of Southern Siberia on the

Yenissei. Thence they migrated in the seventeenth century to Lakes Issik-kul and Balkash. By amalgamation with Buriats, Cossacks, and fragments of other tribes, and by their own growth, they have become a nation of three millions, covering the steppe from the Pamir to Siberia, and from the Oural to the frontier of Mongolia. It is probable that the traffic from Perm, that in the first century, went up the Irtysh into the steppe, by the road, alternative to that by way of the Caspian, which crossed the Middle Ourals at the Pass of Perm, ultimately bending south over the Altai, brought elements of Ugrian culture; while Iranian influences show themselves strongly in the words for God, saints, spirits, magic. In later times the reaction of the Turkic races on the Persians is shown by the Persian language in matters connected with cattle-breeding, war, and chivalry. The relations on either side are not confined to the post-Islamic contact between Turks and Persians. The Magyars split off before that; yet Iranic traces are found in their language just as isolated Turkish words are found in old Iranian. To the Byzantines the Turks appeared just like the Kirghises or Turcomans whom we now know—a warlike nomad race of horsemen, divided into tribes and families, of hardy and simple manners. If to this we add the evidence from the present life and historical action of the Turks, we see before us a thoroughly nomadic race, the vast majority of which wandered from time immemorial on the broad grassy and rushy lowlands of Western Asia from the Altai to the Volga, with their herds of horses, sheep, and camels, lived only upon milk and the meat and fat of animals, and dressed in their skins. Driven chiefly to the south by the love of roaming, this restless race was ever trying to break out of the zone of steppes by dint of collisions with the sedentary Iranians. We are justified in asking whether this western branch of the Oural-Altaic stock did not at first have a powerful effect upon national movements extending even far into Europe. Similarly we fancy the Mongols in the north-east of the same region of the earth; once more intimately connected with the Turkic peoples, pressing forward toward the south in common with them either from the original seats mentioned above, or from others in the same latitude, but further east; and separating after long companionship.

Two details aid in the characterisation of the people once settled here—the mode of burial and the metal-work of the so-called Chude graves. Pallas was long ago struck by the likeness between the stone sepulchres on the Yenisei and the "heathen's beds" of Germany. There are dolmens and stone-circles; on the Irtysh only stone-heaps. In these, copper articles have been found in great quantity—spear-heads, arrow-heads, daggers, axes, knives, household implements, and, especially on the Irtysh, gold ornaments in large masses. On the Yenisei too are found copper implements, very like those from the Irtysh; but generally of a more artistic character. One main root of this industry lies, moreover, west of the Yenisei; the Chude mines, worked by unknown races on the Altai mountains. These point to a primitive but extensive and brisk industry. The gold and copper of the Chude graves on the Irtysh can most easily have been obtained hence. Iron was unknown. The pickaxes were of copper, the hammers of long, round, very hard stones, with a groove in them, no doubt for attaching the stone by a leather thong to the wooden handle. The skeleton of a miner has been found, with a leather bag beside it full of gold-bearing ochreous clay. Where the rock is loose, shafts 5 and 6 fathoms deep have been sunk.

Among the Kurgans of South-West Siberia no masonry is found; but corpses are protected by roughly hewn or unhewn birch stems laid beside and over them. The skeletons lie with the head to the east. With the body are laid pieces of the funeral victim—the tail for adults, the shoulder-blade for children; they lie at the head, on the breast, or on the right or left side of the corpse. Weapons and ornaments, occasionally found, are poor; the former of bone or iron, the latter of bone, polished quartz, paste, or copper. Remains of earthenware are rare; one vessel of birchwood has been found. Remains of woven fabrics occur. The copper is cast, bronze is entirely absent. The mounds are circular, 20 to 30 feet in diameter, and as a rule only 18 inches to 3 feet high, wholly of heaped-up earth. Many are crowned with stone figures, or *babas*, the drapery of which seems to be Mongol. Pallas traced the stone figures with a Mongol cast of countenance, holding a pot with both hands in front of them, from the Dnieper and Donetz to the Kuban and Terek. In the Volga district they are scarce, become more common on the Irtysh, and turn up again in numbers on the Yenisei. Near Smeinogorsk an octagonal tumulus has been found containing the corpse of a horse near a rectangular one with a human corpse, both within stone circles.

§ 13. THE MONGOLS AND THE TURKIC RACES

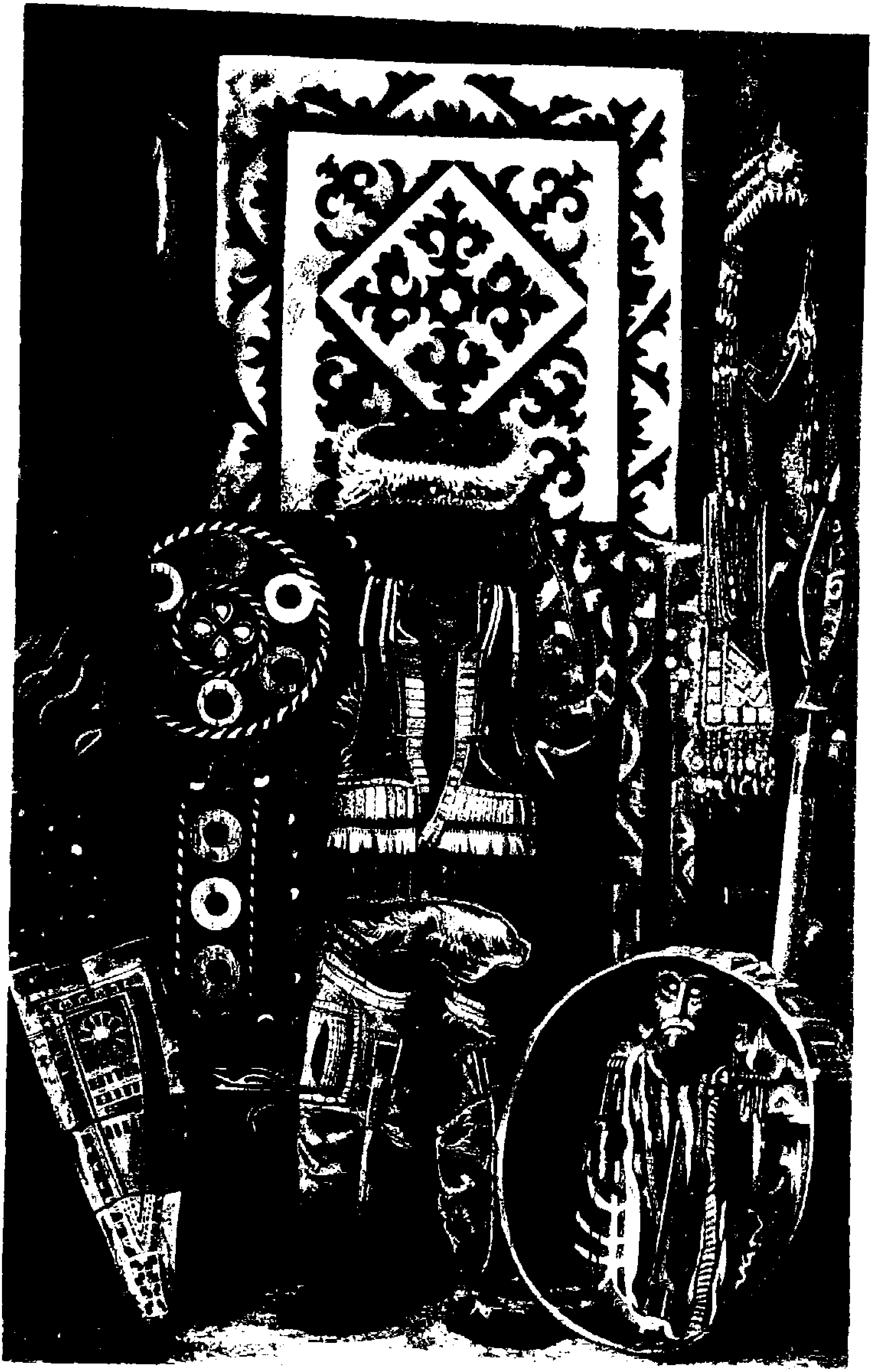
Dress, ornament, and weapons—Cattle-breeding, agriculture, irrigation—Hunting and fishing—Diet—Tent, house, and town—Industry, trade-centres and trade-routes—Position of women; the *kalym*; polygamy; polyandry; celibacy; bringing-up of children—Division of property—The family and the tribe; the horde; relations of dependence—Chieftain's life—Dependent Mongols—Chinese policy in Mongolia, Russian in Turkestan.

MONGOL and Turk originally got their clothing-materials from their herds. In later times trade has been always more and more introducing woven materials; native industry has learnt to imitate them, and on the one side Chinese, on the other Persian, fashion has materially altered them. Only in tribes so conservative as the Cossack Kirghises is the glossy skin of a foal, with the tail left on, used as an overcoat. Almost as simple is the felt gown which the Tsaidam Mongols, men and women, wear next the skin, supplemented only in winter by a hide. Leather breeches are common here, but rare with the Turkomans. Originally the dress of the nomads showed few gradations; rich and poor wore like garments of like stuff. This similarity of clothing, the uniform of an entire tribe like the Kara-Kirghis, gives a certain effect of solidity, imposing to an outsider. The Usbek, though in many respects he has become like his Aryan neighbour, still sticks to coarse strong materials, but has in many cases been seduced into loud colours; while the Kara-Kalpak drapes himself in uniform brown. So the riding nomad keeps to tighter clothes, while the settlers incline to bunched and floating robes favoured by Mussulman custom.

The *khalat* and the high conical sheep-skin cap are spread throughout Central Asia. The *khalat* is a caftan like a dressing-gown, of linen in summer, in winter of fur, wadded material, or felt. The winter *khalats* of rich men are usually of white felt, lined and bordered with costly fur. Women also wear the *khalat* when they go out, but not girt like the men. They hide their faces with

the lappet. To wear them inside out is a sign of mourning. Tibetans, Tangutes, and Tsaidam Mongols leave the right breast and arm uncovered in spite of the ungenial climate, wishing thus outwardly to resemble Buddha. Poor people instead of the *khalat* wear in winter next the body a fur coat with sleeves; in summer a white jacket recalling the tunic of the Chinese. Wherever Chinese trade has made its way their blue cotton fabrics have spread. The *chapan* of the Turcomans is like the *khalat*, and is mostly made of the thin striped materials from China and Bokhara. In war it is worn only reaching to the knee; in winter two or three are found one over another, and thus we find it as far as the Bashkirs. In the warm season women may be seen going about in long smocks and barefoot. The women's garment in the Southern Altai called *chegedek* is peculiar. In summer it is worn in place of the smock, in winter over the fur. It is mostly made of blue material, and is cut rather like a dress coat. The sleeves are purely ornamental, the arms passing through slits beneath them, as in the gowns worn by undergraduates at Cambridge. This garment is trimmed round with red ribbon, and fastened at the neck with two buttons of red glass. Leather cloaks for wet weather are also worn in the Altai. Felt stockings form part of the winter clothing, and over them clouts are wound round the shins. Felt hats, usually without brim, are worn in summer instead of the lamb's wool caps, large enough to be used as pillows. Among the half or wholly settled tribes of the Crimea, the men's dress is partly Little Russian, partly Circassian, their only distinction being the high cap with its crown stuffed with wool. Women wear wide trousers over the long smocks open in front, a coat also long and open in front, and a short-sleeved Turkish jacket. The dress is completed by a belt with a heavy buckle. A costume identical on the whole is found among people of Turkish race all over Asia Minor and Syria. The favourite material for the upper clothing is the striped silk of the country, heavy stuffs with gold worked in being especially popular. The Mohammedan races of Central Asia button their upper clothing from right to left, the Buddhists from left to right.

Where the men shave the whole head—and among Mussulmans long hair is a sign of laxity in religion—the style of hairdressing is naturally simple. Even among nomads the green fillet of the emir and the white turban of the *hadji* are seen, especially in Asia Minor and in the countries on the northern border of the Black Sea. In winter the mode in which the hair is dressed is often the only means of distinguishing women from men. Among many tribes two plaits of hair are the distinction of women, girls wearing only one. Among the settled Tartars the women like to be splendid in numerous plaits hanging down their backs, and as the money paid as dowry is often used for ornament, wives are in general smarter than maids. The Kirghis women adorn their plaits with beads, shells, and copper buttons. The ends ought to hang down to the belt; and so horse and other hairs are plaited in, and keys hung to them. Earrings are also worn, in the case of rich Turcoman women as big as arm rings. Mongols wear their silver teacups, and other silver vessels, with amulets on the breast. Small red velvet caps, set with glittering metal or beads, and fantastic with hump or wing-like excrescences, form another part of the head ornament, and Turcoman women wear silver combs with knots of red agate. The men are specially fond of wearing coins in long chains under the *khalat*, poor people replace them by brass buttons sewn on. The "hat of honour," a sugar-loaf head-dress set with



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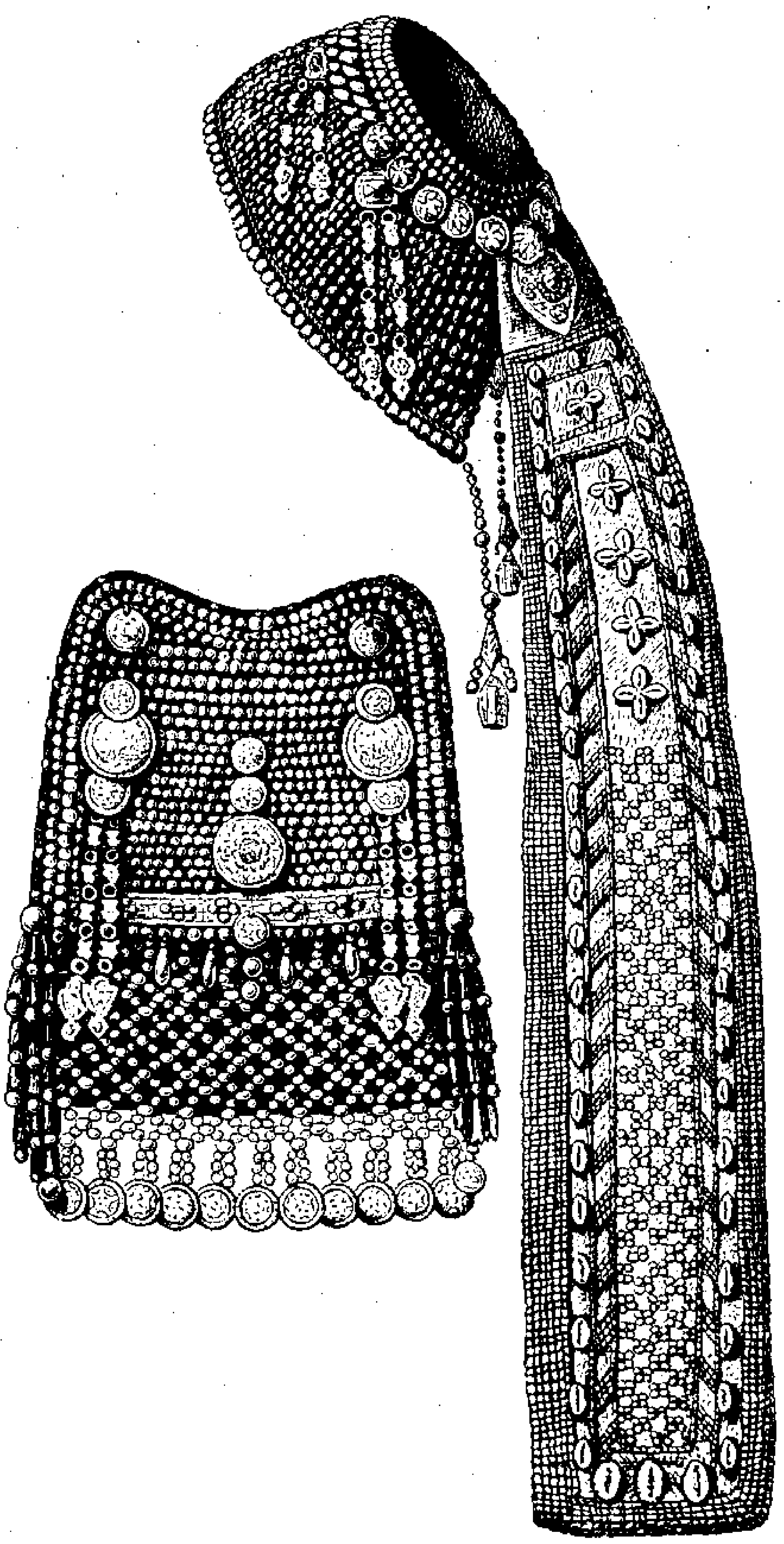
TURKISH [illegible]

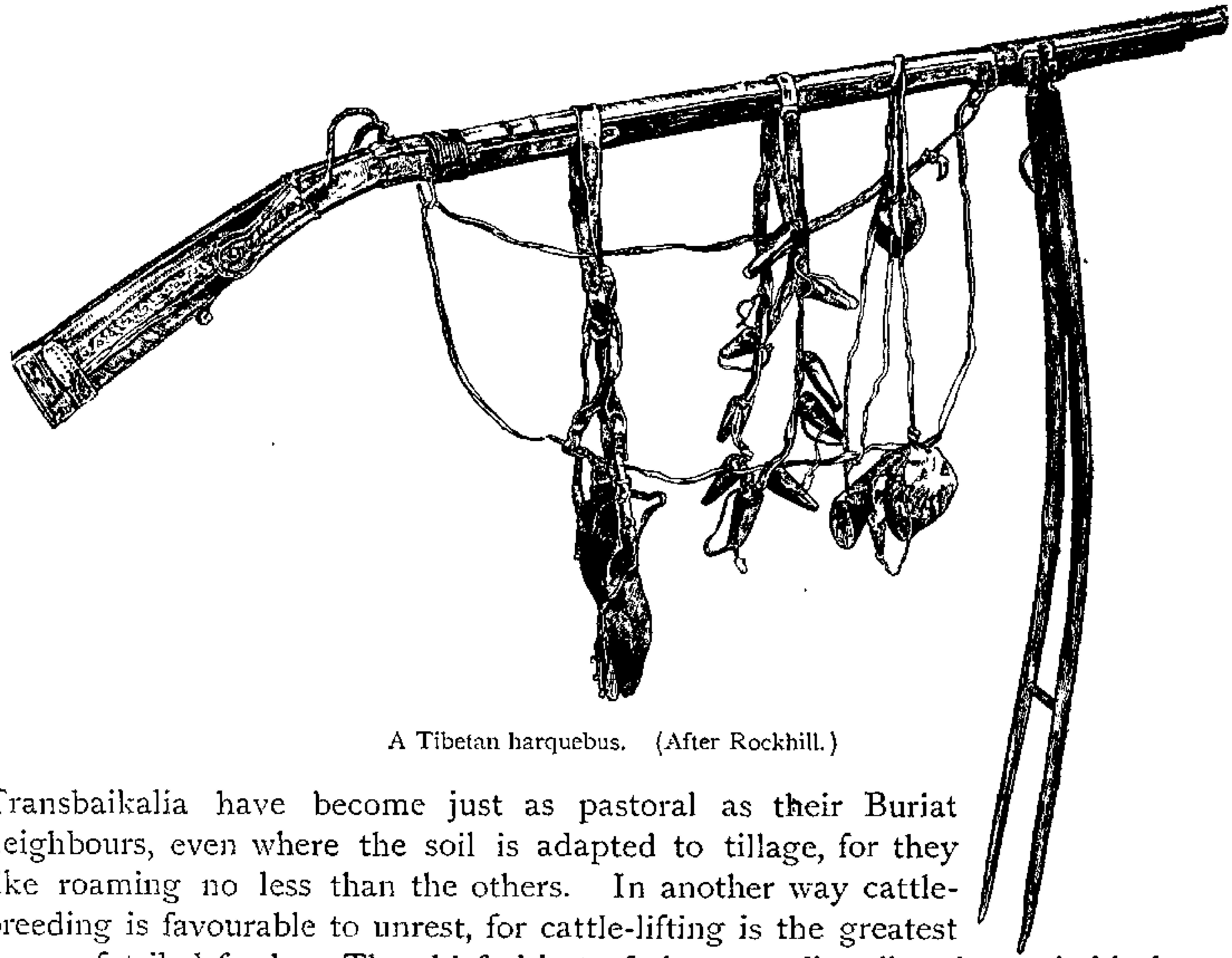
beads, is retained as part of the Turcoman woman's bridal finery; and brides' robes are often wonderfully rich in silks of the most costly kind worked with gold and silver. Cosmetic, by preference white lead, henna for staining the finger and toe nails, and gall dye for the eyebrows, have made their way from the harems to the wattle huts. Veiling the face is by no means universal even with Mussulmans; but in Turkestan they like veils of coarse horse-hair. The Mongols have a peculiar custom of boring the nasal septum and ear-lobes in new-born children to preserve them from harm. In some hill villages of the Crim Tartars it is reported that they compress the skulls of children laterally, so as to make the face disproportionately long, the head high, and the nose large.



Stomacher and head-dress of the Bashkir women. (After Ujfalvy.)

The nomad roams as an armed horseman. Thus he makes war and goes on plundering raids. He loves his weapons as his horse, and holds them in high esteem as heirlooms or as booty. Old weapons were largely represented in the plunder of Geok Tepe; halberds, Persian iron helmets and suits of armour, old harquebuses, beside guns from Persian foundries and the newest magazine rifles. Even to our time the bow has been in use as the truest weapon of nomads, and the Parthian bowmen fall into line with the Bashkirs who shot their arrows at Leipzig. Some forty years ago, however, we find even among the more distant tribes such as the Kara-Kirghis, the bow yielding to matchlocks of the fifteenth and sixteenth century model. The value of the bow, however, lay in the stealthy noiselessness of its discharge; and for the sake of this the nomads retained it for hunting purposes even when they had firearms. So late as 1770 the Russian Government prohibited the use of guns by the Bashkirs. Hardly less may the spear rank as a nomad's weapon. Firdusi knew of the Cossacks as a race of spear-bearing robbers. The Turcomans hold festival combats like our mediæval tournaments, in which the champions tilt with blunt spears, protected from a thrust by several layers of clothing and a mail-shirt over all. Uhlans and Cossacks are offshoots of genuine soldiers of the steppe. Iron battleaxes, hatchet- or pickaxe-shaped, for striking and throwing,

are found frequently in the ground in South Russia, where innumerable Tartar inroads have surged across. Beside the bow, the sling is used by the Yograis of North Thibet as a favourite long-range weapon. The Mongolian and Tibetan guns are of Chinese manufacture. The powder is ignited by a match, more rarely by a flint, and a rest, often made from a pair of antelope's horns, forms part of the weapon. Cattle-breeding is an impulse to roaming, and for those who have grown up for centuries in a nomad life it has an attraction which nothing in husbandry can rival. Under the most peaceful conditions the agriculture of the steppe is far inferior to its pastoral life. The Russian settlers in

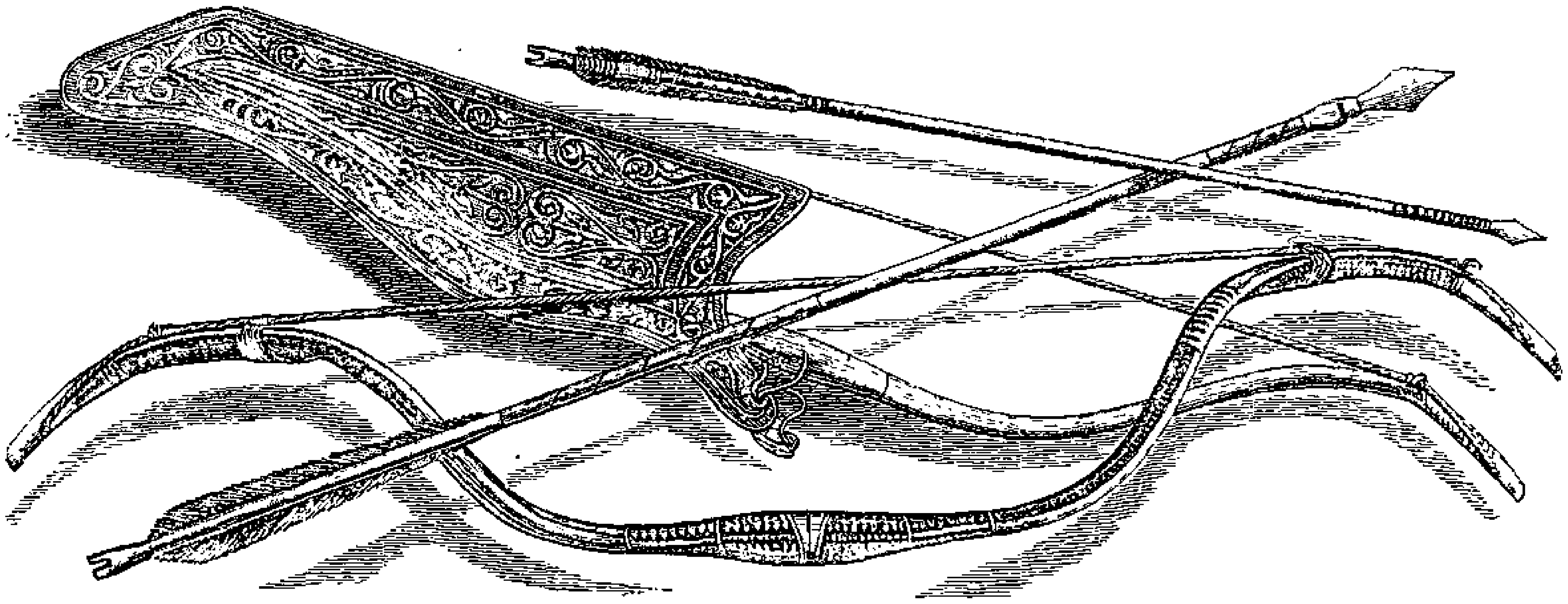


A Tibetan harquebus. (After Rockhill.)

Transbaikalia have become just as pastoral as their Buriat neighbours, even where the soil is adapted to tillage, for they like roaming no less than the others. In another way cattle-breeding is favourable to unrest, for cattle-lifting is the greatest cause of tribal feuds. The chief object of the nomad's toil and care is his beast; and accordingly, when people meet, the first enquiry is after the health of the cattle, that of the owner only coming afterwards, or as the Kirghis formula has it: "How are your oxen and how are you?" Domestic animals represent floating capital. A wealthy Kirghis of the Upper Irtysh lends his beasts at usury of 100 per cent. Ownerless herds, or even such as have run wild, are the natural reverse side. Early in the 'seventies when Prjevalsky was staying to the south of the Yellow River, there were numerous herds of camels, oxen, and sheep run wild, the owners having fallen, two years before, in the Dungan insurrection. The abandonment of cattle-breeding sealed the downfall of many Siberian tribes. The mountains of Central Asia afford fine pasturage, which even the agriculturists seek with their flocks in the dry season. The rice-growers of Mazenderan make their way in summer to the foot of Demavend, and the husbandmen of Laar to the plateau of Ujan. The small amount of snow allows the herdsmen to go high, and even in winter animals find food on the Pamir. But when the

return to warmer regions is barred by other tribes, great want often prevails among the Pamir Kirghises. Their herds of yaks and sheep are but just enough to feed and clothe this poor and therefore often predatory population.

Strong long-necked horses are found in enormous numbers on the steppe. For Mongols and Turcomans riding is not a luxury; even the Mongol shepherds tend their flocks on horseback. Children are taught to ride in early youth; and the boy of three years old often takes his first riding-lessons on a safe child's saddle, and makes quick progress. Among the Tekkes, loose woollen schabraques with a special head-dress of wool or silk are usual. In the Russian official reports an establishment of fifteen horses, three cows, and twenty-eight sheep is specified as the minimum for a Kirghis family of five souls. There are, no doubt, poorer nomads, even in the district of Semipalatinsk; but the number of horses cannot well be brought lower. The custom of poor men hiring cattle from the rich



Bashkir bows and arrows, said to have been picked up on the field of Leipzig—one-eighth real size. (Leipzig Museum of Ethnology.)

extends most and most frequently to horses. In East Turkestan the camel retires into the background; and only in the Tarim district are horses altogether lacking. The Kalmucks of the southern Volga district come to market in the spring with herds of 1000 horses. Herds of mares with their foals are as necessary to every Kirghis family, with a view to the preparation of koumiss, as a saddle-horse to the Mongol; and hence the pastures which first come to light with the disappearance of the snow, and later on the best pastures, are reserved for the horses. Grasses and herbs suited to horses occupy but a small space in the long enumerations of the meadow flora highly prized by the nomads; but include the choicest kinds. Much mortality among cattle has arisen from the fact that the best pastures have been trampled by horses. This preference has a deep-seated basis, for life would be impossible on the steppe without horses. For covering wide reaches of waterless desert the swift and enduring horse is much fitter than the ponderous camel, which often needs rest. Another advantage of the horse on the steppe is the easy way in which he becomes used to Epsom salts in his water. The Turcomans on the Persian frontier breed thoroughbreds, which by long attention have become fine, long-legged, small-headed, lasting, and fast. Jenghis Khan's fleet horse, on which the hero rode in twenty-four hours from Ordos to the Koko-Nor, lives in story. The horse makes possible for the nomad

certain enjoyments which he passionately pursues. Catching with the lasso is a sport to which the more enterprising urge each other. If a particular horse is to be caught out of the herd, the catcher on a fresh courser presses, noose in hand, into the herd, which may number 200, 500, even 1000 head. The horses make way, but the animal which is wanted tries to hide among them as soon as he sees the object in view. At last, however, he breaks away. The Kalmuck approaches his prey as close as possible. Across country goes the chase, over hill and level, through bush and briar. At length the fugitive is overtaken, and the noose flies over his neck; but he is yet far from captured. The line often breaks, and the pursuer has to stoop to the earth, at full gallop, to pick up the slip-knot again. When the hunted animal is at last so exhausted that he stops, the Kalmuck leaps from his horse to the ground and tries to approach the struggling creature. Meanwhile other riders come up, approach cautiously on foot from both sides, and try simultaneously to catch the horse by the ears. If they succeed, the halter is put on without much difficulty. Horse-racing is very popular. The Tekke Turcomans used to race from Geok Tepe to Kizil Arvat, nearly one hundred miles at a heat. The winner got twelve camels, the second eight, and so on.

Breeding in its various branches is unevenly distributed according to soil and climate; also according to tribe and custom. We find horses bred by preference among the Kara-Kalpaks north of the Kuen range, cattle on the Jaxartes and in the Oxus Delta, sheep among the neighbouring Kirghises. The latter are richer in herds than the Turcomans in the proportion of fifty, sometimes even one hundred, to one. Twenty-five sheep to a tent is the rule, besides two or three horses, an ox, and a camel. Among the Tibetan herdsmen horses are few, and the yaks and sheep take the place of camels and oxen.

Wherever the winters are hard, cattle do less well than the other animals that pasture on the steppe, as they find it hardest to scrape their food clear of snow. They are also inferior to camels, horses, and sheep in their power of going without water. Besides their flesh, the chief use of them is that, like the camels, they can carry burdens. Ox-caravans are a mode of transport which in the Volga steppes has held its own even beside the steam-horse. Cow's milk is not liked, as the real koumiss cannot be made from it. We find cattle-breeding in a better position in those tracts where in summer the herds can be driven into the mountains, as in Kohistan, in the Altai, in the Bashkir districts of the Oural. Butter is made both by Mongols and Tibetans in a fashion that renders it unpalatable to Europeans. The butter of several days is collected with all its impurities and rolled into a ball, so that it soon becomes rancid. It is hardly to its advantage that it is an article of trade, with the Tibetans indeed a medium of exchange, like "brick" tea; for in that case it has passed through many hands before it comes to table, and is correspondingly enjoyable. "Our Tibetan muleteers," says Kreitner, "often carried their supply of butter in the hairy pockets of their travelling-furs. When we stopped at an inn they just put their hand into their pocket, and threw a handful of sticky butter into the steaming tea." Cheese, dried in small balls for keeping, is especially popular with Turcomans.

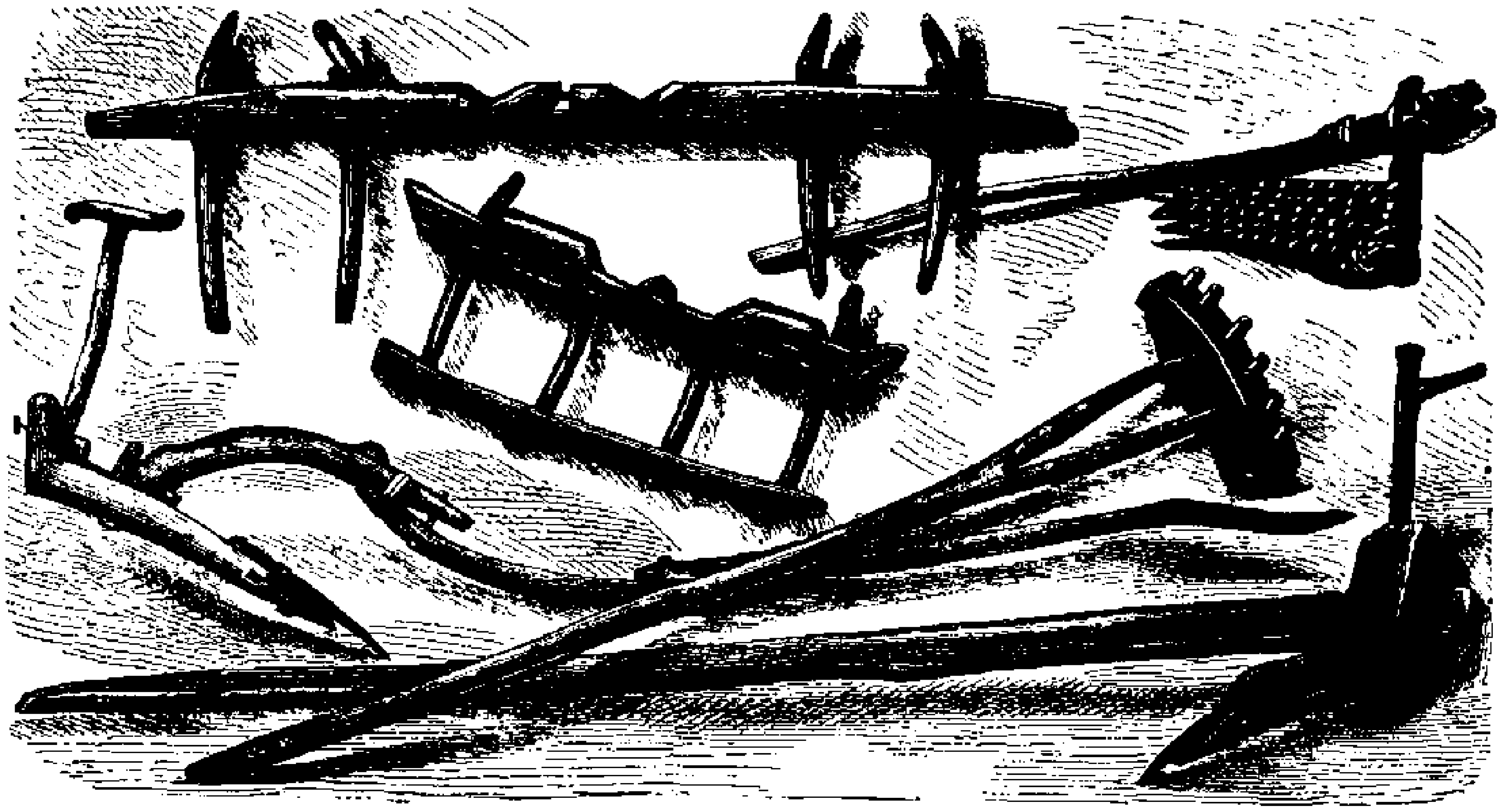
The most important articles of clothing are provided by the sheep, which in number exceed all the other domestic animals of the nomads. Flocks of 2000 owned by one person are no rarity in the southern Turcoman steppes. In many parts of Tibet and Mongolia sheep alone use the pastures; and a flock of sheep

for slaughter is one of the most necessary possessions of a Kirghis community. On rich pastures the sheep develops his fat tail, the dainty of every Kirghis meal; in poor districts the animal is smaller, but his fleece better. The Tibetan sheep is large and horned, with coarse wool. He can cover large distances with a load of 25 lbs. Pundit Nain Singh, in 1873, transported all his baggage from Ladak to Lhassa on twenty-five sheep.

The regular beast of burden of the Asiatic steppes is the two-humped or Bactrian camel, the most valuable beast that the true nomad has. His frequent occurrence is always a sign of prosperity. In the east, especially in Daurien, where winters are longer and pasture less good than in the west, the camel is smaller. He is not found in Tibet, and less often in East than in West Mongolia; and he is poorly represented in East Turkestan. He not only carries burdens, but draws waggons. Camel-waggons convey travellers from Urga to Kalgan and Uliassutai. Camel's hair is used to make cords, wherewith tents are tied up and baggage fastened on. The Kirghis women wrap their children in the winter hair of the camel, a wonderfully soft natural felt. In China, within the Great Wall, only Mongols use the camel as a beast of burden. Bee-keeping is a great industry of the Bashkirs in the southern Oural district, and the Kalmucks on the Lower Volga. Castrén derives the name Bashkir from it.

Agriculture and pastoral life on the steppe demanding quite different modes of living, the Turcomans, and they alone, have already been driven by the desire for bread to institute a division of labour among members of the family; so that the division into *Chomru*, settled, and *Chorva*, wandering, runs right through. Loss of their herds turns Turcomans into husbandmen, but the acquisition of rich herds of oxen and camels seldom turns husbandmen into breeders of cattle. The members of one family, even own brothers, often thus pursue different callings. In poor provinces cattle-breeding stands on an insecure basis, and the nomad is compelled to seize the other support, agriculture. The deep dislike of the Kirghises for agriculture has long ceased to be felt by the Turcoman. To him, among his own people, the division into herdsmen and husbandmen is quite familiar. The poor man tills the ground, the rich breeds cattle. When the cattle find only reeds and thorny shrubs, as on the Tarim, agriculture, of which the germ was there already, steps in and overcomes even serious difficulties. Thus the people by the Lob-Nor, who cannot live by their small sheep, cultivate their bit of wheat near Charkhalyk, more than a day's journey from the lake. The plough has spread from Russia and China, perhaps also from Persia. The other implements are of wood, and very simple, as the cut on next page shows. Heyfelder found one small iron ploughshare in the ruins of Dingil Tepe. The environs of Geok Tepe astonished the Russians by their careful terracing and irrigation works. The country far and wide around the Turcoman settlements was sown with well-kept vineyards and orchards and mulberry plantations all about. The Usbek follows the plough as steadily as he went to work to found his sovereignty in Khiva, in spite of all the Persian slaves whom he compels to work for him, and sells his superfluous corn. The Kirghises of Kuldja have become capital growers of cotton in the school of the Chinese. In East Turkestan the population, preponderantly Turkish, is reckoned expert in agriculture. The Jataks or armed Kirghises have taken to husbandry and have become docile labourers to Russian farmers. In Mongolia again agriculture did not wait for the invasion of the Chinese, with their sedulous

industry availing itself of every economical possibility, to flourish in the frontier districts and the oases. The Chinese annals, always unfavourable to the Mongols, speak in quite early times of civilised or tame Mongols, who grow millet. The old custom of making *tsamba* implies the existence of corn, cultivated for that very purpose by slaves or poor people on the land of Mongol princes, even with the aid of artificial irrigation. Had it not been necessary to protect the fruits of toil from robbers knowing enough to find the most artfully covered pits, this little culture would have been more frequent. The Dungan insurrection, by cutting off for a long time the importation of corn, forced many Tsaidam Mongols to take to agriculture. But the Chinese immigration first imparted a powerful and lasting impulse. The principal crops are wheat, oats, and millet, but a good deal



Agricultural implements from Northern India and Little Tibet. (From the Schlagintweit Collection, Munich Museum.)

of land is under poppies. In North Mongolia, although agriculture begins to be difficult, since, owing to the frosts of late spring, sowing cannot begin till the end of May or even the beginning of June, and although autumn frosts often damage the harvest, it has already spread to the west of the Kiakhta and Kalgan road. In the wretchedly watered country, wells first made by the Mongols for their herds have passed to the advantage of the husbandman.

Throughout Central Asia, outside the mountains, fertile districts are situated only where artificial irrigation is possible. Thus human industry and inventiveness have turned whole countries like the plains of the Middle Zarafshan into a flourishing garden. Between Penjkand and the Karakul Lake one may count eighty-five main channels with a collective length of more than 1500 miles, not counting the innumerable transverse ditches. Where the fertilizing moisture is brought the soil is highly productive. Throughout the Turcoman territory agriculture exists only as far as the Attrek and the Gurgeni send moisture. Attempts at it outside this favoured tract produce only uncertain harvests. The depth of the snow in winter and the amount of the spring rains in the "rainy country" are watched with painful anxiety, for upon them it depends whether plenty will prevail or

famine appear. In about every generation famines of the most devastating kind occur, sweeping away thousands. Only the mountain-lands are plenteously watered by nature; and then on the Upper Zarafshan the Washan Valley is richly cultivated in arable and pasture. Certain portions of the Altai are no less well tilled. Even in the interior of the Ordos country wells are dug, round which the herds crowd, often stretching further than the eye can reach, and again between this and the Dalai-Nor. The nomads visit them at stated times and in regulated succession, on their marches from their winter quarters to the summer pastures. Many erections of this kind, dating from a better period, show careful construction and keeping up. The *sardoba* of Chil-Gumbez, on the road from Karshi and Burdalyk to Merv is a dome-shaped edifice, with a cistern built of baked tiles, and surrounded with a mud wall, that animals may not fall into it. Every winter the Illibai Turcomans, who roam on the steppe, fill the *sardoba* to the top with snow, and the resulting water keeps fresh all summer and autumn.

Destruction of the forests is a necessary consequence of life in the steppe. It did not always offer the same unbroken tracts of pasture as to-day. Now over large districts the only fuel is *argal*, the dried dung of camels, or yet more of cattle. The older Russian ordnance maps show areas of forest still spreading for miles in the Orenburg government. The nomad at least leaves the grove in which he has rested some repose to make fresh growth; but the husbandman carries things further; and the Chinaman, using ashes for manure, and wood for building and firing, all this with his reckless restless energy, is the greatest foe imaginable to the steppe forest.

Hunting, even where by the precepts of Islam the game cannot be used for food, is carried on as an exciting sport; in many cases, especially in the north of the Central Asiatic Khanates, in the Persian style. In the hands of the more vigorous Turk it has assumed the character of a bracing training for war. The Turcomans keep a breed of long-haired Persian greyhounds, and in front of many houses the falcon sits on his perch. At Dingil-Tepe people kept owls tethered beside their dwellings. The difficult task of training birds for the chase forms a lucrative occupation for poor people; a well-broken eagle or falcon being often valued by the Turcomans at two horses or six camels. The Bashkirs are famous trainers of falcons, sparrow hawks, even eagles, which they sell at a high price to the Kirghises. How favourite a diversion hunting is with the Mongol princes was learnt by Prjevalsky in the Ala-Shan mountains, where the *Amban* reserved to himself all stag-hunting over the wide territory. Hunting also provides certain articles in demand for trade; musk and young stags' antlers, which are brought in quantities to Kalgan from Northern and Western Mongolia, play a great part in the Chinese pharmacopœia. Poor people also dig up rhubarb, liquorice,—which exists even in the sandy salt desert of Kusupchi,—and other roots which have a place in the extensive list of drugs used by their medicine-men and the Chinese.

The dwellers on the Lob-Nor are as dependent on their fishery as many hyperboreans. All is well if the catch in summer is plentiful, and a sufficient store can be laid up for the winter; but if this is not the case, the people starve in winter. At the same time their appliances for this necessary business are extremely simple, often inadequate. On Lake Zaisang the Kirghises devote themselves with notable success to fishing with nets, and on the Lower Oxus and the Sea of Aral the Kara-Kalpaks live chiefly on the fish they catch in their

great boats up to ten tons burden. On a yet larger scale fishing is carried on by certain Turcoman tribes on the Caspian coast, especially about Kinderlin Bay and Alexander Bay, where they work with harpoons and hooks. Even caviare of moderate quality is prepared here. The coast Turcomans meet their winter requirements by salting and drying the fish, boiling it in fish-oil, covering it with bladder, or burying it. The rotation of industry practised by the people on the Tarim is significant; they fish their ponds out, then let them dry or drain them; and when reeds have grown, as they soon do, drive in the sheep. In the Oural and Emba districts, the rivers, though rich in fish, are hardly used by pure nomads, so that the Cossacks were able peaceably to take possession of the streams and as much country as commanded a view of them. Boats are found naturally only in quite limited districts. On the Lob-Nor and the Tarim narrow dug-outs are made from poplar stems. The *lodkas* of the Kirghises on Lake Zaisang, twice as large and heightened with planks, may owe their existence to Russian stimulus; while the craft of the fishing Turcomans on the Caspian are built after Persian models.

In the diet, meat is far from playing the part which the often excessive extent of the herds might lead us to expect. The *sokum*, a carouse held by the Kirghises when the cattle are slaughtered for the winter provision, at which great quantities of meat are eaten, cannot give a standard for the daily life of the nomads, who prefer to content themselves with such cattle as die, or as they can steal, in order not to reduce the number of their herds. Meat is boiled or steamed, seldom roasted, though smoking is known. The Turcomans mostly eat meat only at festivals. Vambéry considers that the Arab deserves more than the Turk to be called a flesh-eater, though the latter may have well earned the name he has among all his neighbours as an immoderate eater. He has no form of nourishment so concentrated as the Arab has in his dates. Besides this, life in the steppe is itself provocative of hunger. Milk products are more consumed than milk, though milk itself is less used than curds, cheese, and, especially among Mongols and Tibetans, butter. *Yogurt* and *airan* or *arag*, various kinds of highly sour milk with its fatty constituents, and *kurut*, little balls of dried milk, often the only means of sweetening the water with its bitter salts, or forming with lumps of meat the *bulamik* in use as far as the Tartars of the Volga, extend from the Himalaya to Asia Minor. Further, there is *koumiss*, known also in Tibet, the *chigan* of the Mongols, despised by Turcomans and Kara-Kalpaks. Some have wrongly regarded *koumiss* as so characteristically Turkish that the mention of it among the Huns has sufficed to place their Turkish origin beyond doubt. In the way of vegetable food, millet, which takes to a poor soil, is chiefly eaten; and trade has brought in rice from the south, wheat from the north. The Turcomans, in the neighbourhood of Persia especially, have long been used to flour, and bake unleavened bread like that of the Jews, and hard pastry for keeping. The Mongol's national *tsamba* is a stiff dough made of corn roasted and coarsely ground. Where Chinese civilization prevails, that is especially in Mongolia and Tibet, tea has become a necessary of life. Here it takes the form of "brick" tea, used also as currency, and the cost of it, so long as it went from China as far as Baltistan and Ladak, was beyond the reach of many. Boiled with salt and butter, it is often rather a soup than a beverage. India is with success attempting to place its tea, in a similar form, upon the Central Asiatic market. With many

dishes wild fruits and roots are mixed, which the women and children gather in quantities. The berries of the *kharmik* (*Nitraria Schobari*), form part almost of the daily diet of the Tsaidam Mongols.

Opium smoking has extended in Mongolia in proportion to the increase of immigrants from China desirous to escape the laws in force against growing poppies and making opium. The Mongols chew tobacco and smoke it out of little Chinese pipes. The Kalmucks of the Volga use European pipes, with a cover to keep them alight in a steppe storm.

The house of the nomad is the tent; and in the Turkic dialect the same word expresses both. The locality changes, but the shape, the material, the fittings, are constant. We shall not be far wrong if we reckon the ordering of the tent, identical from the earliest times, among the disciplinary forces in the life of the nomad. Each person and each thing has his and its fixed old established position. Hence the quick and orderly way in which camp is formed and struck, tents repitched and rearranged. Hence also the amount of space which in the sensible Turcoman tents has struck Europeans with astonishment. In an average Kirghis tent there is room for forty persons by day, twenty by night. Utensils, weapons, and stores, hang or lie around on the walls and posts. The men lie down by the door of the tent, where the hearth, the stores, the weapons, are to be guarded. To the left of the entrance are the women and children, with the male servants opposite. It is unheard of for any one to change his place without orders save on the most urgent grounds. It is owing to this strict order alone that a tent with all its contents can be packed up and loaded in an hour's time.

The standing body of the tent, where wood is to be had, is a wooden frame capable of being taken to pieces. At the top is a rail upon which rest a number of spars, converging like the spokes of a wheel. In the Mongol tent these are straight, but in the Kirghis tent they take a parabolic curve, which causes it to be reckoned the firmest in a wind. The whole frame is surrounded with a band of webbing often prettily designed, which keeps the parts firmly together, then covered with a mantle made of sundry pieces of felt, which overlap at the ends, and are tied together with ropes of camel's hair. Poor people have to replace this by a cover of boiled birch-bark. Next there is an outer covering of rush-matting, which again is wound round and made tight with a band of webbing. A wooden frame hung with folding doors forms the entrance; but a carpet often takes the place of the door or is supplementary to it. The tent-cover may be shifted for ventilation and light, or to allow smoke to escape. This cover with Turcomans is usually red, with the Tibetans black; but this difference of colour has no connection with the prefix *kara*, black, in names like Kara-Kirghis, Kara-Kalpak, Kara-Tangute. Among the true nomads prosperity does not show itself in better equipment, but in increased number of tents; but among the Tartars of the Upper Yius country, where cattle are few, the tent resembles the cattle-*yaourt*, and in winter the earth-hut of the North Asiatic peoples. Among very poor races like the Kalmucks of the Altai, the lower tent-frame entirely disappears, and the inhabitants live under the roof, which shelters them at a pinch—the germ as it were of the great tent. The poor people who live on the Tarim have reed-huts, retaining something of the tent-nature, inasmuch as the filling of reeds between the corner-posts is quite loose, like a tent-cover, and there are no walls nor any closer fastening in the whole hut. Such, too, are the wooden winter-

yaourts of the Kizil Tartars on the Upper Chulym, who are nomad in summer. The Tibetan nomads live in a square *yaourt* of black felt made of yak's hair, and sleep on skins. The more insecure existence is, the more wretched are the dwellings. Among those Tangutes who hide all their property and stores underground, there is little in the tents but skins and ordure.

The variety of the seasons is reflected in the clothing of the tents. Perhaps only those who live within the Arctic Circle feel the joy of spring like the dwellers on the steppe. With a temperature for months together below freezing-point, *yaourts* with their felt covering are very draughty, and it is hard to keep warm even wrapped in fur, beside the smouldering fire. Hence the Tekke Turcomans have holes in the ground near the tents which in winter are spread with felt and carpets, and kept warm with little fires, while in summer they are cool. During a storm in winter the fire in the tent has to be put out. Then, too, extra pegs and double ropes can hardly hold the tent firm. From the middle of March to the middle of April, a season named from the lambing of the sheep and the foaling of the mares, the outer tent-coverings are gradually removed. Soon after this follows the striking and packing of the tents, essentially the women's work. Towards the end of October the winter-tent is made ready by winding with strong camel's-hair ropes and doubling the felt cover.

Great as is the order in the *yaourts*, the cleanliness is small. Nomads, as a rule, are not cleanly, especially in wild regions where water is scarce, and where in all seriousness the proverb says that God is not gracious to men who have no vermin about them.

The transition from tent to house comes about through the middle term of the wretched earth-hut, which the Mongol, who is too poor for a herdsman, constructs near his couple of fields; and, further, through the store-huts and winter-huts of the semi-nomads. Wealthy Mongols or Kirghis princes may sometimes build houses after a Chinese or Russian pattern, in addition to their tents; but these are something quite inorganic and extraneous. In Mongolia and Tibet the tribes which are permanently settled build square houses of sun-dried clay bricks with small cavernous rooms in stories receding as they go up, and flat roofs. Not till we reach the wooded regions of Southern Ladak and Baltistan do we come across wooden houses with pitched roofs. It is curious to see how the circular form of the tent is preserved in the hexagonal huts of the Altai Kalmucks who have become settled. The flat Tibetan houses with their window openings distributed irregularly about the wall, of a monotonous grey colour, and in the agricultural districts surrounded with an embankment of manure, suit the bare landscape excellently; a village can often hardly be distinguished from a group of broken rocks. Naturally single farms are here more common than groups of houses. On the flat roofs the Tibetans spread their harvest to dry, and pray before a little statue of Buddha for a blessing and increase on their family and goods. In the winter, too, they warm themselves in the sun there. The hearth is sunk in the bare ground of the floor. Only people of means possess low tables, and two or three leathern mattresses near the hearth, where the ladies sit. Chairs and stools are unknown. Among the smaller nomad tribes, ever in dread of hostile attacks, the better part of the property, together with an iron safe for provisions, is hidden underground; which makes them look even poorer than they are.

The ancients knew of nomads in the Scythian plains, Agathyrsi and Sauromatae, who lived in waggons,[1] and whom they called Hamaxobii. Towards the end of last century Pallas found the Kundurofsky Tartars, an eastern branch of the Nogays, just thinking of changing their basket-like felt tents, which in their migration were loaded upon *arabas* or two-wheeled carts, drawn, even at a trot, by small light fleet oxen, for the composite tents of the Kirghises and Kalmucks.

The Mongol *yaourts* frequently stand singly or in scattered groups, while the Kirghises never settle without founding their *aoul*. In the same way the North Tibetans, thinly strewn as they are, roam and dwell at times in little hordes of ten tents or so. Larger permanent localities and towns are naturally only to be found among half-settled nomads. Thus the Kara-Kalpaks live temporarily at Chimbai in the Oxus Delta, the permanent population of which consists of traders, priests, and craftsmen. The famous old names of towns in the Oxus district are Iranian; but there are also old Turkish names for smaller places in this region, indicating that even in early times Turks were settled among the Iranic population. Names of this kind are in part referable to the old residences of tribal chiefs, as we find to this day among the Mongols. Sites like Urga are at least permanent for a long time, though not towns in our sense, but as Regel says of Shikko in Ili, assemblages of settlements, depôts, bazaars, forts.

Characteristic of the steppe are the countless ruins of towns, sometimes of considerable extent. In the middle of the sandy Kusuptchi lie the ruins of a city within walls more than 5 miles long in the side and 30 feet or more high. Throughout the middle course of the Cherchen Darya we find traces of old towns and settlements at a distance of 3 to 10 miles west of its present bed. Even in our own days it has happened that settled town-dwellers, after surrendering fields, pastures, rights of timber-felling, to the encroaching nomads, have ended by abandoning their towns. Thus did the Karakalins before the Akhal-Tekke Turcomans, who naturally had no use for the deserted town. Immediately after the fall of the Akhal-Tekkes Heyfelder found Karakali like a modern Pompeii. "Fortress, embankments, walls, towns, canals, bridges, mud-walled dwellings, villas with gardens, barns, courtyards, stalls, wells, churches, cellars, mangers, troughs, extensive aqueducts with rivulets, were in good preservation, but no man was there. There were no watchers, no domestic animals." The emigration of Jews and Tartars from the Crimea after it was seized by the Russians left whole towns empty; Mankup was still unpeopled in 1800.

Important passages and mountain passes were formerly closed by earthworks and walls, as at Perekop. Small forts of fascines and earth are placed near every Mongol encampment in Tsaidam, to receive the herds when the Kara-Tangutes are raiding. Deserted fortifications of this kind recall some circular "camps" of our own country. Such is a fortress of the mountain Kalmucks on an isolated hill near the mouth of the Chela. Long lines of earthworks tell in all steppe-countries of the nomads' fights among themselves and with the settlers. One of the most northerly lines runs from Zimbirsk by Kursk to Atemar, a second has been

[1] [Or rather carried their household goods about in them. So Horace:

"Campestres melius Scythae
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos."

May we infer from the *rite* that the great orderliness of arrangement upon which the author remarks had struck ancient observers?]

continued from Pensa to Tamboff; both were intended to defend Moscow against Tartar incursions. The most famous structure of this kind is the Great Wall of China, which enclosed the old China from the Upper Hoang-ho to the sea. To-day its place is taken by a broad belt of husbandmen, emigrants from China, who form a far more effective defence to the northern Chinese provinces, by squeezing the Mongols out of the most fertile places of abode, reducing their numbers, breaking up their organisation, and above all their spirit of enterprise.

Laborious stone structures are quite out of the way of the modern inhabitants. The road hewn in the rock along the Washanzai valley belongs to generations long gone by. Indeed, a place on the Zarafshan is called Tashkuprink, "stone-bridge," where one now crosses by a bridge of wood. The stone bridges of ancient date are often in much better preservation than recent wooden bridges. The legends of Iskander (Alexander), woven round so many works of antiquity which transcend the achievement, nay the design, of the men of to-day, are attached also to the remains of stone bridges by places now insignificant, like Termez on the Amou.

Next to cattle-breeding, trade is the most important economic activity of the steppe. Products for sale are furnished by cattle-breeding, by the chase, by stone and root-hunting, and among the Turcomans by the feeble industry of the women who weave carpets. Even the ancients knew of the Scythian fur-trade as carried on from time immemorial. In return the nomad has his wants; in the first place "brick" tea, then often tobacco and opium, corn or flour, clothing materials, weapons, and ammunition. Hence at the most advanced posts we find traders, mostly Chinese, going about the country, some as pedlars, some, called by the Russians *slobodes*, starting from permanent depôts as far as Turkestan, where they come into touch with Indians and Arabs. Individual tribes have trade relations at particular spots, whence in course of time closer connections have grown up. Thus the Tartars of Shugnan look after the Kara-Kirghises of the Pamir at the pasturing season, while these turn up in Shugnan in the autumn to get salt in exchange for their corn.

The whole of Mongolia retains a colonial character, because the large genuinely Chinese emporia, which at the same time are fortresses, keep close to the frontier, serving to protect the country in their rear, and to promote its traffic. Any others appear merely as advanced posts which are easily abandoned, to spring up with equal ease in more favourable spots. Five frontier marts form as it were a belt of fortresses round the north and west frontier of China, and may be regarded as the base of trade operations in the steppe and beyond. Of these Kalgan is pure Chinese, while Kuku-koto is distinctly Central Asiatic in style of building and in population. Shehol again, owing to the frequent stay there of the Chinese court, more Chinese. From Kalgan the traffic goes to Urga in North Mongolia; from Kuku-koto to Kobdo in North-West Mongolia. On the old northern frontier of the empire, towards its western part, we come to Ning-hia on the Upper Hoang-ho, in a sheltered situation at the starting-point of a native colonisation which, two centuries before Christ, had occupied with military colonies the "Land of the Entrances," that wonderful line of oases between the Himalaya and the Altai; the most natural road across Asia, and therefore from the earliest times the bed in which has flowed a great stream of national migration and traffic. From these colonies, even by Marco Polo's time, had arisen Chinese

trading towns in a grand style, spreading Chinese culture to the Altai and the Pamir. What Ning-hia is on the north-west, Si-ning is on the west. It is the medium of traffic with Tibet and India, and its trade was once even greater than that of Ning-hia. In the last century the Jesuits found Armenian Catholics here, and the fame of the town has gone abroad in the bázaars of East Turkestan. In these colony-towns the most manifold industries have grown up.

With the roads, the places lying on them are naturally exposed to great fluctuations of trade. The caravan-road from Kiakhta through the Gobi desert, important for the peaceable contact of Mongols with Europeans, and for the traffic between China and Europe, in active use till the middle of this century, has now a diminished traffic, since the Russians have steadily been bringing more and more tea by sea to Odessa, or from Hankow to Tien-tsin, and thence overland to Irkutsk, whither the Kiakhta custom-house has been transferred. Maimatchin in China, and Kiakhta in Russia will still always remain important as the points of transit of a considerable traffic, even if a new and shorter caravan-road comes to be adopted through Mongolia from Chindant in the Trans-Baikal direct to Dola Nor. In many winters the road across the Gobi desert is rendered difficult by the fact that the Mongols who keep up the postal connections have to stray with their beasts far from the usual road owing to lack of fodder.

Among the more remote tribes a vigorous many-sided domestic industry is still found. Even the poor dwellers on the Tarim spin and weave wool, and produce a textile fibre of their own from the *condyr* plant, treating it like flax. The women spin on a peculiar distaff, and weave a stout linen from the yarn on a simple loom. Simple as the spindle—merely a stick with a small stone attached—and loom are, the productions of them among the more advanced tribes are manifold. Linen, rather loosely woven, but prettily bleached, kerchiefs having the ends ornamented with red woollen stuffs, and handsome festival garments embroidered with silk, give us a high idea of the industry and cleverness of the Tekke women, whose carpets and camel-bags of many colours, blue and violet alone being absent, are to-day an important article of commerce. The Turcoman women weave from the very soft hair of camel foals the silk-like material called *agari*, which is sold in Persia for its weight in gold. They know how to knit gloves as well as how to make quilts. In this respect the Mongol women are far behind their more westerly kinsfolk. Their mode of making silk threads into coloured ribbons without a shuttle should be called rather plaiting than weaving. Peculiar to the nomads is the extensive manufacture of felt from camel's hair and sheep's wool. It is laid in layers, damped, rolled with the hands, and finally trodden. White, natural coloured, and flowered felts are made, and used in quantities for tent-coverings, capes, stockings, and among the poorer people for other parts of the clothing. Among the Kirghis tribes, with their wealth of flocks, leather forms a large item of export to Russia and the Khanates; but from want of a powerful tan, it is incompletely prepared. The hides are softened in a fluid of which dried cheese forms an ingredient, flour and salt being mixed with it. Every kind of skin and hide has its special application. Water-skins are of goat's leather, koumiss-skins of horsehide; *yargak* or smooth basil serves as clothing, as also do the skins of horses and those of camel-foals with their soft hair. For one of the great vats in which the koumiss is fermented the Kirghis use four horsehides. Where wood is found, the herdsman carves endless useful objects from it. The

elæagnus or so-called wild olive is employed by choice. Two articles [illegible] made of wood, tent-pole and saddle-frame, together with large wooden [illegible] chests, are articles of trade, while the spoons, koumiss cups, and even [illegible] ladles, which a hundred years ago were principally of wood, are [illegible] everywhere of iron, Russians and Chinese vying in importing them. [illegible] edicts of the [illegible] regents forbidding [illegible] to be supplied to the Mongols are long forgotten. Especially in request are large pots of cast-iron, which are placed on a tripod and used to prepare the food for the tent. A great Chinese foundry at Ban-tu in East Mongolia is occupied in the manufacture of these. The number of smiths is small; and with the musician the smith holds the lowest position among all classes at Ladak. Among the Kirghises, on the other hand, he assists the *bakshi* with the *shamans*. The Kirghis custom of praying round a crucible filled with lead-ore and charcoal, that the metal may appear, is in keeping with this. A board covered with a layer of clay for forge, often only a stone for anvil, hammer and tongs correspondingly simple, such are the appliances of the Kirghis or Mongol smith, and with these naturally only simple results can be produced. In this matter, too, the west is more advanced. Turcomans imitate fine ornaments of Persian workmanship, make matchlocks, and are said to have manufactured even the sharp-cut dies for their silver coinage. Thus, too, the Turcomans of the Caspian are clever pedlars. They get salt at Krasnovodsk, naphtha on Cheleken Island. Of all Turks the most given to trade, they bring these products to the roadstead of Asterabad. We may also recall here the Chude mines mentioned above. While the Buddhist Mongols get all their images

A Mongol musician. (From a photograph.)

and other objects of religious art from Tibet, Islam prohibits the manufacture of such things by the Mussulman Turcomans; these latter excelling in the ornamenting of women's clothing with coloured thread, lace, and beads, in the manufacture of weapons, above all in the polychromatic weaving of East Central Asia, obviously derived from Persian and Indian teaching. The nomad Turks of Persia furnish many of the more simple carpets of commerce.

The work of the house or tent is a burden as heavy as slavery on most Mongol and Kirghis women. The men are so lazy that even among the Turcomans one cannot speak of any fair division of labour. All duties within the tent are laid on the wife. Even in pitching the tent she is employed; she must manufacture felt and cords for the tent, and look after fuel. When there is any agriculture the woman tills, sows, and reaps; nay, she often has even to saddle and bridle the horses, to keep a watchful eye on saddle and weapons, and even to brew the spirit on which her lord and master gets drunk. The man's work is to tend the herds, to fight, and to thieve. Kirghis girls indeed watch the sheep at night when it is considered easy, but not by day; and if a woman is complaining of her husband, she says: "He treats me badly, he makes me mind the sheep in the daytime." The duty of looking after sick animals, especially calves, falls on the women. Besides this material overloading, their position is morally inferior. "Women's advice is only good for women," says a Kirghis proverb. A new-born boy is greeted with joy and pride, while the arrival of a girl is felt as a misfortune, not to say a burden. The Uigur verses—

> Better a girl came not to the birth or living did not stay;
> If underground she go when born, it is better so,
> And the birth-feast and the burial-feast shall be kept on the self-same day

are hard but true and in the judgment of most Asiatics profoundly justified.

Few nomad tribes are so consistent professors of Islam as to persist in keeping the women apart from the men. Uncovered faces are the rule, veils the exception. Under the cover of certain forms and formalities, unmarried women even go about frequently with a freedom which may go far, so long as no results are visible of their intercourse with the young men of the tribe, or so long as their intercourse does not extend beyond the limits of the *aoul*, which is held far worse. The use of abortive medicines is widespread and tolerated. This immorality, together with the celibacy of the lamas, has doubtless its share in causing the small increase in the population of many a Central Asiatic people. Exogamy is strictly observed among the Kirghises; men fetch their brides from another community, often 700 versts away and further.

Betrothal takes place long before the marriageable age, and the *kalym* or bridal present, though treated as a present, is in reality the purchase-price of the bride; as appears most clearly from the fact that among the Mongols poor people who cannot afford it have to work for their wives like Jacob. Betrothals when bride and bridegroom are still both in the cradle occur even at this day among the Kirghises, and the formalities which the bridegroom's father employs towards the bride's father in urging the suit are just the same as in the case of adults' wooing. The former goes with his nearest kinsfolk to the *uluss* of the bride, and talks with her father of indifferent matters, at last approaching him with a dram of brandy and a pipe filled and ready for lighting, and opening his suit. Among

the Kizil tribe of the Tomsk Kirghises, which clings with conspicuous staunchness to ancient custom, the bridegroom's father used even twenty years ago to speak as follows: "If the water overflows thy dwelling, I will be a firm dam; if the wind blows into thy dwelling I will be a sheltering wall; if thou call me I will run up like a dog; if thou strike me on the head, I will come into thy house and be thy kinsman." Reception and consumption of the brandy and the tobacco imply acceptance. Then the whole company discusses the *kalym*, and however tender may be the years of the pair that are to be linked together, the date of the wedding is debated with energy. The price is naturally fixed at so many head of cattle, most usually horses; one camel being worth five mares, one two or three camels, one courser, etc. Guns, hunting eagles, and so on are also thrown in. A hundred mares is a considerable *kalym*, none would amount to less than twenty-seven. By strict custom also the youthful bridegroom has every time he visits his bride to make her numerous presents. In 1868 the Russian Government gave Kirghis brides the right of withdrawing from wedlock with bridegrooms to whom they had been engaged in extreme youth. In that case the parents had to pay back the *kalym* with a penalty of nine head of cattle in addition. The Kirghises long kept this law concealed from the women; but when it was at length published, at the first meeting of the *volost*-court for the district of Ust-Kamenogorsk in Semipalatinsk, eleven girls appeared before the judge to inform him that they did not want to marry the men to whom they were betrothed. Formerly if a woman wished to be free from her husband, she had to run away from him three times. If it was then established upon inquiry that the husband had ill-treated his wife, the marriage was dissolved. The most lax marriages are among the Tarim people, who through wretchedness have lost their self-respect.

When means are forthcoming, the wooing of an adult bride is attended with even more extensive festivities. The kinsmen of the bridegroom who do the wooing are entertained for days together; partaking on the last day of a breast of mutton from a special dish, as a sign of the indissolubility of the contract. At these carouses every kind of practical joke is played on the wooers, even their departure being hindered by the women of the *aoul*, who put their harness out of order, sticking bones under the saddle or in the horses' tails. Many things, even the custom that the youngest wooer has to steal a cup and bring it home with him, show traces of marriage by capture. The same carouses with similar games and jokes are repeated when the bride's kinsmen pay a return visit to the bridegroom's village; and as the bride was invisible before, so is the bridegroom now. These visits are repeated, the *kalym* being gradually discharged the while, till the price of the marriage has been paid. Then the wooers make their last trip to the bride's *aoul*, on which occasion the bridegroom accompanies them, but remains at some distance in the open country, often in a tent, till the bride is hidden. Now follow amœbean songs all night, between the lads and maidens of the *aoul*, the former remaining outside the *yaourt* of the bride's father, the latter inside. Not until two parties have been formed, one trying to bring the bride out of her hiding-place, the other to keep her back, and the former, conquerors in the mock battle, have brought her back on a carpet into her father's *yaourt*, do the women invite the bridegroom in, to visit his bride. Paying a copious tribute of presents to the ladies of the *aoul*, the bridegroom enters the bride's tent, seeing her perhaps for the first time on this occasion, and remains some days alone with her. On

[illegible] secretly to his own people, he finds presents from his father-in-law which he has to distribute to the wooers. At last he comes in a solemn procession, driving cattle in front of him, to fetch away the bride to the *aoul* where his home is. At the feast, for which the oxen presented by him are slaughtered, women appear in the bride's finest clothes, among them the high fur cap, adorned

Shaman with drum. (From a photograph.)

with stones, beads, and coins, and often reaching a value of £400 or £5[illegible]. The progress of the bride to the bridegroom's *yaourt* is again surrounded with many formalities. The Tartars of Tomsk ingeniously carry a curtain suspended between two young birches, hiding the bridegroom's dwelling till the last moment from the view of the bride.

The married members of a large family community live apart, each in his own *yaourt*. Each tills his land to provide the food he requires, and other receipts have to be handed over to the head of the family. A widow has only the lot of land, and thereby becomes the slave of her father-in-law, who has bought her.

and does not abate a penny to any possible new purchaser. How little the *kalym* is a mere present, and how much it binds the woman, appears best of all from the fact that she passes by inheritance to the next eldest kinsman of the deceased, just the same whether he be young or old. A year after her husband's death, the widow must go to the successor. If this *amenger* be still a child she must wait till he is of full age. Russian law has put an end to this kind of slavery; but custom still holds fast to the fettered position of the purchased wife.

Polygamy is rare among the Buddhist Mongols, nor is it common even among the Turkic races; for among nomad tribes, often dwindling in population, the number of women is not disproportionately large. Here as elsewhere the rule holds that among races who are diminishing in number the female half of the population dwindles faster than the male. The *kalym* system deters from marriage, and large families are not in favour. Female infanticide is suspected even among the Russian Kalmucks, whose total numbers are decreasing. Of females the number declined 3.4 per cent between 1862 and 1867.

Polyandry prevails extensively in Tibet; mostly that form of it in which the eldest brother's wife is wife to all the other brothers, but it also happens that two, three, or even four kinsmen have one wife among them. Quarrels seldom result from these marriages, and when they do, it is chiefly in regard to the ownership of children. In such case the decision is given either by facial resemblance, or by the authority of the grandmother. The custom is found as far north as the Tangutes, and is not rare in Little Tibet, of four brothers living with one wife; but the youngers remain in a subordinate position, which makes the custom more intelligible. In this case the care of the children falls to the eldest brother, and the children themselves speak of the "older" and the "younger" fathers. Long ago the poverty of the country was held responsible for these conditions; and polyandry may hence be referred to the same cause as the widespread celibacy. The fact that among the Kara-Tangutes the nomads are monogamous, the settlers polyandrous, agree with this view. Possibly too the practice may be encouraged from state motives, looking to the dangers of over-population as seen in China. We hear too of a tax that has to be paid on each wife in Tibet. Among the Tibetans it certainly fits in with the policy of the Chinese Government, though the custom is not so recent as Chinese sovereignty in Tibet. Indeed Cæsar found it among the Britons, as did the Spaniards who first visited the Canaries among the Guanches. In the Chinese geography of Weit-Sang we read: "In Tibet the women are stronger than the men, who are weak; and for that reason three or four brothers often have one wife." The Baltis, who in adopting Islam laid aside polyandry, are evidence of the economic objects and results of this system, since they have increased so rapidly that they have to be constantly emigrating, to Yarkand, Cashmere, Jummoo, and even to the lower hills of India. The Maharajah of Jummoo was able to form an entire Balti regiment. In any case the Tibetan policy of seclusion which objects to the incoming of strangers no less than the leaving of the country by natives may regard both polyandry and celibacy as strong allies. A minority of women is not everywhere the reason for the custom; in Lassa there are said to be even more women than men. In the frontier districts, too, plenty of Tibetan women are ready to form alliances with Chinese, while the converse seems to happen seldom. That the murder of girls at

birth may pave the way for the custom is more than probable. The mass of celibate lamas is the cause of great immorality among the people.

Birth takes place before a concourse of the elder women of the *aoul* or tribe, who employ magical means of resistance to hostile powers. Among some there is no lack of obstetrical knowledge; but this in many cases does not prevent the woman from applying heroic treatment to herself, accommodating this at the same time to the practice which enjoins attention to household duties up to the actual beginning of the pains. We are told of the Kirghises of Semipalatinsk that in extreme cases they will place the woman on horseback, with a rider, in order that a wild gallop may accelerate the operation of nature. "Sometimes it does good, sometimes she dies." A freshly-killed lamb or sheep plays a great part among the Kirghises all through the time of parturition. Part of its flesh is thrown into the fire to propitiate the spirits; from another part is made the broth which is the only food of the lying-in woman, while the infant is washed in the scum of it. The child is laid, wrapped in the warm skin, if a boy in the higher part of the tent, if a girl in the lower. A cervical vertebra is hung over the child to make its neck strong. It remains near its mother for three days, being previously washed in water in which gold or silver coins are placed for luck; but during this period the mother must not hush its cries. After three days it is settled in its cradle, either a cloth on four posts, in which it lies upon wool of the spring-shearing or upon the thick felt-like winter coat of the camel, or a frame woven of osier like a small bed, which is carried on a stick like a basket on its handle, and put on a horse in front of the mother. Among the Mongols the new-born child is "baptized" as soon as possible after this, by dipping three times with prayers in a bucket full of salt water, on which occasion the name is given. After each bath it is wrapped three times in the cloth which has belonged to it since its birth; which, ultimately, when saturated with grease, is either thrown to the dogs, who are thought to devour with it all germs of disease, or used as a remedy to be worn on the body by sick people.

We find names like "Horse," "Young Dog," and the like. Among the Mongols, where a Buddhist priest is called in, names are given with reference to the constellations, the year, the month, the day. Hence come names like Dordyi "power," or "Ochir," one of the Buddhist sacred utensils. At three or four years old the Mongol child receives the silken cord with the amulet bag of leather, containing formulæ of prayer written out. He will wear this appendage throughout his life, and add others to it by purchase. Among the Turks the boy is presented at an early age with a stallion foal, born of the favourite mare in the year of his own birth.

Property in land in the strictest sense is naturally known only to tribes like the Kara-Kalpaks, among whom the nomad mode of life has given place to agriculture. Among these people, who changed their home only on compulsion, the cultivable ground has been distributed among the clans; new-comers have to buy. The pasture-lands are the communal property of the *aoul*, or *khoton*, among the Mongols. Peaceable immigrants can only obtain a footing as dependents on the landowners. Thus the Tepters of the Bashkir country are not an originally distinct race, but a subsequent stratum of invaders, a mixture of Tartars and Bashkirs, which in the sequel has become firmly settled. The word *Teptere* denotes properly "the last-come," "the newly-arrived"; and the nomad Bashkirs

treat them with contempt. Apart from the herds, the movable property of nomads whose conditions of life are simple, like the south-eastern and the most northern Mongols, is so evenly distributed, that the social conditions growing out of unequal distribution of goods disappear. Prjevalsky might well exclaim: "They lack three attributes of modern civilization—a proletariat, beggary, prostitution." Where there is fighting and consequently booty there are greater differences, which find their expression in the possession of slaves, wives, weapons, finer horses. But the more peaceful, the more original, the more genuine the nomad, so much less perceptible are differences of wealth. It is touching to see the joy with which a Mongol chief of Tsaidam receives his tribute of a handful of tobacco, a lump of sugar, and twenty-five kopecks.

Among the Turcomans and Kara-Kalpaks the nobility has fallen low, and only in some Kirghis tribes has it retained a prominent place. When the Kalmucks of the Volga came to Russia, the division into the ruling class of "White-legs" and the subordinate class of "Black-legs" still held good. Midmost among the former was the Ban, or in Turkish, Van, who delegated the government of the subdivisions of the *uluss* to his friends and kinsmen. The "white-legged" Cossack Kirghis still reckon themselves much better than the "black-legged" of their nation, priding themselves on their direct descent from some sultan, beg, or renowned hero. Even the respect paid to the *khoja* or theologian descended from the Prophet has to give way to this. These *khojas* were too often adventurers, with nothing but a green turban to show, to be capable of comparison with nobles in the eyes of the Kirghis family pride, which likes to count at least seven "forefathers," even where there is no nobility.

Political organisation reaches deep into the patriarchal institutions of the pastoral life. The families, whose genealogical connection even the ordinary man can trace back over a long series of generations, are united in clans, called by the Turks *syok*, by the Mongols *aimak*, the firm nucleus of all political formations of a higher stage, which grow out of the tent community of families of five or six members each, which again is united as the *khoton* or *aoul* under the grandfather or other eldest male. Several *khotons* which pasture near together are held together by blood relationships, but by the time they embrace as many as eighteen families, the recollection of this grows faint. Such larger groups bear among the Mongols the special name of *anghi*, which the Russians translate by a word meaning "band," though its proper meaning is "stock." The duty of that part of a clan which survives a war or pestilence to care for the orphans and the herds of those who have perished, shows that a closer connection than that created by political considerations only is still felt; and that origin from a common seed is assumed is proved by the often-recurring aversion to choosing a wife within the clan. The old-fashioned Kirghis above all avoid this as incestuous, and have only exceptionally permitted it to their princes. We have evidence of the antiquity of the clans, too, in the frequent recurrence of their names; but they only attain high antiquity where they have been able to maintain themselves amid the whole tangle of ancient manners and customs. As soon as nomadism is dropped the clan system ceases to be so pure as formerly. Even now the Ersari Turcomans, as semi-nomads, attach no such importance to these clans as do their wholly nomad brethren on the steppe. The Crim Tartars, the people of Azerbaijan, and the Osmanlis have quite forgotten their clan names.

It is easy to see that this often makes the distinction, always difficult, of families and clans quite impossible, and that these great differences occur in the statements of the number of clans. From clans and stocks grows up the tribe, which the Mongols call *uluss*, the Turks *uruk*. Tribes, perhaps formerly united in one, are subordinated one to another by peculiar conditions of subjection. Thus the Yograis and Golyks of North Tibet form a single subdivision of the Tangutes, but live in separate territories; and the former recognise no lord of their own blood, but regard the chief of the Golyks as such. The poor Jatak Kirghises are by ancient law treated as serfs by those of their nation who still dwell on the steppe; and in former times the rape of Jatak girls by Kirghises of the steppe was a common occurrence.

Important as is the clan organisation for the cohesion of society, it is of little significance from a political point of view. Revolts from chiefs of the tribe, and appointments of strangers to that high post, are not uncommon, while the head of the clan stands immovably secure. The clan chiefs formerly served the tribal chief as first among his equals. The Kara-Kirghises, of all Turkic peoples the most patriarchal and monarchical, have an *Aga-Manap* or head chief, who convenes the clan chiefs or *manaps* to counsel on questions affecting the whole people. Like him, only less influential, is the "Sultan" of the Cossacks. From the Kalmuck stock of the Volga steppe the Derbetes, numbering 4900 *kibitkas*, split off at the end of last century on the extinction of the main line of its hereditary chiefs, and joined the Don Cossacks between the Don and the Yei. Under foreign rule the power of the tribal chiefs has naturally suffered, to the advantage of the clans; and the Chinese especially have understood how by making use of the clans to disintegrate the Mongols ever more and more. In time of war the tribe is led by a *sirdar* or *beg*. During peace Turcomans and Cossacks pay little heed to the authority of the chiefs; while Kirghises carry submission so far as to call themselves the slaves of their *manap*, commit their goods to him, and regard him as absolute judge. No doubt they expect some reciprocal sacrifices from him. He consults the greybeards of the clan on important occasions. From among the eldest men are chosen, when necessary, overseers of the water-supply, and of the use of the soil, and generally representatives of the public interest on points of *adat* or traditional custom.

The expressions, "horde," "wing," "swarm," often literally coinciding with the words for "hundred," ten thousand," etc., are familiar to every one who is acquainted with Mongol or Turkish history. They are relics of the great military organisations which once enabled these nations to meet in compact masses the Great Powers of their time. Thus the Cossack Kirghises are divided into a Little, a Middle, and a Great Horde; of which the first comprises three clans, the second four, the third two. Naturally, too, tribes less closely related combine for joint campaigns, their alliances being as changeable as they themselves are mobile. The Ersari Turcomans who live south of the Oxus, belonging nominally to Bokhara, who formerly made raids into Persia in conjunction with the Tekkes of Merv, were easily induced, in 1879, by the Bokharian Beg of Charjui, to march against their former allies.

The number of names of peoples is a burden to the ethnographer who concerns himself with the history of Central Asian nomads, but they are referable in the case of smaller subdivisions of a tribe, and often in that of the tribe itself,

merely to the names of chiefs. Of such origin are world-famous names like Osmanli, Seljuk, Jagatai. Hence they change with the leaders. The names of larger groups like Kirghises or Cossacks are more widely known and therefore more permanent; and for this reason their meaning has as a rule become so indistinct that no historical purport can now be connected with them. Kirghis means "roamer of the country," Cossack, "vagabond," Uzbek, "genuine prince." "Kirghis," in a Russian mouth has become a collective name, embracing much more than it has any right to do, and "Tartar" includes Mongols and Turks almost without distinction. In this connection the difference in the origin of the names is significant. The clan-names are from purely Turkish sources, while from the time of Mongol influence in the thirteenth century, Mongol tribe-names have maintained themselves among Kirghises, Kara-Kirghises, Kara-Kalpaks, and Uzbeks. There are also Persian names. The distribution or disintegration, is often pretty recent, and traditions are found as to former connections among tribes that have since broken up into hordes remaining far apart from each other. No doubt its historical fortunes raised a small subdivision above the mass and assigned it a higher rank. The Kiptchaks are only a clan of the Kara-Kirghis, which, owing to its association with the history of Khokand, earned the honour of being regarded as a nation to itself.

A few words may be said in conclusion as to the political constitution of the dependent nomad tribes. Mongolia, in the view of the Chinese authorities, falls politically into two unequal halves. One includes the "Inner Mongols" who again are divided into forty-nine "banners," in the districts bordering on Manchuria and China, till towards Tibet. To these belong the Ordos Mongols. All the nomads, however, in the "Inner Mongol" territory are classed as "wandering herdsmen." The "Outer Mongols" embrace the Khalkas and the West Mongols or Kalmucks. The Khalkas are divided into eighty-three banners. The eastern capital is Urga, the western Uliassutai; here the Chinese governors reside with four khans under them. Each khan has to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of eight white horses and one white camel. The Kalmucks or Olutes dwell to the south and west of the Khalkas as far as the Ili country and Lake Koko-Nor. Among them are the Mongols of the Tangute district governed from Si-Ning, and those of Ala-Shan, in twenty-nine khostumates. The entire Mongol population is further subdivided into groups of ten families under decurions; and these in turn form the members of a military hierarchy. At their head stand the three military governors at Shehol, Kalgan, and Urumtsi. Besides these, high military officers with native regents under them, reside at Ugra, Uliassutai, Tarbagatai, Turfan, Kuldja, Yarkand. Here and there isolated traces are found of tribal connections in the days of independence. Just so the Ordos country was divided by the Chinese into the three principalities of Tung-Kung, Chung-Kung, and Si-Kung (east, middle, and west kingdoms), each being governed under Chinese suzerainty by native princes who every year meet the similarly dependent princes of the frontier-countries Mao-Min-Ngan, and Targam to advise upon matters of common interest. They have also to do homage every three years to the emperor at Pekin.

Up till now the Chinese have let the native princes of Mongolia who were willing to conform to their influence, reign on undisturbed. A Chinese official, as a rule a Manchu, is at the head; and under him are the hereditary Mongol

princes, adopting Chinese ways and in the pay of China. The greater chiefs have married into the Chinese Imperial family. Kang-hi set up a special Mongol tribunal over these princes in Pekin, which took over their power of life and death. Beside this, there is in the capital a special government office for Mongolian affairs, significantly called also the colonial office. This has to attend to all questions throughout the vast Chinese possessions between Russia and India which are carried to headquarters. Lastly, the Chinese utilize the nomad chiefs in their own interest in this wise; after the same method as has borne them so good fruit in Manchuria, when they settle they rent the land from the Mongol grandees, and lend them money or goods, by the help of which they soon become owners of the land. The consideration that the bustling, growing Chinese population pays them more abundant taxes than their own scanty and lazy Mongol subjects, makes them yet more inclined to this arrangement. Where the Chinese do not appear as peaceable settlers, as in the steppe south of Ala-Shan or in the Tangute country, they are held of small political value. In North Mongolia some princes, by forbidding the foundation of families, formed the idea of setting a barrier to Chinese extension, which could not be wholly broken down by the irregular connections formed by Chinese with Mongol women. Even at Urga, where politically they are decidedly the masters, the merchants are confined to a special Chinese town.

The relations of the Turcomans to Persia and the Central Asiatic khanates, so long as these had any political power, were similar. Great part of the nomads were successfully made sedentary and therefore peaceful. Russia has with greater energy carried out the same task in regard to all the Turkic peoples north of the Attrek and the Upper Oxus, and thereby has contributed most largely to restrain the nomads who once threatened all Europe and Western Asia. She has cleverly made use of the old enmity between Mongols and Turks, by attaching the Kalmucks to herself, and employing them against the Tartars.

§ 14. THE TIBETANS.[1]

Dress; ornament; weapons—Food; cattle-breeding; agriculture—Capacity for culture in Tibet—Routes of traffic—Various tribes; Tangutes (Golyks and Yograis), Dalds—Government; Chinese superintendence.

THE Tibetans of both sexes wear a long coat with sleeves like a caftan, girt about the loins. It is made of wool in summer, of sheep-skin covered with some coloured material in winter. The skin hangs like a bag over the girdle. Men often let the right sleeve hang down, so that the arm and part of the breast remain uncovered even in hard frost. The skin of the sheep's thigh is worn in place of trousers. Tibetan nomads have no shirts; they sleep naked in their tents on a sheet of felt, with their coats thrown over them. The foot-gear consists of long boots of a coarse woollen fabric with leather soles, an excellent protection against cold. Both sexes wear caps of sheep-skin or fox-skin; but at times also a fillet of red woollen cloth. Various small properties, and in the

[1] The name "Tibet" has been in use since the days of Marco Polo for the country between the Himalaya, the Kuen-Lun, and Lake Koko-Nor. The inhabitants call it "Bodyul," the Chinese, who count it part of their empire, "Tsang."

case of men, the sword, hang to the girdle. A flap on the right shoulder, ornamented with coral or turquoises, is an amulet which is bought from the lamas. The lamas' yellow clothes, owing to the difficulty of getting yellow materials, are being more and more supplanted by red. Among the more southerly peoples the body garment is of woollen yarn, the fur appearing only as overcoat. Thus the men of Ladak wear a woollen cloth, overlapping for some distance in front, with a girdle; the women a similar garment of a lighter colour, blue or red, woollen trousers and Tibetan boots of wool or felt. Darker colours are preferred in Spiti. The Baltis wear the same, but their coats are shorter. Similar clothing, always of a light gray, is worn under Indian influence by the Paharis, the mountaineers of Lahul, a mixed race belonging to the Kanets; and the Tibetan woollen coat in a shortened form belongs also to the Mons of Tawan. In Bhootan and Nepaul it is found only among the nomads in the high mountains; lower down the doublets and trousers are of wool, and among the Lepchas even of silk, from the silkworm of the *ricinus*. Here we find the comical contrast between Hindoos who button their jackets to the left, and Mussulmans who do it to the right. That vigorous savage, the Lhoba-Daphla, wears his woollen covering girded, the belt serving him also for a quiver. Where Indian influences extend, woollen garments are the dress of the masses, while wealthier persons strive to distinguish themselves by cotton robes. In Dardistan, where this social difference is sharply marked, these clothes can only be obtained from the lowlands at a high cost. The dress of the Dald women, a short coat with sleeves, and over it a sleeveless coat, the whole held together by a belt, is, like their head-dress, more Tibetan than Chinese. The higher dignitaries in Tibet dress in rich sable, in Chinese fashion, and like to trim their clothes with leopard-skin. On the Chinese frontier the people wear also loose blue trousers and turned-up shoes. On the other hand, Tibetan dress has spread as far as the Tsaidam Mongols, who dress like the Tangutes, wishing, it seems, to be taken for those "bush-whackers."

With men the Chinese pigtail prevails as far as India. North Tibetan tribes wear several tails tied together at the back of the head. Since the Mussulmans keep their hair short and wear a turban, the pigtail in those parts marks the Buddhist. In Kan-su the people of Yarkand are called turban-wearers. Among the Ladakis we find the hair cut short in front, and the pigtail in the form of a bag; while the Baltis, converts to Islam and already under Western influence, shave the head bare but for two side-locks. The Kanets of Lahol, who live with Mussulmans, wear their hair similarly, but let a forelock peep out from the little turban. The Goorkhas cut their hair short at the nape, and shave a patch in front. The hair of Tibetan women is plaited sometimes in only two, sometimes in countless little pigtails, which are gathered into one behind, and widened by means of ribbons, hang like a little cloak over the back, or carry a whole jeweller's shop of rings. The Dald women, in place of this, have a handkerchief stretched broad upon a horn-like head-dress hanging far down the back, and pressing down the whole figure with the heavy weight on the head. Then again women are seen with a gigantic fabric of yak-hair on the head, to make their own supply of hair look larger; while others wear, fastened in their hair as head-ornament, little bowls of beaten silver, or as in Ladak a small silver basin set with precious stones. Chains of silver coins, mostly rupees, are seldom lacking in the hair or on the

breast. This overloading of the head with ornament is found also in Kulu and Spiti. The Ladaki women wear simple side-plaits; their hair-ornament is a broad band laid from the forehead to the back of the head, set with shells, rough turquoises, or beads. The round skull-cap, so widespread as the head covering of Chinese and Mongols, is frequently found. It is furnished with ear flaps against the cold; in summer they can be turned up. The village elders among the Baltis have begun to wear turbans over this. Cylindrical brimless straw caps, as worn by the Lhoba-Daphlas, point to Burmah and the Shans. The wide woollen caps of the Ladakis were the forerunners of the peculiar broad-brimmed Dard hat; a piece of cloth half a yard long rolled up so as to form a depression in the middle with a broad rim round it. Wherever Dards live, if they are not Buddhists, they wear this characteristic headgear. In Spiti a bag-shaped cap prevails. The brand, as large as a sixpence, which most Baltis wear on the scalp is curious. Painting of the face in Indian fashion is usual among Ladaki women.

A Lama of Lassa. (From a photograph.)

On his breast almost every Tibetan wears a little gold, silver, or copper box, containing various forms of exorcism, as an amulet against evil spirits. It is often richly set with turquoises, the stone most commonly used for ornament. On the eastern frontier of Tibet the women, with their ornaments, earrings, necklaces, amulets, made up of gold, silver, turquoise, and coral, beat their Chinese sisters quite out of the field. In the manufacture of ornament Indian and Chinese taste encounter each other in Tibet; and while of recent years the latter is beginning in an increasing degree to prevail, it was otherwise in earlier times, when there was obviously much more solid wealth. Little Tibet seems once to have shone in its artistic metal-work hardly less than the renowned Cashmere. With the present prosperity the greater part of those arts seems to have been lost; and what most strikes the visitor in the

ornament of Ladak and Baltistan are mainly the rough turquoises which appear in remarkable quantity and of great size. Indian love of finery has extended to Baltistan, where Indian and Persian gold and silversmith's work is more frequent.

The men of the nomad tribes are always armed. Every man carries at least a sword in his belt, and a spear; when possible, a firearm also. The Chinese matchlock is found as far as the Indian frontier. After the Chinese model the fork to rest the gun upon is carried as a stopper. Swords are often of handsome Chinese work, the hilt ending in a piece of red coral or a turquoise. While former observers, especially missionaries, describe the Tibetans as superior in strength to the Chinese, seasoned and used to war, Russian travellers found them as great cowards as other Asiatics, handling their weapons carelessly, and using pebbles as bullets for lack of lead. We are reminded of the Tibetan herdsmen's custom of driving their cattle with the sling; and with the sling they attack where they are still without guns. Naturally they easily frighten the badly-armed and timid-spirited Mongol caravan-leaders, who, plundered or squeezed by the Tangutes every time they cross the Tibetan frontier, have no doubt done most to spread the warlike fame of the Tibetans. Wherever the yak is found, whether in herds or as a beast of burden, there do we find also peoples Tibetan in their mode of labour, in customs, and in dress. The yak's element is the thin clear air of high valleys, his food is the short grass growing on the mountain pastures of the Himalaya and Kuenlun; with him the pastoral races of the Tibetan plateau have travelled far to the south in the mountain country, and have crossed the ridge which the Indians, coming from the south and used to sub-tropical warmth, do not reach by a long way. Ordinarily the owners of herds of yaks are mere herdsmen; but in Ladak the yak draws the plough, even in conjunction with cows, and the Ladakis, who live in part by a carrying trade, harness him in front of their waggons. Yak and mutton, often raw, form the chief articles of food. The meat is followed by tea, pounded in stone mortars and boiled in copper kettles, to which milk and butter in great quantity are added. Another favourite food is peeled barley with *taryk* or boiled milk turned sour. Pundit Nain Singh saw in Khorsan, at a height of 14,500 feet, large stone dishes in which the Champas prepare a soup of meal, which with milk, cheese, and butter represents the chief of their diet. Spirituous drinks are made from fermented milk and barley infusion. Three hundred brood-mares are kept on pasture-lands not far from Lassa, from whose milk is prepared a spirit appropriated to the use of the Dalai Lama. Among the Ladakis it has been found necessary to legislate against the use of spirits. Their sourish beer made without hops is called *chang*.

In Southern Tibet alone, in spite of its elevation, is agriculture still found. Barley, according to Nain Singh, is grown in Tibet up to 15,000 feet. No sooner is the Chang-tang or Northern Plain reached than one is in the midst of nomads; and further north great part of the country is uninhabited. Agriculture does not reappear till the Kuku-Nor district. A pundit who travelled from Lassa to the Tanla range in the first half of his journey passed some 7000 tents, while in the second half, on the Chang-tang, he found the country uninhabited. Five horsemen, probably brigands, and a caravan from Mongolia to Lassa were all the human beings whom he met. Prjevalsky too notes the complete absence of mankind in a tract 500 miles wide at an altitude of 14,000 to 16,000 feet.

The total population of the country is in any case very sparse, and can hardly reach 2,000,000.

The Tibetans are above all things tanners. They scrape the hides with stones. They make tea-kettles and cups of imported copper. They also make gun-stocks, the metal parts being supplied by the Chinese. The beds of precious stones, next to the herds the chief wealth of Tibet, as well as the jade mines in the Karakash valley, are worked by Chinese even in the extreme south-west, on the frontier of East Turkestan. Owing to the seclusion of the country, trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Chinese, who above all meet the considerable demand for tea, and bring Japanese trinkets even to the convent markets of Central Tibet. The firm hold of the Chinese in Tibet receives material support from the Tibetan passion for "brick" tea. They are also indispensable as bankers and moneylenders. Gill calls the Chinese, with some exaggeration, "the only people in the country who have any money"; but the Lamas in North Tibet lend money at 2 per cent per month. In quite recent times the exports of Tibet have gone through Western Mongolia to Russian Turkestan; and it has been thought that trade is falling off on the Chinese frontier. In spite of the efforts of the English, trade between Tibet and India has made little progress, and even of Indian tea little goes to Tibet. Nepaulese merchants, however, carry on a trade in cloth and metal goods with Lassa whence they used formerly to bring back brick tea as far as Cashmere. Caravans even reach the neighbourhood of Lassa with a convoy; but on the northern frontier the raids of the Tangutes and Yograis often stop all intercourse for years together. Chinese coin is used in Tibet; silver *pesos*, too, are imported from China and rupees from Nepaul, as far as Batang. These are melted down, with a third part of copper, to form the Tibetan *syce*-silver rupees. Since the end of the 'seventies roubles

A Tangute woman. (From a photograph by Potanin.)

also have been current. An old Ladaki silver coinage, the *jad* or *jao*, is found in the bazaars of Ladak beside rupees and Chinese copper money. From the capital of Tibet an easy road, said to be open all the year round, leads to Pekin, going by Tsiamdo and Batang to Szchuan; another, more difficult, is traversed in summer to Tsaidam and Lake Koko-Nor. The journey is made with yaks, which can carry a rider twenty miles a day, a load half that distance. Nepaul is reached by roads whose central point is the bazaar of Shigatze near Teshilumbo, the San-po being crossed by a narrow iron suspension-bridge.

The nomad Tibetans are broken up into a great number of tribes. A north-eastern Turkic group is called in the country "Sokpa," a north-western "Horpa." Among them are the inhabitants of the Tanla Range, the Yograis and Golyks, who are half independent of Lassa. The word "Tangute" introduced by Prjevalsky is Mongolic, and in the mouth of a western Chinese signifies all Tibetans. The Tibetans on Lake Koko-Nor are called "Fan-Tze" by the Chinese; they are under the Chinese governor of Kan-su, and like the Mongols with whom they have intermixed, are ruled by native chiefs. They look to the Dalai Lama as their hereditary sovereign. There are Tibetans also in the province of Tsaidam. In the neighbourhood of the lamasery of Shaibsen, agriculture is carried on by Chinese mingled with Tangutes; west of it lie purely Chinese villages on the southern edge of the Gobi Desert. In the province of Kan-su we find a population who have become Chinese in like manner with the Dungans, namely the Dalds, a mixture of Tibetans, Mongols, and Turks, husbandmen who have adopted for the most part the Chinese dress and language. In contrast to these the genuine Tibetans of West China, though living in closer contact with Chinese and under their sovereignty, have taken up but little of Chinese usages. Economically, indeed, they are quite dependent on the Chinese, who work their coal-mines and salt-lakes, weave the yak wool spun by Tibetans into the cloth of which all their clothes are made, and besides this run the profitable trade in rhubarb.

The government of Tibet is formally in the hands of the two chief lamas, the Dalai and the Panshen, who are assisted by four ministers; but the superior direction lies with the two Chinese residents in Lassa, high officials of the Manchu flag. The administration of Tibet is closely connected with that of Szchuan, which furnishes soldiers and money for the maintenance of Chinese sovereignty in Tibet. What further smaller lordships the vast country may embrace is not clear, nor do we know what weight can be attached to such statements as that "the monastery of Tavan is independent of Lassa, and its 600 lamas are well armed with muskets and bows," and similar notices of the pundits. The extent, the sparse population, and the political weakness of this Buddhist ecclesiastical state render probable a very loose cohesion between the smaller political elements. Of the women's empire, Nu Kuo, which according to the Chinese annals embraced Northern Tibet and was governed by the greater and the lesser queens, whose warriors were, however, men, though sons bore their mothers' names, all traces seem to have disappeared.

Politically, then, Tibet must be regarded as part of the Chinese Empire. The Dalai Lama can only be instituted with the consent of the Chinese Emperor, and every other year presents go, as a mitigated form of tribute, from Lassa to Pekin. Even in the last century Chinese soldiers were posted on the confines of the East India Company's possessions in Bengal to protect Tibet against

Nepaulese invasions. Beside the political sovereignty, China has also the economic preponderance. In spite of the difficulty of communication—it takes three months to get from Lassa to Sining—it has managed to exclude all other powers from the markets of Tibet. In the frontier districts of Szchuan numerous Chinese-Tibetan half-breeds are found who are despised by the pure Tibetans. Tibetan women are glad to marry Chinese traders and soldiers. The Tibetan mandarins in Batang wear Chinese dress and speak Chinese fluently, just as Chinese is also the language of civilization and trade throughout the frontier districts in spite of the numerical preponderance of Tibetans in the larger frontier towns like Tatsian-lu. On the other hand, regular immigration from China into Tibet has not up to now had as free play as into Mongolia, the Chinese authorities seeming to put difficulties in the way of the transference of large masses of people. The Tibetans themselves are obviously not lacking in self-esteem, which their possession of the holy city of Buddhism tends to nourish. Hence, although they hold towards China the position rather of subjects than of allies, they are jealous of the influence of that power, even looking down upon the Chinese as unclean; and naturally even more jealous of western nations who at this very time are wishing to open the roads into Tibet to their trade and therewith to their explorers. Our comprehension of the ethnological conditions of Central Asia, India, and Further India cannot be regarded as conclusive, so long as vast territories, wherein so many threads of Asiatic race-origins and so many roads traversed by Asiatic race-movements intersect, remain in unexplored obscurity.

§ 15. THE PEOPLES OF INDIA IN GENERAL

No one Indian race—Predravidic elements—Dravidians—Mongols—Hindoos—Cross-breeds—Ethnographic and religious significance of the racial differences—The ancient Southern Asiatics—Prehistoric monuments—Relations with Central Asia and the Malay Archipelago—Indian National character—Soft and hard——Sanscrit Literature—Sculpture; architecture; painting; the lesser arts.

WHEN on the occasion of a census in India in the year 1871 an attempt was made to group the races of the peninsula according to their numerical strength they were distributed into 110 millions of cross-breeds, 41 of Mohammedans 18 of aboriginal non-Aryan stocks, and 16 of pure Aryans; 185 millions in all.[1] This motley classification shows the difficulty of keeping apart the races in a country into which for centuries the nations have flowed from the most various quarters, have mingled, and have modified themselves under new conditions. The fact that Mussulmans are ranked, as a great national group, with races, is a confession of the impossibility of separating their racial elements; and the same is shown by the great number of cross-breeds. The simple hypothesis that into the aboriginal dark negroid stocks an irruption took place first of Aryans, then of partly Mongolic Mohammedans, who in some cases pushed the original inhabitants before them to south and west, in others formed mixed races, in any case involves no such difficulties. But every attempt to go any further leads up to the task of carefully setting out the distinctions, like Mantegazza's distribution

[1] The census of 1881 gives an enumeration by religions, showing 188 millions of Hindoos, 50 of Mohammedans, 6.4 of Aborigines, 3.4 of Buddhists, 1.8 of Christians, and a like number of Sikhs.

into Hindoos of Aryan, Malay, and Semitic type, Mongols, Jews, mans, among whom Turanians lurk, and finally aboriginal stocks. The "predravidic" type of the so-called primitive or

A Veddah of Ceylon shooting with the bow. (From a photograph by Prof. Emil Schmidt of Leipzig.)

savages, has negroid elements in the flat nose, the bulging mouth, the prognathous upper jaw, the sparse beard, somewhat more abundant on the chin only; while there is a mulatto quality in the half-silky, wavy, strong-growing hair. Stature is in general small; the "dwarfs" of India belong to this kind. In the Western Ghauts and in Ceylon there are people of 4 feet 10 inches, brown and yellow, who

... bring honey, wax, and sandal wood to the settled parts. No ... be drawn that they oc- ... stage of humanity. ... startling descriptions of ... the interior of Ceylon, ... whether their wretched ... is not partly to blame for ... what smaller stature, their ... less intelligent or more ... instincts coarser. Worth consideration in this direction is the old Tamul conception of "Kuraver," a term embracing all mountaineers occupied in gathering honey, watching millet fields, digging roots, manufacture of intoxicating drinks, sale of the henna plant. In the Mahars of Northern Konkan has been seen "the lowest type of the human race on the west coast of India"; but they are a society of outcasts, left to perform the unclean offices of flayers and removers of ordure. With them again the Khonds to the south-east of Gondwana, are said to be at the lowest stage, coming as it is alleged nearest to the negroes, "blacker and smaller." It is significant that all these tribes are also in bad repute for their terrible leanness, and dirty, not unfrequently leprous, skin. But there are among them settled and stronger tribes, as the Bheels of the Dangs in Central India, the Pulayas or Puliars of Travancore, the Mhairs of the Aravulli Hills, the Kolushes of the Nerbudda Valley and Southern Berar, and the Kurkis of the northern West Ghauts, who are settled under the Gonds on the plateaux of the Middle Nerbudda district.

A Tamul coolie. (From a photograph.)

Not every peculiarity of the majority of the aboriginal stocks of India, which are also comprised under the term Kolarian stocks, is to be ascribed to racial difference; some are brought about by the operation of social and religious organisations, which cut especially deep in India. Above all, crossing in all directions and variety in degrees of decadence are responsible for the multiplicity of "primitive races."

These peoples must be kept apart from the Dravidians, with whom they were once compendiously lumped together. The name "Dravidian races" fits only the Tamuls, Telugus, and Canarese of Southern India, remoter kindred of the dark aboriginal population, to whom Aryan colonists brought the religion of Brahma, a higher civil order, and of course the opportunity of extensive intermixture. The selection of the term is connected with its use in the sacred writings of the old Indians, where it is applied to the Kshatriyas on the east coast of the Deccan, who have fallen to the rank of Sudras. As a rule, however, all are called Dravidian who are not Aryan or Semitic, and speak agglutinative languages like Tamul. As a breed they are defined by dark colour, Mongolian features, smooth hair. The nucleus of the old Tamul race was indeed, says Grant, "devoted to the nomad life, the fundamental institution of Turanian existence"; but the hypothesis of their close connection with the population of Tibet has not attained the rank of a scientific certainty. Only certain Indian stocks in the Himalaya, who geographically approach the vast neighbouring territories of the Tibetans, may be decidedly reckoned in the Mongol race, though widely divided from it in language and manners.

Mongol elements cannot indeed be lacking in the rest of India, often as it has been inundated in historical times by Mongol hordes; but they are more widely spread than historical influences would seem to justify, and thus we are brought to the Turanians of prehistoric India. In the Mahrattas we meet with a race doubtless strongly Mongoloid in the position of ruler. The Mahratta is of medium stature, small rather than large; his face is flat, with moderately prominent cheek bones, eyes small and dark, nose short, often turned up with wide open nostrils, beard long but scanty, skin of bronze colour. It is also a Mongoloid quality in the Mahratta women that they are small, delicate, and in varying degrees fairer than the men. The Thangs, akin to the Mahrattas in language, approximate physically to the Bheels, who are almost as much involved historically with the Turanian influences as the kindred Mhairs, Minas, and Ramusis, who certainly are strongly Mongoloid. Nor can a strong admixture of Mongol be denied to the Jats, a group which has been so active historically, nor to the Sonthals. These, however, are regarded by some as a remnant of the original Dravidian population of Lower Bengal, who have been driven towards the Vindhya Hills. Goorkhas and Sikhs, who belong here, now furnish the picked troops of India, as once the toughest opponents of British arms; since it has been recognised that they do better service in the army than the members of higher castes, the standard of height has been for the sake of the former lowered to the truly Mongol level of 5 feet.

The Hindoo of Aryan type is brown, from dark to coffee-coloured, darker as a rule in low than in high castes, of medium height, with sleek black hair, handsome oval face, thin, often slightly curved nose; beard and hair less close than in Europeans. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, the lips pronounced, the chin weak. The form, especially in the women, is often very beautiful; but the legs are weakened by long continuance in a squatting posture. The skull is a fine oval of small or medium size, the forehead not strongly marked. Hindoos of the higher castes in European dress most resemble Greeks or Southern Italians. It is difficult sharply to separate this type, for unknown blendings cause it to vary in a Semitic, mulatto, or Malay direction. The Dards, who live at the

headwaters of the Indus as far as the Oxus watershed and the Gilgit river, show perhaps one of the purest stamps of the stocks whose immigration gave rise to the Hindoo. They are stalwart and well-built, good mountaineers, strong porters, lovers of liberty, frank-hearted; with red cheeks, brown eyes, black or brown hair. Their caste-system and their language, nearly akin to the Dogri, show recent Indian influences.

For Europeans, the gipsy, when his blood is not too much mixed, is the best representative of the average hybrid Indians who form the mass of the people. There are lighter elements in the population of India, albinos are not rare, and are held in horror by the Hindoos—but nothing recalling the "xanthochroic" races of Europe. Misled by the affinities of the Indo-Germanic languages, people have formed far too Germanic an idea of the ancient Aryans who descended into the lowlands of Indus and Ganges. No doubt they themselves emphasized their own contrast to the darker natives; and any one coming to-day from the basin of the Indus to the Deccan or Bengal observes an increase in the darker tints. The lightest Indians and the proudest dwell in the north-west. There the Rajpoot women and children, if they are in a position to protect themselves from the effects of the sun, are so fair of skin as to put many a South Italian to shame. Among these imposing aquiline-nosed figures are found with light-brown and grey eyes, strong silky beards, and chestnut hair. Many vary in the direction of the physiognomy prevalent among the Sikhs; thicker nose, smaller eyes, and somewhat prominent cheek-bones, a conformation tending to the Mongol, which some have attempted to establish as the "Jat breed." That Turanian blood flows in their veins need cause no surprise of all places in North-West India. In the conspicuous qualities of his character, which have given and perhaps will again give to the Sikh race especially so great importance in the history of India, above all in his valour and honesty, as well as in the stateliness of his women, the Indian of the north-west recalls the nobler branches of the Turkic stock. The attitude of the Sikh towards the Bengalee is like the height from which the Turkoman looks down on Tajiks and even on Persians.

Amid the numerous blends only one line can safely be drawn separating the races who still are different in themselves from those who have been more powerfully shaken together, more intimately mingled, already long since fused. In the extreme north even the Nepaulese are no homogeneous stock, but are distinguished by great variety of physiognomy and character. The backward-driven pastoral tribe of the Todas, too, contains fairer faces than are as a rule found among the Hindoos, with thick beards, and a mighty growth of hair on the uncovered head. In general the inclusive types prevail more in the Indus and Ganges regions, and in the east the more widely dispersed, in the Himalaya and in the mountains of the west and south. More frequent intercourse means more rapid blending. None of the greater nations of Asia has been so broken up, pulverised, kneaded, by conquerors as the Indian; among none has the vital marrow of independence been so destroyed. In all this push and pressure India developed no predominant nationality. Nothing but the fact that the 300 millions of the Anglo-Indian empire are split up into thousands of ethnologic, social, and religious fragments, enabled British sovereignty to spread so quickly and maintain itself.

That the social organisation and the race-formation are related to each other is proved by the historic instances in which ethnographic elements have co-operated

in the division of castes. When the Rajpoots in the fourth or fifth [illegible] the Jats in what is now Rajpootana, their small number met [illegible] opposition on the part of the agricultural population, who surren[illegible] them, and allowed their supremacy to be confirmed. The Kshatr[illegible] castes, as well as that of the mixed population, Baran Sankar, were [illegible] time opened to the subjects, but in no case could they enter the B[illegible] The Aryans, too, of the earlier invasion needed to supplement their [illegible] ness by energy and higher intelligence. Being unable to root out the [illegible] tions, they blended with them, adopting their warriors into their secon[illegible] the rest of the [illegible] those next below [illegible] it is to confuse [illegible] effect if we suppose [illegible] primarily two castes were formed, Vaisyas and Sud-ras, "one for the Turanians and one for the Dravidians." As an example of similar development within a narrow area, the race, nation, or perhaps only class of the Banjaris is remarkable. They are a numerous group in Central India, who call themselves Gohurs, and whose sole business is the transport, with oxen, of supplies of corn. In this way the Banjaris feed all the provinces of Central India, and, therefore, in times of war or famine, they have from of old been protected against any obstacle to their activity through the sympathy assured to them by the public interest. As befits their work they are pure nomads, camping in the open in summer, in winter under huts built of branches. Yet they look upon Rajpootana, especially the eastern part of Mewar, as their country, and own some villages there, to which they withdraw their old people and invalids. Their traditions say that they were driven out of this country by the Rajpoot invasion about the sixth century. Physically they are like the gipsies, of whom they have been regarded as the parent stock. They are plucky, proud, and honest in their business.

A Maldive woman. (From a photograph.)

Even without the historical evidence for the invasion of light-coloured people from the north-west into the interior of the Indian peninsula, the position of India with reference to the belt of Central Asiatic steppes would lead us to assume the frequent overflow, at least into North-West India, of Turkic or Mongolic herdsmen. The Aryans, as their language indicates, came from a climate where the lapse of time was reckoned not by rainy seasons, but by winters. The word *haimantik*

used to-day in Bengal to denote the November rice-crop, is from the same root as *Idams*. They fed on meat and milk, and pastured large herds on wide grassy plains. They seem to have made their way through Afghanistan to the Indus, and to have spread gradually along the foot of the hills as far as the Ganges. This immigration was not an event of one date only, but was repeated. In the seventh century B.C. an inroad of nomads, spoken of as Scythians, into India took place. It is possible that these Indo-Scythians, following the same road as had been taken by the Aryan immigrants, came as far as the Ganges; and a view has been expressed that Buddha's dynasty in Kapilavassu was a Scythian offshoot. An increased influx of the Scythian element into the Indian goes parallel with the progress of Buddhism, and renders explicable, if Buddha appears on the other side of the Indian frontier as a Scythian, the struggle for influence between the northern form of Buddhism coming down again from Central Asia about the beginning of our era, and the more original Indian type in India itself. The Scythian immigrations seem to have been constantly repeated, and to have founded kingdoms as far as Central India. It is known also that the Græco-Bactrian settlements in the second century B.C. had to fight with Scythian invaders who established themselves in the Punjab. In the first six centuries of our era Scythian and Indian powers were seen to rise and fall beside and in succession to one another. The Sacians, Huns, Guptas come to the front as founders of states. In some cases small groups of these invaders may be traced for several centuries within limited territories where they stoutly maintained themselves. After the first Arab attempts at invasion on the Bombay coast and the frontier of Sind, we find, at the end of the tenth century, the Turkish lords of Afghanistan, the Ghuznevides, in the Punjab, whither Mahmoud of Ghuznee is said to have led seventeen expeditions. The "slave-dynasty," which ruled in Delhi in the thirteenth century, was of Turkish origin. They had to endure the first Mongol inroads, which are said to have started with an irruption of these nomads from Tibet into north-east Bengal in 1245. As the thirteenth century is passing into the fourteenth, the Mongol invasions are counted by dozens, and the Mussulman kings of Delhi had brigades of Mongol mercenaries in their service. Timour came from Afghanistan, and returned to Central Asia amid heaps of corpses and towns laid waste. In 1526 Baber, from Ferghana, succeeded in definitively setting up a Mongol dynasty in India; the remains of the Delhi Empire having in the meantime come under Afghan sovereignty. Akbar, who came to the throne in 1556, made a single state of India as far as the Vindhya Hills. It is significant that therein Turks played a great part both as friends and as opponents, and that the seat of the stoutest resistance was where the immigrants from Central Asia had established themselves in the greatest density. The descendants of these, with their military and political capacity, are to this day the strongest upholders of Islam. The only two great military powers with whom England had to do, the Mahrattas in Central India and the Sikhs in the Punjab, both sprang from this foreign stock, which long preserved its force on its new soil.

In the contrast between North and South, East and West, which governs the history of India and the distribution of its peoples, special elements are the strong differences of soil and climate. The rapidity with which the Aryan immigrants from the drier and more elevated regions of Central Asia ceased, under the relaxing influence of a tropical lowland climate, to be the "honourable" or "sove-

reign" race was, in part, the effect of climatic influence, which after a few generations showed itself even in their physique. But the lowland climate also promoted the wide intermixture of the Vaisyas, or immigrant tribesmen, with the Sudras whom they found there. This, in the broad Ganges-lowlands, with no natural boundaries to stop it, could not be checked by the strictest separation of castes or "colours"; but in the mountain-valleys where the foothills of the Himalaya, the divider of races, cut off little natural national territories, the Aryan blood maintained itself in greater purity than in the surrounding parts, just as in some mountain-districts of the peninsula the dark blood of the aborigines who were driven into them has done. Examples of the one are the Khassias and Dasus of the Himalaya, of the other the Pahariahs of the Rajmahal hills. Lastly, we observe, moreover, a far-reaching alteration in the manners and notions of races, due to the exchange of an elevated, cool, unproductive place of abode for the low, warm, rich lands lying on the great river. The herdsman becomes a husbandman, the tribe, where all alike have no wants, becomes a nation in which a few luxurious lords rule over countless poor subjects, a people limited in numbers becomes a race multiplying with immoderate speed and of a wholly new social organisation. The rise of the great religious, social, political, even ethnological differences among the population of India, whereby more particularly the north-west, the north-east, and the south are opposed to each other as three historical and ethnographical provinces, is in great part due to immigrations from without; though the nature of the country has had much to do with maintaining them. How long the shifting lasted we cannot detect; for it was brought about in small movements of which history has little to report. Isolated cases enable us to conjecture the significance of the whole. The migration of the Jats at the beginning of last century from Mooltan to Northern Hindostan, and their formation of new settlements on the Jumna and the Ganges, in the Doab, shows how recent are, in many cases, the shiftings from north to south, and from east to west. The so-called nomad system of agriculture which the British found still going on in Bengal beside the settled system, gives a further reference; for it kept a portion of the population in constant movement.

Thus Northern India is the India of immigration from the north-west, and the blending of Mongols and Aryans. No great Tibetan invasion is known to Indian history; the distribution of linguistic affinities with Tibet has been referred to above. The historical position of Nepaul, which is influenced by Tibet and China, and is constantly encroaching on India, gives the key to the general comprehension of the share taken by the northern frontier races in the history of India. This infiltration has acted on the population of India only indirectly, but none the less powerfully; and it is an error to say that India and Tibet have never been in mutual ethnographical relations. The great natural screen has retarded the exchange, but has not prevented it. We have decidedly Mongoloid breeds in the little Newars, and the somewhat larger Goorkhas of Nepaul, though Indian influence is certainly stronger in the latter than in the former. It predominates in the higher castes of Cashmere, among whom remnants of Tibetan peoples exist in the servile castes of Batals, Doms, Bems, and others. Some see hybrids between the two layers in the Kremins of Cashmere, who mostly work as artizans. We are reminded in this of the ethnographic peculiarity of Cashmere. It is a rubbish-heap of magnificent Græco-Bactrian and Mongol edifices, where

the arts of Persia, Arabia, India, and China joined hands in the working of metals, creating a national artistic bent, and new masterpieces with borrowed forms. But Cashmere is also the starting-point in the transformation of Buddhism into a system of theological philosophy. Here, or hard by, were the universities of Takchasila and Nalanda. Across Cashmere Buddhism, having lost its home in India, wandered to Tibet, and there acquired new points whence to radiate.

The waves of the movements which broke in from the west often struck eastwards and subsided only in the lowlands of the Ganges; but they never reached the south in full force, and did not shake even the Deccan in the way in which they had often ravaged Bengal. Southern India long remained a world to itself. Its wedge-shape made an advance into the interior difficult. The march of the Aryans doubtless had a deep influence on the populations of Central India; but both they and those who came after them stopped at the Vindhya range. In the west we find the plains occupied by a minority of Hindoos, Rajpoots, and the Turanian Jats who preceded them, and the hills by Bheels and other peoples of the same stock, probably the old dwellers in the plain, and the result of crossing between the Turanians and a primitive race, the purest type of which is found in the Baralis of the Konkan. In the middle and east of Central India we find in the hills Gonds, Khonds, Sonthals, and others who may have sprung from the mixture of the yellow with darker inhabitants once settled here. To the south of this great Central Indian racial barrier prevail the Dravidian peoples who before the Aryan invasion had founded empires, and to all appearance fostered a high culture, of which not only the Tamul terms for all metals except lead, zinc, and tin, for large ships, for agriculture, spinning and weaving, for some of the planets, and for much else, bear record. High culture is also evidenced by things found in graves, especially the numerous earthen vessels in the stone monuments of South India. In the districts of Coimbatore and Coorg in Madras, vessels have been found remarkable both for the fineness of their material and for their decoration, made of red clay worked to a fine paste and brought by rubbing to a high polish resembling a glaze. Burnt human bones lie in slim urns a yard high, resting on three or four feet. Nothing of the kind is at present in use among the people. Even the simple artistic contrivance of providing vessels with feet has been lost like other inventions. The iron relics in these graves show forms varying from those in use to-day. In the well-watered lowlands of the east the Dravidians have been subjected to stronger influences from the north than in the poorer west; Malabar, however, has become a special Brahmins' paradise.

Stone monuments, like the megalithic remains of prehistoric races in Europe, have been pointed out in various parts of India. Some are weathered, while others look as new as if they had only been erected a few years. There is no definite tradition connected with these. The inhabitants of districts swarming with such monuments, such as the Garos, the Taintias, or the Nagas, know nothing of erecting such pillars or sacrificial tables. Only a certain indefinite dread checks their destruction and explains the great number of the remains. Such stones may never be employed for new monuments or any building purposes. A belief in their influence upon the maintenance of agreements concluded upon them has persisted unshaken. Menhir, cromlech, dolmen, all occur in the Khassia hills and in Coimbatore. A connection of dolmen and stone circle is very frequent. The burning of bodies never takes place in the neighbourhood of them.

The dolmens may perhaps have served as sacrificial tables, while the numerous single stone pillars make one think of stone-worship. In the granite district of the Khassia hills Schlagintweit describes a pillar with a square slab a yard in the side bored through in the centre, and having the stone pillar some 13 feet high let into it in such a way that a yard of the pillar projected above the slab. It is alleged that even in 1873 a stone pillar was set up in honour of an English official. Open lofty points, and when possible cross-roads, were selected by preference to display them. The majority of stone monuments in South India are raised over graves. We possess exhaustive reports about the district of Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, where they are met with by thousands, either singly or in groups, of from two to a hundred. Stone circles and stone pillars are here associated with graves. Most of the dolmen-like stone structures contained earthenware vessels of fine work and remains of iron.

These works are the expression of no population of primitive manners. Without doubt, intercourse with countries outside India was possible by sea; but that alone is not enough to countenance the attempt to bring the casteless Southern Indians into connection with the Australians. The assumption of relations between the Malays and the peoples of Southern India will meet with least objection. The regions in which Malays and Indians dwell, rule, and traffic are in so close contact that it is impossible to draw a sharp line of separation. No doubt, in the first instance, we see traces only of Indian reaction upon Malays, as in vol. i. p. 397. What we now call Malays and Indians are even in physical respects developments of earlier centuries and tens of centuries. But if, as historical evidence shows, Indians migrated, in centuries since Christ, to Sumatra, Java, and Bali, just as well could older populations of the great Archipelago have turned westwards to India. Indeed more recent Malays must have touched India to get to their great colony of Madagascar. The population of the islands in the Bay of Bengal, too, indicates other ways, to which we have already referred, vol. i. p. 417.

The European element in India has always been weak, its number being out of all proportion to its effect on culture. The Græco-Bactrian influences, and those of the people of Javan were still active when all trace of their bearers had been lost. Even now the European population is almost inconceivably small; for British India the census of 1881 gave about 84,000 as the number of European descent. In comparison with their influence this is an infinitesimal figure. It appears all the smaller when one remembers that the number of European half-breeds is small, and that their influence adds nothing to that of the Europeans. They are systematically kept in the background. When early in the 'eighties the Eurasians applied to be represented on the commission for drawing up a new Education Bill, they were met with a refusal. Even in 1891 the number of Christians was only 2,400,000. Jews and Nestorian Christians form large communities on the Malabar coast, where alliances with natives have given rise to the curious cross-breed of "black Jews."

The historic fortunes of India show in the character of the majority of its races a want of spirit, which bends and adapts itself, extinguishing all energy. What a contrast is here to the Chinese, who in Asia share with the Indians the advantage of ancient culture! Referring to the Chinese of Singapore, Crawford notes that it was an agreeable spectacle, in contrast to India, to see a numerous,

muscular, seasoned race of men, working with a vigour and intelligence which gave a special stamp even to their physical character, and showed them in a favourable light, as compared with the neighbouring nations. Their way of handling their tools had more of European dexterity in it than of the childish habit of Indian ambition.

This trait, want of spirit and laziness, increases, as we go east and south, to the point of apathy. The Indian's virtues are more negative than positive. His best points lie in the direction of power to endure and forgo; his gentleness, however, does not exclude outbreaks of savage cruelty, which together with his despotic severity towards human beings stands in sharp contrast with the kindness towards animals enjoined by his religion. Very similar is his northern brother, but harder and more warlike. Everywhere in North India we find warlike races, particularly in the west. Southern India, too once had the warlike and chivalrous caste of the Nairs, who have now degenerated to policemen. The Kallers of the Carnatic inherited the qualities of bold robbers and fighters; and a part of them were distinguished for their loyalty as "castle-warders." They are the people who are betrothed over a sword. Even the primitive stocks have not all descended to the lowest stage in the renunciation of self-respect and loss of resisting power. But the most doughty men-at-arms, and those who most enjoy the fray, belong to the mountaineers in the north, and the half-Turanians of the north-west and centre. Rajpoots, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Goorkhas, were first the most formidable enemies of the British, afterwards their most valuable soldiers. The preponderance of Mussulmans in the Indian army, which proved so dangerous in 1857, had thus a substantial ground. The saying is: "When a Mussulman meets you he looks at your weapons; a Hindoo asks the prices of provisions." In Persia and Afghanistan the Turks, Kizilbashes, Usbeks, Turcomans, are even more sharply distinguished from the Persians; the former are born soldiers; the latter are reckoned so cowardly that in the Persian army nearly all the soldiers are Turks. It is significant that, of the independent states, Nepaul, with its half-Tibetan population, extorts from the British the greatest respect for its military power.

The oldest poems of the Vedas are also the oldest literary productions of the Aryan races and of India. Significantly enough their first locality was on the north-west frontier of India, whence their progress to the south-east was gradually accomplished. In them may be recognised the first traces of the caste system, of dogma, of ritual; all subjects and ideas are still young, nothing is shrouded in a fixed husk. As, with the expansion into the sunny fertile lowlands, the priestly order became more and more separate, prouder, and more powerful, the work of the mind also grew. A copious literature appeared of which the world outside India knew nothing while it was in use; discovering it only when it was dead. MSS. exist of perhaps 10,000 Sanscrit works. How little did the Greeks guess that there was in India an ancient literature more abundant than any possessed by them. The remains of this literature—the legends, the religious and civic institutions, and the copious vocabulary, show how talented this race was, and with a talent which shows fine mental and ethical dispositions. In the Vedas, a collection of prayers, songs, and religious maxims, it appears as a race of refined morals and powerful mind. It is the same with many portions of the two great epic poems, in which, however, the influence of the genuine old Indian

spirit, that of the dark aborigines, smothers symmetry and simplicity in its overflowing fancy. The poetic literature of India is also copious and profound, and it too flourished almost solely for India. Perhaps, however, during its growth it drew nourishment from abroad, from which the drama especially may have profited.

In the second volume of *Cosmos* we read: "The richness of the poetic literature of the Indians teaches us, that within and near the tropics south of the great chain of the Himalaya, the sight of ever verdant and flowering forests has at all times acted as a powerful stimulus to the imaginative faculties of the East Aryan nations, and that these nations have been more strongly inclined to picturesque descriptions of nature than the true Germanic races, who in the far inhospitable north had extended even to Iceland." In any case a deep feeling for nature cannot be denied to the great compositions of India. But the wealth of pictures is by no means greater than in the works of northern poets. The contemplative vein in the very earliest Indian poetry may have some of its sources in the constant gazing upon this new and abundant nature; but the ease of an existence without anxiety will develop the tendency to brooding meditation yet more powerfully than the view of a rich nature, which also bewilders and stupefies. When Sanscrit fell to be a dead language, the good old literature was naturally withdrawn from the people and passed into the domain of the "classically" cultivated minority. A number of languages affiliated to the old Indian (Bengalee in Bengal, Assamese in the East, Hindi and Urdu or Hindostanee, full of Persian and Arabic elements, in the North-West Provinces, besides Punjabee, Gujeratee, Mahrattee) have branched off and become regular written languages without having developed any literature resembling Sanscrit in value. The Dravidian languages again—Canarese, Tamul, Telugu, Toda, Gonda,—which as written languages have borrowed from Sanscrit, have developed no great literature of their own, even if we take into account the admired apophthegms of the Tamuls.

Bronze statuette of Buddha.
(Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.)

With a prodigious wealth of forms, much invention, no little taste or dexterity, one thing is lacking to the perfection of Indian art in all its branches which made Egyptian art great, Greek art yet greater; a penetrating study of nature and especially of the human body. In this the art of South India stands even lower than that of the north. There is something conventional in their figures; progress soon wearies without excluding a certain general perfection. In the faces they are content to bring out the collective effect of an expression without inquiring into the play of the muscles. In the limbs we miss the thorough modelling of the chief muscular masses. A conventional softness and fulness

agrees with the Indian type, especially in female figures; but the repetition of it leads to flat flabby forms. Much more attention is paid to the delineation of bodily ornament than to that of the body itself; we found the same curious tendency in the old American statues. This kind of sculpture found its highest task in the representation of masses confusedly grouped and fantastic monsters; and herein it has succeeded excellently, even if the postures of single figures look unnatural. Yet it must be remembered that their actors, who to this day wear the same dress as is seen in these carvings, do astounding things in the way of contortion. In the representation of such unpropitious ideals as the many-armed Ramayana, or Siva's lightning-darting third eye, one perceives no doubt an effort to repress the fantastic by decorative treatment of the crowded and unnatural; but naturally they never succeeded in struggling through to the pure human form. The Bull of Siva in the pagoda at Tanjore, 16 feet long, wrought from a single block of granite, comes much nearer to good Egyptian sculptures than all the human figures in Indian temples.

In South Asiatic architecture too we are astounded by the abundance of figures and motives, and the unwearied labour in execution. Yet with all this wealth we miss the representation of the human form in its beauty; it is buried and smothered in tropical interlacings. In these buildings are crowded little courts, galleries, stairs, towers, and balconies. Limited vistas are a fundamental feature. Symbolical at the outset, sculptured ornament, especially on the exterior, soon went in pursuit of artistic effect. Brahma's head with its four faces and wide eyes, or Siva's cylindrical attribute, remained in the most sacred place, where to this day the modern Indians represent them in the old accustomed form. But the exterior ornament of the building was quite otherwise transformed. Here appeared the elephant half-emerging from the base of the massive edifice as a support to the walls. Ananda's serpent, the endless, offers a fine motive for the rail of an endless balustrade. Griffins with outspread wings appear as Caryatids. Lions and club-bearing giants stand as guardians at the entrance of gates and on the steps of pyramids. At the chief gate are associated with them the heroes Rama and Lakshmana, armed with bows, or Vishnu with his sword. Statues of praying saints were placed against the pillars supporting the cloister-arches. All wood-carving and a good deal of stone was coloured. The transition from the stricter symbolism to easier artistic treatment was promoted by Buddhism, which directed the attention of the pious suppliant rather to the one human figure with a single face than to polymorphous and many-headed gods. Three of the four doors leading to the *preasat* were now closed; only on the east might sunbeams and men enter to behold the gentle and shining countenance of Buddha.

Priests' dwellings, schools, pilgrims' shelters, were always attached to the places of worship. The temple of Angkor Vaht covers a larger area than that of Karnak; that of Madura occupies nearly 25 acres and is not the largest. More than fifty great assemblages of ruins have up to now been found (in Cambodia there are hundreds); and when all the works of architecture and sculpture in the narrow sphere of culture of the Khmers have been mapped, many square miles will appear to be covered with ruins. In spite of inadequate mechanical appliances the materials have been treated with astonishing power. In the pyramid of Ka-Keo, Delaporte found blocks 13 feet long, 5 feet thick, and a yard wide. Still larger blocks have been used high up in the buildings at Angkor.

Mohammed led to victory. On other sides, too, Persian influence reaches beyond the borders of Iran. In Cashmere and Jummoo, Persian is the official language; the Hindostanee of the Punjab is written in the Persian character and has many Persian forms mixed with it; it is the medium of intercourse for trade from Afghanistan to East Turkestan and to the west coast of India. Though repressed, the Persians still play a part in the Russian markets both in the south and in the interior.

Dress among the hill-tribes is of wool, and dark in colour. The Siahposh get their name from the gloomy colour of their garments. Brown woollen coats and trousers, long felt stockings with leather soles, white or blue cotton turban, compose the dress of both men and women. The women wear long plaits. Ornament is rare, and everything except the turban is the product of domestic industry. Much in the Persian dress of to-day recalls the primitive features of the mountain clothing. The Persian keeps his head warm with the high fur cap, while exposing breast and feet to the cold. The fur cap, which has supplanted the turban, save only among Afghans, Kurds, and Beloochees, is explained as an inheritance from the Kajars, and thus Turkish; but it had belonged from of old to the forefathers of the Iranians in their pastoral life on cold uplands. At present the Beloochee, when most simply clad, wears loin-cloth, grass sandals, and little cap, so that his copious weapons—shield, sword, gun, knife, bullet-pouch, etc., contribute materially to the covering of his person. But when he is in full rig his garments are stout cotton breeches, close-fitting below the knee, and prettily embroidered with red, and over them a similarly embroidered cotton shirt; a large turban and a thick woollen plaid complete the costume. The Persian dress consists of a shirt, of which wealthy people have two—reaching to the waist, and buttoning at the side—a doublet, mostly of cotton cloth, loose trousers, and a coat like a caftan of silk or cotton fastened round the hips. To these is added in cold weather a short cloak, often richly bordered with fur, and, for visiting, a long robe down to the heels, and quite concealing the arms. On the feet short socks are worn, only up to the ankles, and slippers or shoes with wide opening. The Persian likes talking of his clothes, and pays high for them.

The dwellings are, in mountainous parts, built of rough stone and mud, in the higher mountains often of wood only, white poplar being used in the Hindoo Koosh. The larger settlements are surrounded with walls and towers. When entering a house in the highlands of Wakhan, one first comes on the horses and cows in their stall, then through a long narrow passage to the dwelling-room, a small and dirty apartment. In the middle stands a hearth of clay, with a hole above it to let the smoke out. The dome-shaped roof is carried by wooden posts, which stand round the hearth. On all sides open small rooms for the members of the family. The Kharotis, herdsmen of the Suleiman range, who support themselves on their herds of goats, and in winter also on pine-seeds, live almost entirely in tents. The huts are lighted by torches. In Persia air-dried bricks are much used for building, which, when, as often happens, they are made of earth or road-sweepings, soon fall to pieces. The bricks of old buildings are used—in Teheran those from Rai. Building is very frequent, and no one continues what another has begun; so the work is not durable. Houses, palaces, and whole villages are abandoned for a whim, on account of evil prognostics, or in case of death. The arrangement of the dwelling-rooms in the better houses follows the

They had also large and strong bricks of a pure clay; in later times these became smaller and coarser. Lead was used to a large extent for roofing; in 1641 Gerhard von Wüsthof saw at Lower Laos a temple roofed with sheets of lead gilt all over. Iron clamps and dowels were set in lead. There are said to have been pagodas which were all covered with copper. Timber, in which India, the land of teak, is rich, found equally extensive employment. Temples find a place in the premises of many palaces, and a temple often dominates a great central group of palace buildings and other civic edifices. There are temples too which have served for fortresses. Both kinds of premises are surrounded with ramparts or walls, crenelated or cut into spikes at the top, or flanked with turrets. Within are covered ways to shelter the defenders; outside, deep moats add further strength, with bridges across them leading to the richly-ornamented gates with three portals. On the pillars of the bridge, sculptures of all kinds were displayed, and many bridges led upwards to the gate like a triumphal road. The bridges were of narrow arches so firmly ranged one by another that they have stood out against floods to this day. The largest is 160 yards long and 37 wide; and the bridges leading to fortresses are often more than 40 yards wide. The richly-adorned terraces from which temples and palaces rose were by preference made to project into the water; indeed, there are buildings standing entirely in the water, recalling the pile-buildings of Further India. Pillared halls, as in the palace of Shalimar near Gupikar, rise almost directly out of lakes. "Hanging gardens" from the time of the Mongol Emperor, with their plane-trees now many hundred years old, are among the most attractive relics of India. Covered colonnades, often with three rows and a vaulted roof, appear among the favourite subjects of Indian architects. Through them move the sacred processions, finding at these junction-points of their worship figures of the gods and chapels. Colonnades of this kind often intersect, and a temple is erected at the meeting-point. They are strictly oriented by the points of the compass. Sacred pools on either side of the entrance give an opportunity for laying out the approaches in the form of bridges or terraces. As a rule a park is attached, the avenues of which are continuations of the chief approaches to the temple. Scattered about it lie monasteries and the fine dwellings of the princes. It is often surrounded by a wall with a ditch at the corners of which more temples rise; and then the whole forms the nucleus of a town. Outside the walls are crowded the slightly-built wooden houses of the people, the bazaars, and such like. Stepped pyramids, ranging from simple mounds to mighty stone edifices, form a special group of buildings. Their primitive type is shown in the artificial mounds which are still thrown up at religious festivals in order to plant banners and light fires on the top of them. The platform serves as pedestal to a statue, or for other religious purposes. Steps lead to it on all four sides, often projecting in such a way that the ground-plan is an eight-rayed star. Delaporte measured the side of one such square erection in Cambodia at 142 feet. From the combination of the temple planned on the level with the stepped pyramid arise the most astonishing works of Indian architecture, the storied building rising in steps, the corners and stairs flanked with towers, and the summit crowned with a splendid sanctuary. The towers of Indian architects can often be described as gradually ascending pyramids. Real towers with domes do not occur, vaulting seldom, though the principle is known.

The nucleus of all Indian temples is the *preasat* or sanctuary; a cubical cell with four entrances, and a plain or stepped roof of curved outline. In its darkness and narrowness this inmost shrine recalls the passages that go round the cave-temples of India. But there is an echo of them also in the entire premises, huge close masses of building, in which all parts as it were creep and crowd together as if they would melt into one.

The growth of foreign influences, especially the Græco-Bactrian and Turanian, and the decay of native powers in India, is clearly connected with the advance of Buddhism. The use of stone in building temples is said to have begun in the reign of Asoka. We have no traces of stone buildings of an earlier date in India, and the earliest ruins of Asoka's age are imitations of existing wooden edifices. The magnificent temples of India are sprung from the hermitages of Buddhist monks. The first cave-temples of the Brahmins were faithful copies of the Buddhist *vihara* or monastery. Later the cells of the monks were replaced by niches containing the image of the god or a representation in relief of one of the many Brahmin myths. The cave-temple of Ellora, the culmination of Brahminic architecture in India, holds quite an independent position. Fergusson reports that there are in India some 1000 caves of more or less architectural importance, most of them in the west. Many are deserted and forgotten. Where the noblest works of Buddhist art are placed, for example the rock-temples of Ajanta with their wall-paintings, tigers and brigands make the country more insecure than anywhere else.

As regards painting, both in Egypt and in Eastern Asia, the sense of colour as well as the faithful imitation of nature and fineness of execution stand incomparably higher than in India. Indian painting is at its greatest height in its first great works, the wall-paintings on stucco in the Buddhist rock-temples; perhaps, as in architecture, Greek influences were here present. Impulses from without brought about new developments, like the miniature painting after Persian models, from which painting on ivory branched out. In spite of Islam the Indians have remained a people who enjoy pictures. Their houses are painted inside and out, but seldom with any art. Religious painting in India has suffered under Buddhism as much as architecture and sculpture have profited. The numerous pictures of Buddhist saints in the temples, which serve either for edification or as tokens of the presence of supernatural powers at the swearing of oaths, are produced after fixed conventions. The drawings are executed in outline according to sacred formulæ with Indian ink, and then filled in with flat colour. Special laws prescribe the proportions of the body and the colours of body and clothing. The manufacture of prayer-banners and other implements of Buddhist worship takes place under like restrictions. Islam has taught the decorative use of letters and whole sentences; Arabic and Persian sentences especially appear ingeniously entwined as ornament on buildings, weapons, and vessels.

The themes of the minor arts in India are taken by preference from the plant-world, but strictly conventionalised so that the impression of the individual subject disappears in the multiform combination of entwining and branching lines. A characteristic subject are entire plants, bearing leaves and flowers in geometric regularity. In the symmetry which is always conspicuous amid the lavish abundance lies a special note of Indian ornament. Perso-Arabic ornament of writing copiously interlaced with tendrils of plants, indicates objects from Northern India.

The Chinese dragon-motive is displayed in Cashmere work. Figure-subjects of Buddhistic origin are Tibetan, and we often meet even with an echo of the East-Turkestan mixture of delicate Persian ornamental forms with Mongol stiffness; its finest products come to market in Khojend. Copper vessels, especially tea- and coffee-pots, chased, worked in niello, tinned, or perforated, make their way from Khotan, Kashgar, and Yarkund to North-West India, while conversely Indian influences extend from Cashmere to Kashgar and Yarkund. A walk through a great museum, like that of South Kensington, in which are collected the choicest productions of the art-schools of India and Persia, does not leave the same satisfactory feeling of having seen something peculiar and at the same time highly finished as do the Japanese and Chinese rooms. For one thing, porcelain is entirely lacking, though we have Persian perforated stoneware which is nearly always charming in its ornament. Carpets with very small patterns of many colours, mostly stripes, testify to a feeling for colour and geometric ornament. Indian metal-work looks for its reputation more in the delicacy of its engraved and inlaid patterns than in finished imitation of nature or in the highest perfection of execu-

A Kha flute from Further India. (After Harmand.)

tion. Fine mosaics of ivory and other materials, the so-called Shira-work, fret-work in wood, lacquered work, all are the same in the end. The chief charm is the execution of miniature. That, in comparison with the finish of Japanese and Chinese work, a touch of barbarism is often to be seen in objects of Persian and Indian art, cannot be denied; part of it must be charged to the influence of Islam in checking imitations of nature, part to less well-trained hands, and the smaller amount of creative spirit and feeling for beauty.

In Little Tibet, where the chiefs formerly kept Arab artists at their courts, no ornamental work is now done, the people being too poor and the treatment being no longer known. Among the inventive race in the Valley of Cashmere the impulse to imitation is astonishingly developed, especially in the domain of art. In this border-region of Indian, Persian, and Chinese art, works are produced conspicuous for dexterity and technical carefulness of execution. Srinagar, the capital of Cashmere, has tasteful objects of copper and bronze from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. "A people," says Ujfalvy, "that does its cooking in vessels adorned with a rare lavishness of the most varied patterns and furnished with the most beautiful Persian inscriptions, whose tea- and coffee-pots are covered with handsome incised work, carefully inlaid and of pleasing form, that uses enamelled and engraved dishes, plates, cups, spoons, and even spittoons, has surely as much right as any to call itself a people of artistic dispositions." The handles of vessels manufactured in Cashmere show even the Chinese sala-mander in numerous variations. The copper articles of Little Tibet are heavier than those of Cashmere, but this does not prevent forms pleasing to the eye and of unwonted finish being found there also. The same holds good also of the cast vessels of Yarkund and Turkestan, which, though more elegant than the Tibetan, cannot compare with those of Cashmere. Southern India too does not lack a

metal-industry of its own, as is testified by the figurative objects of copper encrusted with silver or tin for which Tanjore is famous.

The musical instruments of India recall the Malayan, and a kind of bagpipes, as well as drums, extend from Central Asia into the Himalayan regions, but Indian music is unusually rich in instruments of all sorts. Burmese and Siamese music is of Indian origin. Some instruments used in the worship of Buddha recall those of Ceylon. The Chinese gong is much imitated in Burmah. With the addition of a native pan-pipe of bamboo, of huge dimensions, an Indian orchestra with its kettledrums, gongs, oboes, wooden harmonicas, flutes, guitars, has manifold means of expression, though the result is always a medley of shrill tones. Many true Indians have as much musical talent as the gipsies; but those of Mongolic stock, like their Eastern Asiatic kinsmen, are without this gift. Jäschke has drawn an interesting picture of his futile efforts to teach the simplest church-music to the children in Ladak and Chenab.

§ 16. THE INDIANS

Dress, ornament, weapons—House and village; towns and traffic—Agriculture and cattle-breeding—Industry: Indian minor arts and their themes; flourishing period of art in India and Persia—Position of women; the family; polygamy and polyandry—Castes, their origin and meaning; casteless people and pariahs—Formation of states and political disintegration; state and law; despotism; Indian law—Protected states.

THE simplest clothing is the smallest consistent with decency, a strip of cloth worn round the loins. This alone, without other covering save a narrow head-band, or even a string, the last remnant of the turban, is worn by inferior stocks like the Gonds, Mahars, or Khonds, and also by most of the common people living in the hot lowlands of Bengal and Assam. Foot-gear is out of the question. The corresponding women's dress consists of a short cloth, wrapped round the thigh and gathered at the shoulder, leaving one breast bare. Many wear also brass rings on the arm and leg, often reaching from the wrist to the elbow, and from the ankle to the knee. This heavy loading of the limbs has a suggestion of Africa. Yet simpler and cruder is the dress of the East Pulayas who hide their nakedness with leaves; and the Thunda-Pulayas, whose women cover themselves with a garment of plaited grass. With the simple dress of the Todas we reach a higher level; the men have a toga-like cloak of unbleached cotton, the women a similar cloak covering both shoulders. The men wear silver ankle-rings, the women silver or copper armlets. The women too of the Kaders, a low race, cover themselves, like the Tamul and Cingalese women, with a toga-like cotton cloth, of one colour, white, brown, or carmine-red, and are seldom without rings on ankle and arm. In the countries on the Middle Ganges, at the centre of Brahmindom, we come upon a more powerful and prosperous stamp of men, who are better clothed if only because they need to be so. The head is covered by a turban, the body by a close-fitting jacket, the upper leg by a white cloth, artfully twisted. Here, as wherever clothing materials are used, cotton predominates; only in Assam and Burma is silk also used.

In the costume of civilised Indians there is a material difference between east

and west. Where Mussulmans are in a majority both sexes wear w[illegible] in the east and south among the women the petticoat in many fo[illegible] below the knee, prevails. The pretty *sarri*, covering head and shoulders [illegible] throughout India[illegible] women are artists [illegible] it picturesquely.[1] [illegible] India, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and especially towards Cashmere, the well-known shawls are seen even among women of the middle-class. Like the Parsees, but in contrast to the Mussulmans, Hindoo women love coloured garments; Mussulman men wear the jacket buttoned to the left, Hindoos to the right. Men wear white by preference, especially in the north-west, the Brahmins most decidedly, who may also be recognised by the cotton thread passing from the left shoulder across the breast. White is worn also by the Seiedans, mendicant nuns of Mohammedan India, who claim to be descendants of the Prophet. The dress of the Rajpoots, as well as of the Khols and Banjaris, is white, with a sash of many colours, which holds their weapons. Hindoos and Parsees wear a white cotton overcoat, with leg- and loin-cloths of like colour. The cut is always the same, even when the material rises to be the finest gold-embroidered muslin. The coloured belt is often hung with a number of tassels and tufts. Silk is most worn in the north-west; in Mooltan especially the coloured and gold-embroidered fabric have long been famous in materials for upper clothing and turbans. The Sikhs are known by their simple blue garments as prescribed by their founder. But the princes of Lahore like to wear doublets of yellow and blue silk over their mailed shirts, and in the last period of Sikh independence their troops wore red and blue uniforms.

Hindoo merchants. (From a photograph.)

The high turban belongs essentially to the Mussulmans and Parsees. It attains a monumental development as the headdress of the wealthy Parsee merchants of Bombay and the proud princes of Afghan and Turkic blood in the north-west. With some groups of traders the colour and shape of the dress worn serves as a kind of sign, as the red turban of the corn-dealers of Bombay. The cylindrical brimless bell-shaped headgear of the Beloochees has spread even among the peasants in Sind. Rose-coloured and sky-blue turbans, with plumes fastened with diamonds, deck the heads of princes. Curiously enough, only shoemakers work with the head uncovered. In the north-west peasants may be seen going into the fields under a kind of roof of palm-leaves, coming to a point above the head, and spreading wide over the shoulders. Where shoes are worn we find the Chinese pattern. Hindoos and Parsees as a rule wear only the moustache, Mussulmans let the beard grow, and comb it outwards from the middle. The founder of the Sikhs, Nanik, commanded his adherents to let their hair and beards grow; he made his appearance among head-shaving Mussulmans. The Cingalese, with their hair artistically rolled up and held together by a comb, give an impression of effeminacy. The Nairs, the proud warrior-caste of Southern India, wear a lock on the left side coquettishly wound in a loop.

Both sexes wear earrings, the women regularly, the men frequently. To a small ring in the ear-lobe hangs a larger, which is laid over the ear. Rolls of palm leaf, wooden plugs, leaden rings, enlarge the opening in the lobe to the size of the hand, especially in Southern India. Here occurs also the perforation of the rim of the ear with several holes. Even warlike princes did not disdain to put on necklaces with diamonds of unwonted size, and Indian grandees paid gigantic sums for rare jewels. Nowhere on the earth can richer stores of precious stones be found than among the jewellers of the great Indian cities. Nose-rings, bits of coral in the ala, and rings in the upper lip, may be found in plenty among girls and women, especially the bayaderes. A great love of ornament characterises Indians of all classes, and the British Government takes it into account even in the distinctions of its troops. Native officers seldom take off the gold chains round their necks, and medals are inseparable from their wearers. After the wearer's death, rings and chains go to adorn the temple reliquaries.

Tattooing of the breast and limbs occurs frequently among South Indian women. Mussulmans do not tattoo themselves. Painting in many colours is a common form of female finery; among men, the red-streaked faces of the Brahmins, and those of fakirs blazing horribly in many sorts of colour, awake reverence and devotion. Painting the lips, blackening the eyebrows and eyelids with antimony, brightening the eyes by the infusion of belladonna, are ancient arts. The *nama* (name), that is the sect-mark painted on forehead, breast, or arms, is the distinctive sign of the Hindoo. Some have a dot over the root of the nose; the worshippers of Vishnu in Central India a flaring red streak, passing from eyebrow to eyebrow, and crossing the lines drawn vertically from the roots of the hair. Siva's adorers have horizontal lines on the forehead. People often stand by the road offering clay on plates, for passers-by to revive their sacred signs.

Among the simple races of India we meet also with simple forms of weapons, especially the bow of the African type, as in the cut on p. 356, not reflexed or strengthened in the middle. Egerton calls it the old Indian form, and says that

the composite bow was imported from Persia or Tartary. Thus [illegible] the chief weapon of Indian foot-soldiers seems to have been a [illegible] of a straight staff of bamboo. The first appearance of Indians [illegible] Europeans shows archers clad in cotton with iron-headed arrows. [illegible] are hardly ever seen without their bows, ingeniously made from [illegible] pieces of bamboo, of which the thinner takes the place of the string; [illegible] are of light cane, and feathered. They can shoot more than 60 yards; [illegible] often hunt the tiger, but first poison the point. As the most fashionable [illegible]

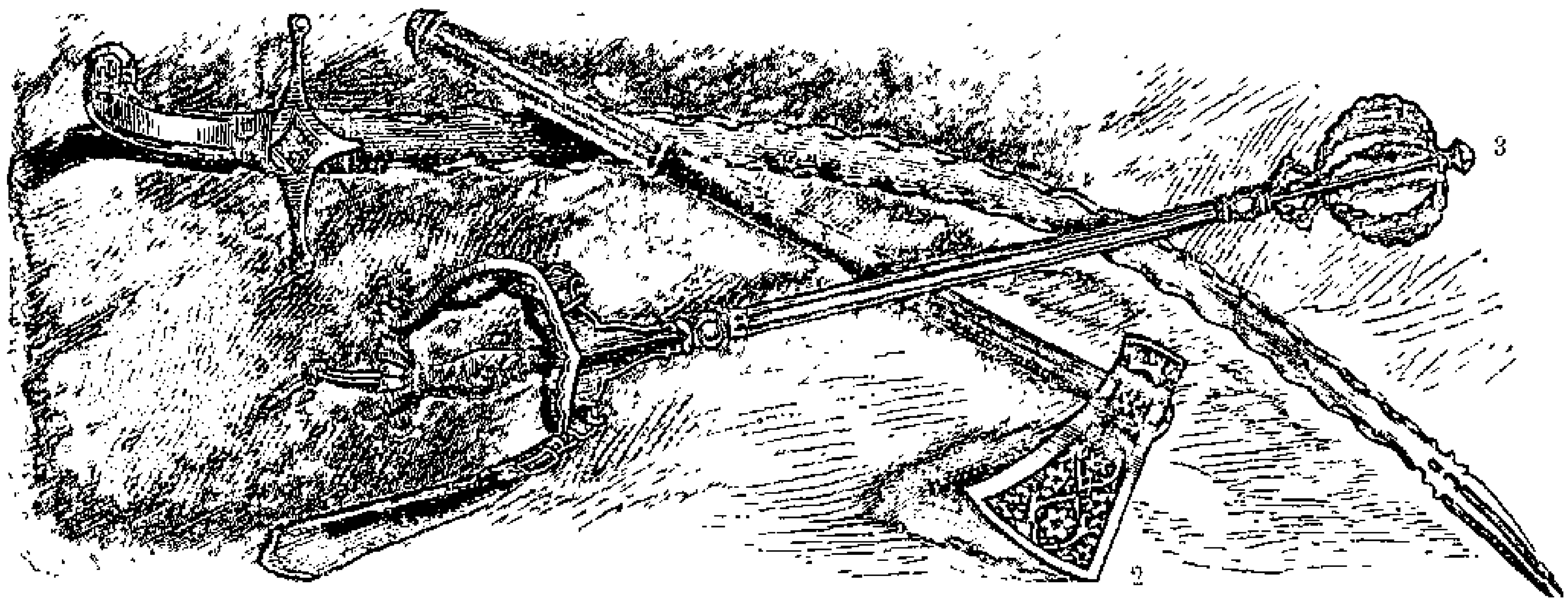
Indian weapons: 1, 2, 4-8, 11-13; battle-axes from Chota Nagpore; 3, from Kattak; 14, from Vizianagram; 16, from Ganjam; 9, mace from Indore; 10, from Tinnevelly; 17, bow from the Andamans; 18, 19, boomerangs from Gujerat; 20, quoit-shaped missile of steel; 21, arrows of hill tribes; 22, from Kandesh; 23, chain-scourge from Vizianagram. (After Egerton.)

of an ancient Indian army were war-chariots and elephants, the bow may in course of time have fallen to the mass of the footmen. Beside troops with matchlocks, archers are still found in native Indian armies; and the delivery of bow, arrow, and sword forms part of the greeting of an Indian prince by his subjects. Fire-arrows were known in the earliest times, even those of large size which were shot from a fixed framework. The question often asked, whether the ancient Indians knew the use of gunpowder in firearms, must be answered in the negative.

The troops of Porus possessed spears recalling the African type. Spears are remarkable for barbs, or points at the side, curving backwards; the number of which, among the Nagas, is said to denote the rank of the bearer. Distinctive marks are red brush-like bunches of hair below the spear-head, rattles in the same place, or red painting on the shaft. At the time of the English conquests in

the last century, the numerous cavalry were armed chiefly with long lances, the steel heads of which, inlaid with silver or gold and 2 feet in length, were set on bamboo shafts 4 yards long. The battle-axe appears among the oldest Indian weapons. With this axe and the spear they hurled themselves even upon the terrible inmate of their jungles, the tiger. The Banjaris too carry as their chief weapons lance and shield, with a long sword over the shoulder, and even a mace. Instead of the axe, which the Gonds, who do not know the bow, use alike as bush-knife, hunting-knife, and weapon, many races, such as the Nagas, have a short sword. This large knife, somewhat broader towards the point, and cut off in a straight line, is almost their only tool in the field and the house. The characteristic equipment of the Beloochees—circular leather shield, sword, dagger, and gun, is very common in the north-west.

India has given birth to a long list of fantastically cruel weapons, and Indian



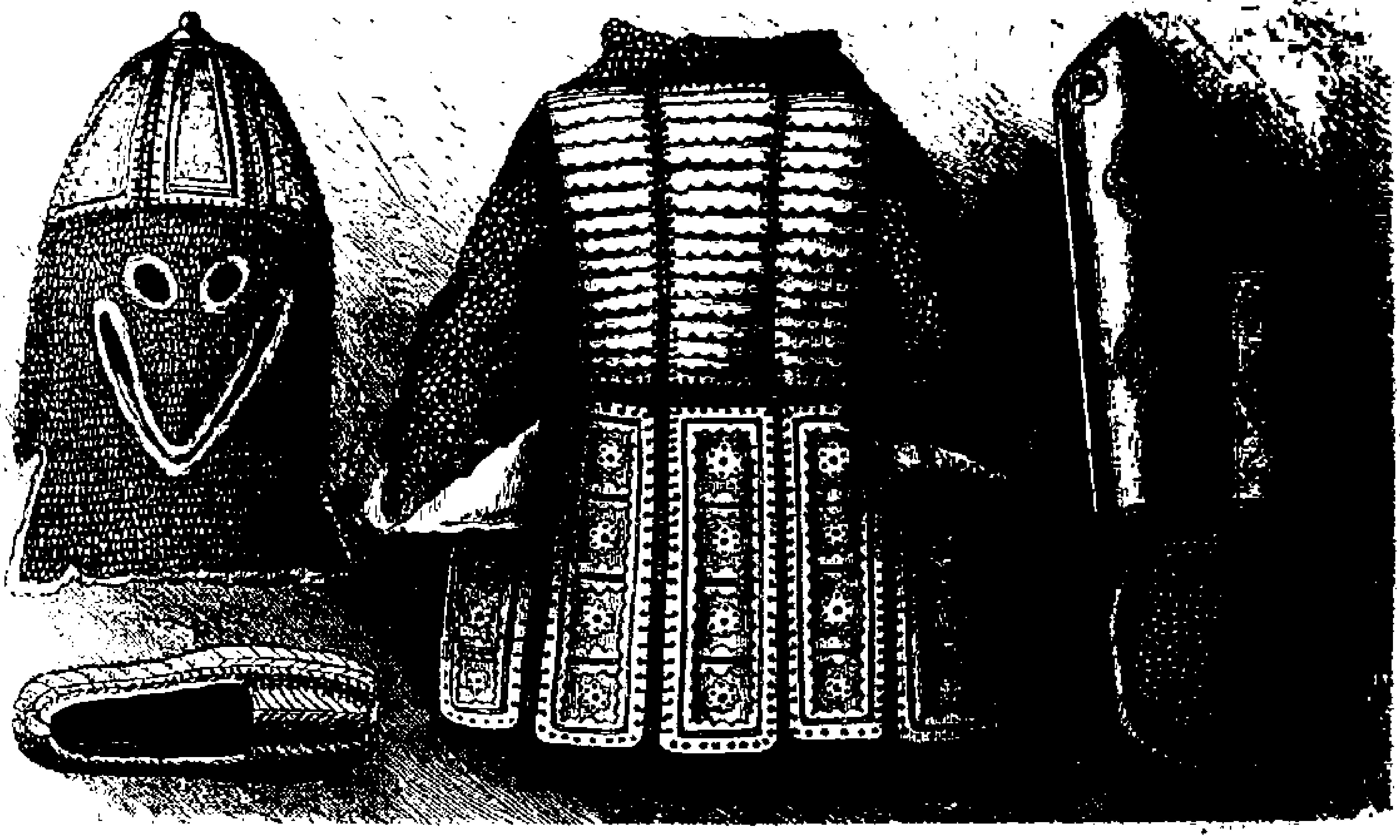
Indian weapons: 1 tulwar from Peshawar; 2, battle-axe from Kolapore; 3, "morning-star," or mace from Hyderabad. (After Egerton.)

historians enumerate thirty-two various important kinds. Some hill tribes use the boomerang, and not long ago it was used by fowlers in Gujerat. Wooden clubs are armed with pieces of iron in the fashion of the "morning star." The fakir guard of the Akali, the Sikh potentate, carried missiles in the shape of flat rings 9 inches to a foot in diameter, ground so sharp on the outer edge that when sent whirling from a finger or a stick, they inflicted deep wounds on the foe. Disks of the same kind were also fastened in pairs to chains. Half a dozen of such weapons are stuck upon the pointed turban; beside them hang "tiger-claws," sharp curved knives, which, carried in the hand shut up, gape, when opened, like so many claws ready to strike; a wonderfully faithful imitation of nature. Beside the true Indian form of dagger, straight blades with rapidly converging edges, double hilts with cross-piece, wavy knives of every kind occur, also short swords, recalling the Roman shape. Among the numerous defensive weapons may be named shields of the Zulu pattern, helmets with long visor and cheek-pieces of mail, and the wadded corslets of the Sikhs.

Luxury in weapons is especially popular among the Mussulman grandees of the North-West and the Mahratta country. In his hand, or in his belt when on horseback, the warrior carries a handsome damascened sword, the sheath of which is laden with pearls and precious stones. Commanders carry their splendidly ornamented baton. Let us imagine the picture which von Orlich saw pass before him fifty years ago at Ferozepore: "A mail-clad nobleman on horseback, his son,

armed with sword and shield, on a pony beside him; before [illegible] servants with hawks and guns; his wife, thickly veiled, with her [illegible] and on other camels his tent and his baggage"—a scene from the [illegible] The ornamental weapons of Persia and Arabia are excelled by [illegible] armourers, who have learnt from Arab and Persian masters. [illegible] have surrounded themselves with modern finery. The silver armour [illegible] by the silver morion, wound with shawls and strings of pearls. The [illegible] guard of the Maharajah of Lahore was clad, even in the 'fifties, in [illegible] iron morions.

As soon as great states had developed in India, it was impossible to stop at



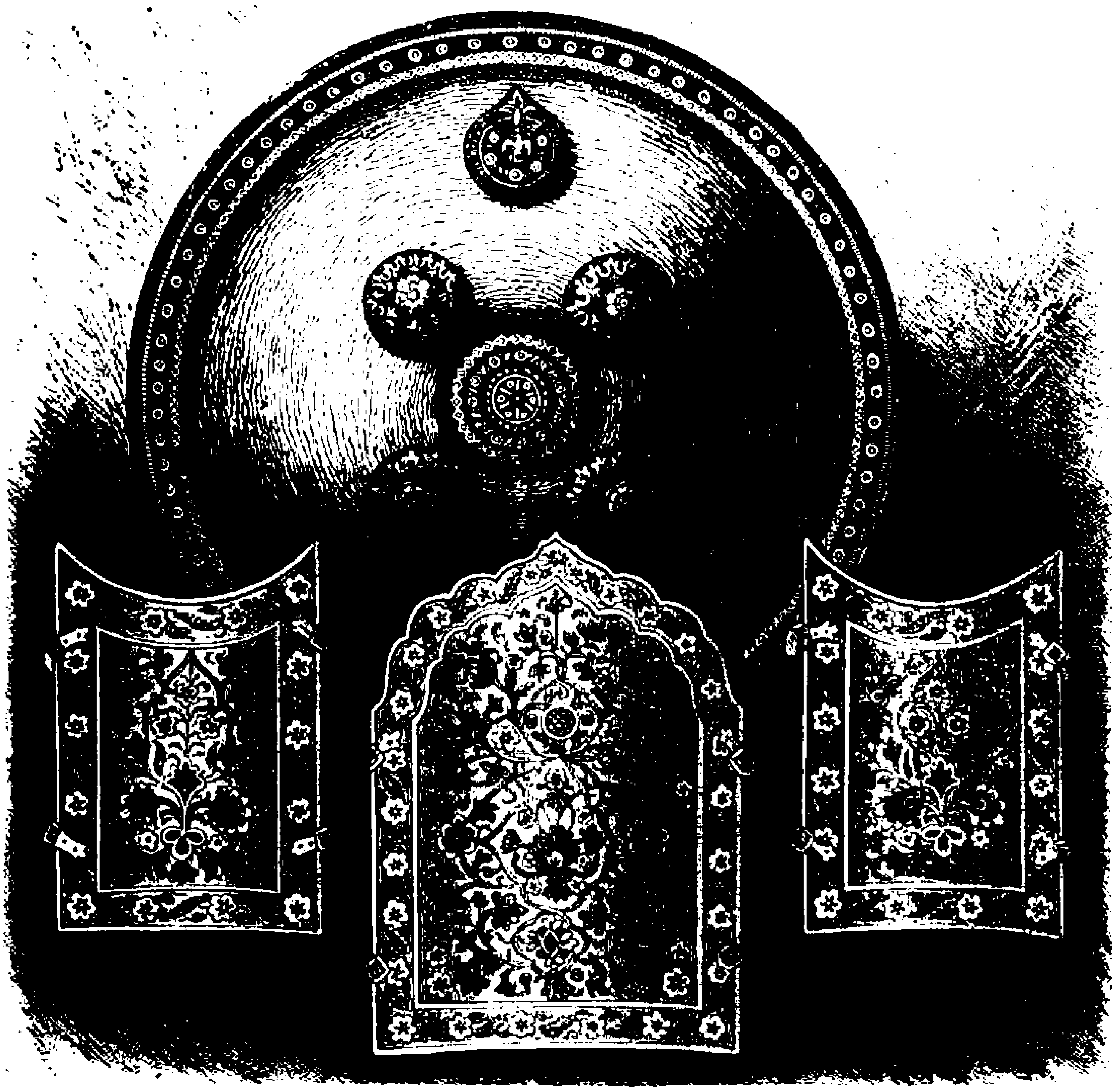
Indian panoply consisting of helmet, tunic, gauntlets, and shoes, from Bhuj. (After Egerton.)

the warrior-castes. The princes collected military followers round them, and great standing armies were formed. The Kshatriyas gathered together in fortresses, of which no country possessed so many and of such size as Northern India. We have spoken of their connection with palaces and temples. The employment of elephants in war originated in the great Indian states. The Persians borrowed the elephant from India, and it came to the Seleucids and Carthaginians. It was held of inestimable value. In the fights with the numerous Arab and Mongol cavalry the weakness of the massive elephant appeared, and the age of the camel and the horse followed.

The most important article of food in India is rice. The population living upon it is estimated at 67,000,000. Rice is the predominant aliment in Assam, Bengal, Burmah; but as we go west from Bengal we find in the Central Provinces peoples living on millet, wheat in the form of *chupatties* or flat unleavened cakes, and vegetables. There are pastoral peoples, like the Todas, rich in buffaloes, whose diet of milk, fluid and curdled, wild fruits, some flour, and salt every three or four days, recalls the herdsmen of Africa; and there are inhabitants of poor districts who have a special art of mixing ground bark with their flour. Eggs

are eaten, but not the fowls. Where Indian troops are in camp the Hindoos draw a circle round their fire and ring a bell to prevent the impure from approaching. Betel-nut chewing is very common.

Agriculture, to an extent which cannot be measured by European standards, is the basis of the Indian's economic and social life. In 1881 no less than 72 per cent of adult men were engaged in husbandry and cattle-breeding, only



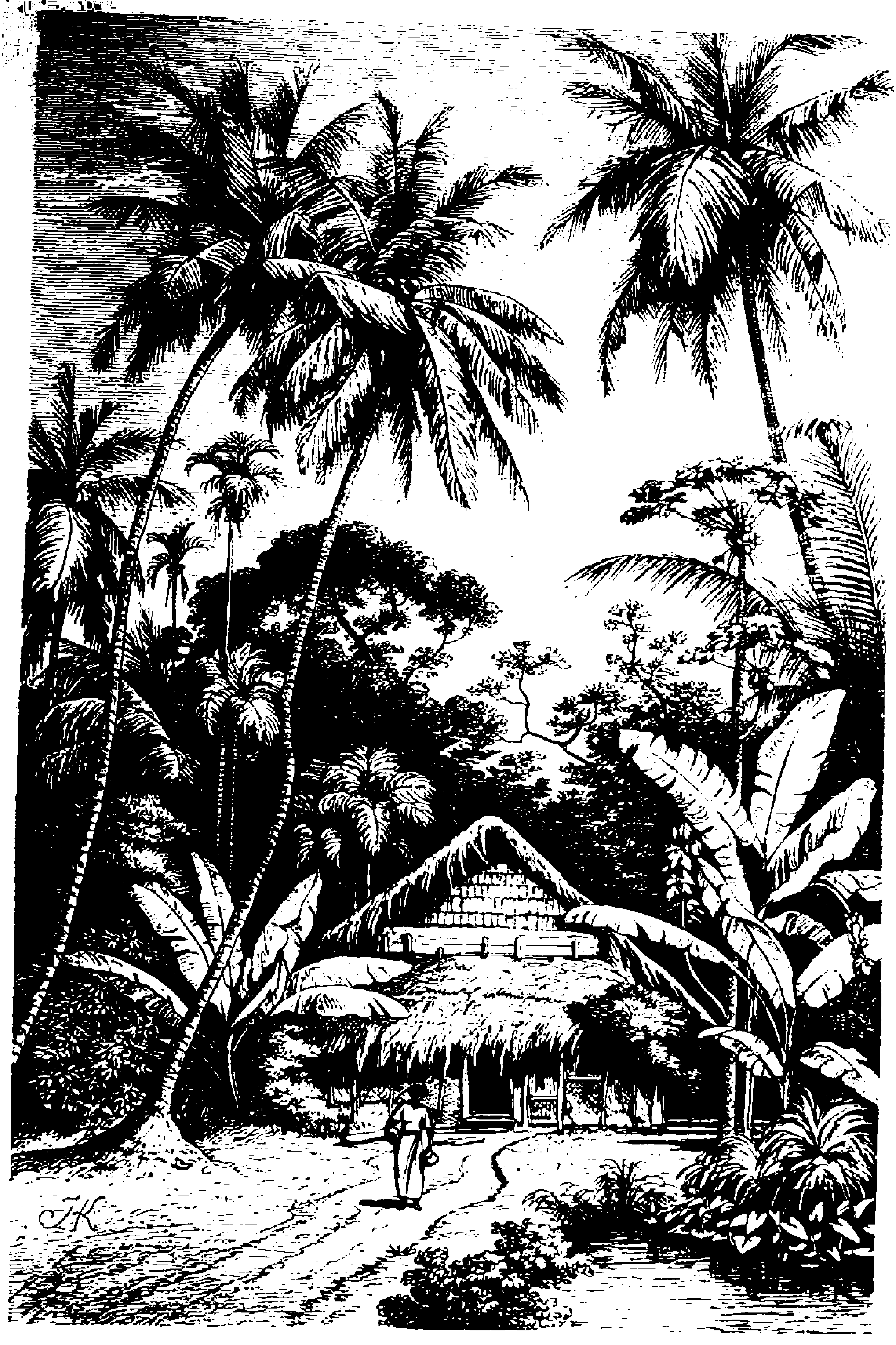
Shield and cuirass-plates from Bhuj in Cutch. (After Egerton.)

9,000,000 in handicrafts and domestic industry. The countryman is the determining element, the land-tax the most important branch of the revenue. India is in the widest sense a country of peasants, and remains so even with the growth in industrial work and the rapid increase of the landless labouring and mendicant population, amounting in 1881 to seven and a half millions. Unremitting labour with the light plough, which the Indian husbandman carries to the field on his shoulder, and which only traces slight furrows; manuring of the more valuable seeds; irrigation on a vast scale; and, lastly, a rotation of crops enjoined by experience; such are the means whereby the natural fertility of the soil and

a rainfall in some districts almost excessive, are aided to produce enormous masses of food-stuffs and trade materials. They are not applied everywhere with the same energy and to the same extent; the hill tribes often work only with the digging-stick. But the majority of Indian peasants cultivate in a manner adapted to the conditions of soil and climate, and to their own economic position; though no doubt their methods, as a result of the experience of numerous generations, are infected with the short-sighted clumsiness of pure empiricism. The importance of irrigation is stamped on the classification of crops into dry and wet. From Nepaul, with its extensive terrace-like structures on the mountain slopes at the limits of agriculture to the most southerly hill tribes, artificial irrigation is practised in an ever-increasing measure, perhaps even to the injury of the soil through gradual impregnation with salts. The canals of Sind are primeval, so are the deep wells of the Punjab and the Deccan, the thousands of tanks in the Carnatic, the universal irrigation terraces, in the construction of which the despised hill tribes are not the least expert. In recent times there has been a general improvement and extension, influenced especially by the increased cultivation of wheat, which has its consequences for Europe. The agriculture of India, especially in the North-West and in the Deccan, is not, however, in a position to provide the necessary food for the people in years of drought; the consequence being devastating famines, which occur with a certain regularity.

Rice was known in ancient times as an Indian crop, and its name is of Indian origin. Hundreds of varieties exist, distinguished according to locality. In the Ganges district the most costly and extensive system of irrigation has been from of old laid out, so as to render a winter crop possible. It is also much grown in Assam, Burmah, the Central Provinces, Mysore, Madras. Hill peoples grow rice as they roam about, on watered terraces, or in rainy districts simply on clearings. Wheat is produced chiefly in the Punjab and the North-West and Central Provinces; its cultivation is increasing, and forms a growing item in the exports. Taking India as a whole, millet stands next to rice as an article of food. In its three families of *sorghum*, *eleusine*, and *pennisetum*, it is grown from Madras to Rajpootana, and occupies much more than half of the arable area in Berar, Bombay, and Mysore. Barley and potatoes are common in the Himalayan valleys. Varieties of leguminous plants, of oil-seeds, notably sesamum and castor-oil, and other vegetables, are numerous. India was once the land of sugar, and it is still obtained from sugar-cane and the sap of the date-palm; while a spirit is distilled from the saccharine flowers of the *mahua* tree, a kind of *bassia*. In Southern India a special low caste is employed in making palm-wine. Plantain, coco-palm, and papaw are of especial value in Ceylon. Spices have an ancient fame as agricultural products of India. Black pepper is confined to the Malabar coast from Canara to Travancore, where cardamums also are grown. Betel pepper requires care, and in many districts is grown by a special caste. But, conspicuous above all Indian spices in its economic importance for the country, and in its far-reaching effects on neighbouring nations, stands opium, a fertile and fearful[1] source of revenue to the government of British India, bringing in for 1894-95 a profit of about £5,000,000. Its cultivation is permitted only in the districts of Behar and Benares in Bengal, but a certain amount is also imported from Malwa and other native states of Central India. Cotton and

[1] [*Original:* fruchtbar und furchtbar.]



The most important fruit-trees of Ceylon Plantan, Coco-palm, Papaya

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indigo also are among the products of India, which were viewed with wonder in old times. Until the cotton crisis of the early 'sixties the former was chiefly consumed in the country. Then the export rose rapidly, but fell again; it is now exported to the value of $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 millions. The Indian cotton districts are the plains of Gujerat and Kattywar, whence come the historic names of "Surat" and "Dhollera," the highlands of the Deccan, and the deep valleys of the Central Provinces and Berar. Indigo was formerly cultivated to a great extent by European planters; but tea, which grows wild in Assam and Kachar, has taken its place. In these countries, and elsewhere on the southern slopes of the Himalaya, since the beginning of the 'fifties, numerous tea plantations have been started, which have now spread beyond the Neilgherries almost to Cape Comorin, and into the Punjab, making India the second tea-growing country in the world. On the Malabar coast the coffee-plant was naturalized by the Arabs. The cinchona, producing quinine, is grown in state plantations on the slopes of the Neilgherries from seed brought from Peru in 1860, and in the higher parts of India is completely acclimatised.

The advance of agriculture due to the increase of the population limits the area of pasturage more and more, and the cattle are largely in a bad plight. Some breeds are excellent, such as that of Mysore, said to have been introduced by Hyder Ali for military purposes, the trotting bullocks of the Central Provinces who draw carriages, the heavy oxen of Gujerat, looking with their pointed heads like antelopes; all branches of the zebu breed. Few races are predominantly engaged in cattle-breeding like the Jats, who are said to have imported the ox from their Turanian home. Formerly it is said that the buffalo alone was bred. What breed the old Indians brought with them is unknown; we only know that they loved their herds, for in the Vedas the gods are constantly besought to protect, bless, and increase the herds. They marked their cattle by incisions in the ear; and the mark 卐 called in Sanscrit *svastika* seems to have arisen with this object. In the deltas and other low-lying damp regions buffaloes take the place of cattle. In Burmah one is almost as numerous as the other, and the daily food of the South Indian pastoral people, the Todas, consists of the milk of a particular breed of herded buffaloes, held almost sacred. Horses are fairly numerous only in the North-West; Bengal and Madras originally possessed none. Camels are abundant only in the plains of the North-West. The few thousand elephants are distributed mainly between Bengal and Burmah; their catching (to the number of 300 to 500 a year) and taming is a Government monopoly. They are used as transport animals, being able to do five times as much as camels; and by native grandees for purposes of show. There are even elephant-tramways. Throughout Southern India goats and sheep exceed cattle in number. Large pigs of repulsive appearance, few in number but widely distributed, are eaten only by the lowest casteless people. The Indian treats animals kindly, and many animals are gentler than with us. Oxen have their horns, elephants their tusks and heads, painted and gilt. Numerous dogs vegetate under the shade of this kindness. The collecting of numerous animals is a thing in which Indian sovereigns take pride; Akbar is said to have left 5000 or 6000 elephants, 12,000 horses, 1000 camels, and 1000 hunting leopards, and the Greeks assign 9000 elephants to King Magadhas. As a country of great princes and large game, India sees hunting in its most exciting form. Before the population was so

...dence, it even maintained hunting races. The use of falcons, leopards, and elephants in hunting is indigenous here, perhaps originated here. The elephant is now found in large numbers only in Assam and Burmah. The export of raw ivory and rhinoceros-horn, once important, has now nearly ceased.

Every form of dwelling, every shape of hut that is known on the earth, occurs in India. The Sanscrit word *Gund* for one of the hill-races is even supposed to imply cave-dwelling. The tree dwellings of the Kaders, Kanikars, and others, which are nowhere in constant use, are to the nomads of the forest indispensable as protection against wild beasts and perhaps against fever. Close beside them stand the beehive-shaped huts of twigs and straw which recall the dwellings of African negroes. They have their most perfect development among the Todas, whose huts, in outline almost in the shape of pointed arches, are of greater length than breadth, and are neatly put together of bamboo with slips of rattan and straw. The entrance is not more than half the height of a man. While in Bengal we see a weak wooden framework filled in with mats, in the drier Central and North-West Provinces they build with unbaked bricks, and roof with baked tiles. Palace walls also are built of bricks, the strength of which is by popular legend ascribed to an infusion of gazelle's milk. On relief sculptures we find the old house of Central and Southern India depicted as a one-storied wooden building, standing usually 6 or 7 feet above the ground. Above it rise the pillars with the widely-spreading roof, the gable of which had either a flame-like point or was cut out in a zig-zag. Between the pillars either mats were hung or carved wooden panels with lattice windows were attached to them. The rooms at the back were inhabited by the women. Formerly great edifices were carried out in wood, which was facilitated by the great abundance of timber in the countries to the north. Noble works of wood-carving were produced, like the temple at Buribun or Mayang-Bobo, panelled with slabs of wood richly-sculptured and painted red, and embellished with wooden statues. In earthquake districts like Peshawur buildings consisted only of wooden panels and mud-bricks, but in general buildings were not durable; Benares, a place of remote antiquity, contains few old quarters. The modern Hindoo house, planned round a court and with its hall adorned with statues of gods, recalls those of ancient Rome. In private life the family prefers to withdraw from the outer to the second court. In houses of several stories the upper project over the lower, so that in a closely built city shade prevails in the narrow streets. Small bridges often connect the upper stories of two frontages. Houses lean against each other, or are connected by high walls, washed in glaring colours, and in Hindoo towns painted with mythological scenes, flowers, and arabesques. In such streets the crush and the noise is such as it hardly is in the towns of Southern China. Richly carved or chiselled window-screens recall Western Asia. Penthouses without props over the windows to keep off the sun are Indian.

The internal arrangement of Indian houses is governed in the North-West by Arab and Persian taste. In the Toda huts the sleeping place is of raised earth, covered with mats or skins. The mortar for crushing corn is a hollow in the clay-floor.

The small villages of the hill tribes lie on the peaks of hills, or are hidden in the folds of the ground. The Toda huts are within stone walls concealing even the ridge of the roof; and in the enclosure, some 100 feet square, stand two

smaller huts besides the dwelling-hut, one for the Barshali or family priest and one for the buffalo calves. The herd is contained at night in a round fence. The towns were originally walled, and the houses are therefore close-packed, standing for choice on hills or slopes. India affords an example of a country with dense population but few towns. With us the density of population corresponds to the number of large towns, and in our industrial states more than 50 per cent of the people live in towns. In Central Hindostan, on the other hand, only 7 per cent, in Lower Bengal only 5 per cent, belong to the town population. The villages lie so close together and are so large—in 1881 there were nearly 9000 villages with from 2000 to 5000 inhabitants—that the intervening spaces are no longer sufficient to provide a living. Calcutta arose out of villages of this kind, which sent their herds to pasture "in the city." Great changes in aggregation correspond to the character of ancient Indian culture. Baber, the first Mogul sultan of India, says of Hindostan: "In 24 or 36 hours great cities inhabited for many years, if any panic induces the inhabitants to fly, are so completely emptied that hardly a trace of human occuption can be discovered. On the other hand, if a population chooses a place of settlement, a mass of people at once stream thither from all sides, for the population of Hindostan is endless." Jeypore, perhaps the most developed of Hindoo cities, is said to have taken the place of the neighbouring and deserted Amber, because one Maharajah remembered a tradition that no prince of his race might live more than a certain time in the same city. On the changeableness of the names of towns is stamped the instability of Indian conditions. The city takes the name of its founder, the state that of the city. Here the nobleman gives his name to his lands, just as in Europe he takes his name from them.

Since 90 per cent of the soil of Hindostan is arable, upon a failure of crops famine must break out in a population which over wide districts is four times as dense as that of Germany. A decrease in numbers, as in the state of Mysore, some 17 per cent between 1872 and 1881, tells an eloquent tale of the ravages made by the famine and drought years 1876-1879, when the population lost five millions by excess of deaths and two millions by deficiency of births. Emigration can do little to diminish this crowding with its resulting misery. Apart from the higher classes who go abroad as merchants, the working-classes of India sent forth in the ten years, 1878-1887, over 160,000 coolies, of whom the majority made for British South America, Mauritius, Natal, Fiji. The tea-districts of Assam, Kachar, and Sylhet attracted 56,000 emigrants in the same time. Some thousands migrated with state aid from Bengal to Burmah. From the Madras Presidency 100,000 went to Ceylon, where their labour has been in much demand on the coffee plantations. We have no figures as to the numbers returned, which must have been considerable. The available spaces in India become visibly smaller. Even tracts in the Terai, the swamp-district on the southern border of the Himalaya, which hitherto were regarded as breeding-grounds for fever and tigers, have been drained, tilled, and settled.

The position of most of the old Indian capitals shows how little value their founders attached to traffic. Native sovereigns did indeed make roads; but they also let them go to ruin again, lest too many strangers should come into the country. In the sixteenth century the Afghan conqueror, Shere Shah, began the great military road from Calcutta to the corner of the North-West Provinces;

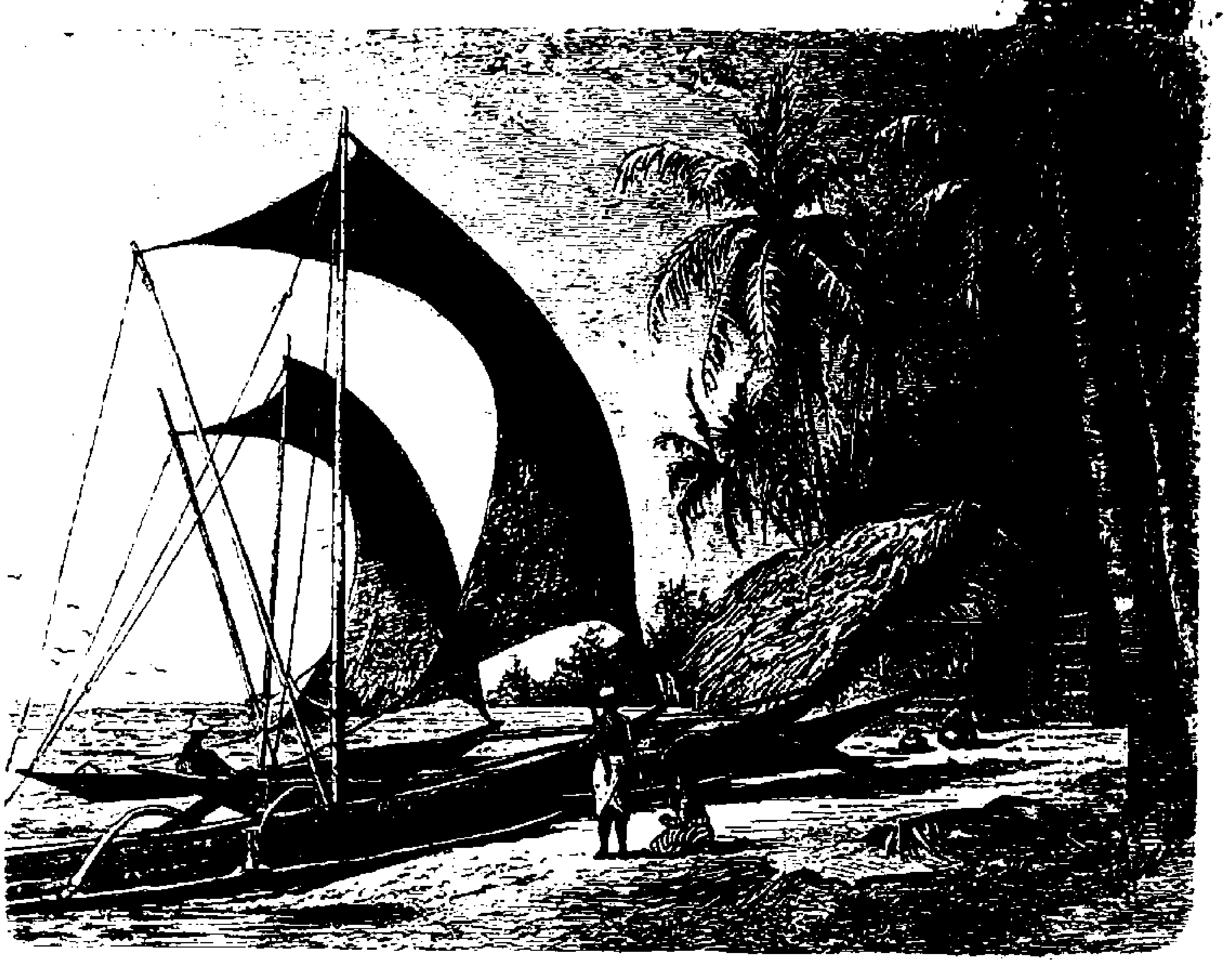
the East India Company had it completed. Now there is a system of railways and roads all over India. The appliances of traffic have changed with the roads. Waggons in many cases replace the pack-oxen of former times, and post-carriages the naked runners, covered with dust and sweat. But methods suited to the climate will not be so easily supplanted. In the North-West the heavy bullock-carts, covered with mats, their wheels running on a bar which bears the extremity of the axle and is attached to the outside of the waggon itself, will always be seen. Inconceivable numbers of camels will always kick up the dust on the dry roads of the Punjab. Horse-carts with high tilts and picturesque hangings, the shafts attached to the saddle of the horse that carries the driver, will still as before be drawn by the enduring, silky-maned Afghan horses which yearly fill the markets of Attock, Peshawur, and Rawul Pindi. Even the dawk-gharries of Bengal, four-wheeled post-coaches like diligences, will still be pushed and drawn by coolies, not less than a dozen at a time.

The only rivers of importance to traffic are the Ganges, the Indus, the Irawaddy, and the Brahmapootra. The Godavery and the Nerbudda have strong rapids. The larger cargo-boats, with their clumsy lines and very high sterns, resemble Chinese junks. To sea-navigation there was little inducement in a country so self-sufficing and so much sought by all nations. On the Malabar and Coromandel coasts the lagoons favoured the construction of canals, running for long distances parallel with the coast. On the southern coasts, where the surf runs high, the fishermen use catamarans, rafts made of the wood of an *erythrina*, as light as cork. In Ceylon they have boats. The fishery, in which harpoon-arrows shot from a cross-bow are used, is important in the North-West; the Mianis of Scinde, near kinsmen to the Jats, pass all their lives in boats on rivers or lakes. Fish, partially dried in the sun and salted, form an article of trade. In recent years complaints have been made of the increased price of fish caused by improvident exhaustion of the supply.

India possesses admirably trained trading-classes in the Parsees, the Banyans, and the inhabitants of the Malabar coast. Countless caravanserais, often of an imposing character, and bazaars are the great foci and schools of India traffic. A spacious courtyard is surrounded by arcades and gateways, leading to chambers inhabited by a motley crowd of travellers, horses, asses, and mules; numerous camels and horses lie around. In the bazaars or tradesmen's streets, with their interminable rows of shops to right and left, often built on one plan, and separated only by partitions, the Indian finds all that he needs, from the simplest necessaries of life to the most costly arms. Some bazaars concentrate all the trade within a circuit of many miles. Thus the camel-caravans bring to Rawul Pindi clothing materials of all kinds and metal work from Cashmere, leather goods from Peshawur, fruit from Cabul, biscuit from Attock.

Indian industries have fallen off since the native powers have ceased to flourish. Industry on a large scale, a plant of foreign growth, is producing new results, not without valuable qualities, but no substitute for what has gone by. To this day Hindoo craftsmen work with tools and other contrivances simpler than those of their western compeers. To tan a hide, they make it into a bag, fill this with the crumbled bark of the *babul*-tree, and let water trickle through till the process is complete. The joiner works with an axe bent at a right angle instead of a plane. The smith squats at a little anvil, blows up the fire with a fan, and with

a short-handled hammer and rough tongs works iron of [illegible] handicrafts are carried on in the crouching position, so that [illegible] cannot be exerted. No Indian village is without its weaver, its [illegible] its oil-miller. The consumption of earthenware pots is very [illegible] suspicion of defilement makes a vessel unusable. The [illegible] in castes from generation to generation facilitate the transmission [illegible] is plenty about cotton-weaving even in the Mahabharata; while [illegible] *sindon* for cotton cloth, and "calico," also, are a reminder of [illegible]



Outrigger boats in Ceylon. (From a photograph.)

trade between India and Europe began in the sixteenth century, large provinces in and about Surat, Calicut, Masulipatam, and the Hooghly, were flourishing mainly by the weaving of cotton. In spite of fiscal burdens, hand-weaving is still common in India, but finds the competition of the Manchester goods, with which the country is flooded, ever harder to meet, in spite of the well-known superior durability of its own products. The costly stuffs of former times, like the Dacca muslin, in the preparation of which the delicate hands of the Hindoo employed 126 tools, have gone so out of use that thousands of weavers who used to live by this industry have taken to agriculture. Silk-weaving is more a town-industry. Assam and Bengal obtain silk from several kinds of worm, and raw silk is imported from China. The weaving of materials wholly or partly of silk is a mark of prosperity. Other luxurious stuffs, such as velvet, brocade, cloth of gold, fine shawls made of the hair of Cashmere goats, have long been manufactured

in great perfection in India. Would that these original and beautiful industries could maintain themselves against the brute force of machinery!

Nowhere, not even in Europe, are metal vessels used in such numbers in daily life. Cooking implements, and yet more the endless idols, are made of metal, hammered or cast. Every village, if not quite wretched, has its smith, whose primary work is the making and mending of ploughshares and hoes; but the smiths of the towns do great things in the way of artistic steel-work. Even remote tribes like the Khassias know how to produce steel for weapons. They extract the interior part of a large mass, and melt a number of these together. Magnetic iron-stone and iron-sand, with charcoal, produce the best kinds of steel. Swords of clouded steel, with artistic inscriptions or designs, cuirasses, weapons of all sorts, are still excellently wrought. Damascened blades come from India and Persia. We have spoken above of artistic industries, and referred to their close connection with Persia and Arabia. Work richly inlaid with gold and silver and set with precious stones is Perso-Indian. The damascened blades, once the great glory of Ispahan, are not now produced of the old quality. Copper is worked very extensively, especially in the Mussulman districts; chasing and inlaying with enamel and tin give it an attractive appearance. In Cashmere, as in Persia, the coppersmith is as essential as the blacksmith. "Two families and one copper pot," is a proverbial expression for the most thorough form of sponging on a neighbour. The spherical *kota*, a ewer for ceremonial ablutions, was made fifteen hundred years ago just as it is now. The chief places for this industry are Benares, Madura, and Tanjore. Ahmedabad and Poona also furnish much beautiful work. Hammered and chased work is still produced in great quantity beside the simpler forms; for art and industry have never been so far divorced in India as in western lands. Instead of copper for vessels, Hindoos mostly use a yellow alloy, with hammered or chased ornaments. In engraved ornament of a fine compact character, on copper and brass, Indian industry, perhaps, does not equal Persian, but simple cheap articles are decorated with it. For a special kind of damascened work of Persian origin, the silversmiths in Bidar and Purniah prepare a peculiar metal of copper, lead, and tin. This they colour black on the surface, and inlay with designs worked in threads and plates of gold and silver. *Cloisonné* enamels have a great reputation throughout India. In multiplicity of alloys, India, Persia, and the borderlands perhaps surpass even China and Japan. Gold, silver, iron, steel, tin, lead, mercury, antimony, are added to copper, and also mechanically inserted into it in various ways. A metal resembling brass is, owing to the admixture of tin and lead, less ductile and heavier than our brass. Gold and silver are less prominent

Bronze jug from Cashmere. (After Ujfalvy.)

than copper and iron. Gold-washing has always been carried on in India, but is now one of the most wretched occupations. Silver, important throughout the historical period of India for its use in coinage and ornament, is not found in the country itself.

Woman's position is the same in India as throughout the East; she is only a natural, man is a religious, necessity; she is lowest in the south, at her best in the north-west, where the Rajpoots cultivate a chivalrous respect for women. Their poems are full of romantic adventures undertaken in order to release some imprisoned beauty or to avenge the honour of a lady. Among the ancient Aryans, too, the better position of woman was localised geographically in the parts where the influence of the more sensual southern races had not made itself felt. Among the Aryans she was praised as the helper and companion of the husband, and shared his rights in the religious customs. There were women among the composers of the finest Vedic hymns. The passage of the Veda on which in later times the burning of widows was based, meant originally: "Rise, O woman, into the world of life. Come to us. Thou hast done thy duty as thy husband's partner." For a long time poetry was pervaded by a reminiscence of this higher position in the right of princes' daughters to choose their husbands freely. By the law of Manu free choice is allowed where the father has allowed his daughter to remain unmarried for three years after attaining nubility. In certain cases the influence of women of rank made itself felt in courts even in later times. The wife of the Mogul Emperor Jehangir, through her beauty, cleverness, and virtue, ruled the emperor and his council. By Brahmin law the woman theoretically held a favourable position. The law-books speak of her as a refreshment in the desert of life, and call upon men, husbands, brothers, to honour her, that they may themselves be fortunate.

Marriage customs show many gradations. Among the Bheels, who recognise no caste, all the young people who have reached the prescribed age make on an appointed day their choice among the marriageable girls. Each goes off into the forest with the object of his choice, and some days later they return lawfully married. This simple form of matrimony, and another by capture or conquest, is allowed by Brahmin law to men of the warrior caste. Far in another direction from the normal Indian type, under which an uncle's daughter appears the most desirable spouse, stands the *Khassia* marriage, by which the husband enters the wife's family, and the children are assigned to the mother. The founding of a family is hampered among the Hindoos by the class-prejudice which requires for a girl of a particular class a great dowry and much wedding-pomp. The conflict thereby evolved is all the keener that Hindoos are bidden by their religious law to take thought for the marriage of their daughters. Thus among the Tamul merchant caste, the *Vanichars*, a father does not scruple to offer his daughter to the desired bridegroom. The non-marriage of marriageable girls is dreaded owing to the risk of an immoral life, and this is strengthened by the Hindoo custom of child-marriage, which often causes a betrothed girl, who from an early age has worn the iron armlet of betrothal, to be a widow before she has set eyes on her husband. But rather than that his daughter should bring shame on the family by marrying below her rank, or even should remain unwedded, the father prefers to avert the threatened disgrace betimes. For his salvation only a son is necessary. And thus these unreasonable institutions are a main cause of

[illegible]ly common practice of female infanticide. The strength of the cruel [illegible] is little affected by the law which forbids the murder of children; all [illegible] that it has invented an easy expiation. On the thirteenth day the floor [illegible] room in which the child was killed, and often buried, is smeared with cow-[illegible] which the village or domestic priest cooks and eats in the room food [illegible] them by the family, thereby taking the sin upon himself and cleansing them. High dowries lead the young Gonds to take their wives from neighbouring tribes, and here also infanticide is very common. On the whole, however, the value of daughters is increased by it. Among the Kuravers of South India the notion of a woman as an article of value has so passed into marriage-customs that a husband can pawn his wife. It is surely not without reason that the refinement, and, at the same time, the physical degradation of the Hindoo race, has been ascribed to the restrictions which confine the choice of a wife within a fraction of a caste; just as in the exogamic prescriptions, to which the Rajpoots conform, may be seen a source of their admirable physical qualities.

Tarya Topan, a rich Hindostanee merchant, formerly living at Zanzibar.
(From a photograph.)

Simultaneously with the general luxuriousness of life, polygamy had even in early times attained large dimensions. Even where it was not allowed, the harem system contributed to the downfall of Indian empires. The proud and warlike Maravers of the Tamul country composed their suites of the children of their concubines. Even the military Sikh princes went to war in chariots having room for twenty Bayaderes. In Cashmere the women are retained in the country, their export and that of horses being carefully supervised. In the rarity of polygamy and severe punishment of adultery among many hill-tribes we can recognise a higher status of family life; testified also by the festivities on the birth of a child. That the position of the wife is not on this account high is clear from the descriptions of the life of the warlike Siahposh. Here distinctions of caste seldom hindered the free choice of partners. Polygamy made its way among these people from Tibet. In spite of the predominance of Islam, the women here go unveiled, and move in a free and unembarrassed way. Among the Wakhanis all field-labour falls to the men. In place of wife-purchase, which appears among Afghans

and Pathans, we find among the Sheranis fathers dowering their daughters. Polyandry again by diminishing the demand for women, told in favour of infanticide. In many districts the number of women has dropped to half that of men, and it is only those inhabited by Mussulmans that show most frequently a balance between the sexes. Polyandry is to be found not only among savage hill-tribes. In a milder form, designated "permissive polyandry" by Sir W. Hunter, it occurs even among the Jats, and there is a reminiscence of it even in certain Hindoo laws, which are less severe in condemning adultery with a husband's brother, and lay stress on "levirate" marriage. Polyandry must, at least in many cases, have arisen from purely economic motives. It is curious that though frequent among the Pariahs in Southern India, it is not found among the degraded Pulayas.

The life of the peoples of India cannot be understood apart from the religion and the social organisation with which it is entwined, often enshrined; and in both, caste is assuredly the most potent force and the most immovable law. Whether or not it has a national origin, expressed in the contrast between the "twice-born" Aryan immigrants (afterwards the three castes of priests, warriors, and husbandmen), and the subdued, non-Aryan Sudras, elements of older social organisation are interwoven with it, and economic objects which to-day have without doubt a great share in its maintenance and further development, had also their influence in its establishment and progress. It is an institution which, conditioning as it does all the relations of life, is itself conditioned by all the vicissitudes which the life of the Indian races has undergone. In spite of the dogmatic formulation in the laws of Manu which say that the supreme Lord has assigned to the Sudra only the duty of service towards the three higher castes, development is not precluded at the present time. The four old castes of Brahmins or priests, Kshatriyas or warriors, Vaisyas or husbandmen, and Sudras, or excluded, have at this day very little practical significance, when we see how the geographical situation of their districts, how their occupations and callings, have given rise to modifications whereby the 14,000,000 of Brahmins alone are split up into hundreds of sub-castes incapable of intermarrying and disqualified from handing food to one another. What a distance is it from the Brahmin pundits of Behar in their spotless robes, and the haughty priests of Benares, to the potato-growing Brahmins of Orissa, half-naked peasants, whom no one would credit with their caste, were they not marked by the dirty scrap of Brahmin thread round their necks! One may see Brahmins earning their daily bread as porters, shepherds, fishermen, potters, side by side with others who would prefer death to any manual labour for themselves and their families, and would die rather than take any food prepared by people of a lower caste. Even where they have gone far back from the idea of "atmospheric pollution," as in the Tamul country, the horror of eating and drinking in common remains. A mixed marriage alone counts as a worse defilement. In the prisons of Lower Bengal, Brahmin convicts from Behar or the North-West Provinces are selected by preference to prepare the food for their gaol-fellows, as being in a position fairly to satisfy the caste-claims of all Brahmin prisoners. There are, it is true, only ten larger subdivisions of the Brahmins, five north and five south of the Vindhya range, but the provincial separation goes much further. Sherring, in his learned work upon the Hindoo tribes and castes, distinguishes 1886 classes of Brahmins. The Kshatriyas are

broken up into 590 subdivisions. Intermingling has much contributed to this. The prohibition of marriage between persons belonging to the same related group, and between those belonging to different castes, is not always strictly obeyed. The older history shows that marriages between men of higher caste and women of lower were regarded as allowable, and that the offspring of such unions held a position quite different to that of children sprung from unpermitted intercourse. Whole peoples of non-Aryan stock were on political grounds admitted into one of the higher castes; and thus it will be conceived that in spite of the apparently high barriers of the caste system, mixed races predominate to-day in India as elsewhere. Yet caste, as a strictly close society, exercises a constraint upon the members such as no written law could do. Even in recent years expulsions and readmissions have taken place, setting the tyranny of the castes in a vivid light. On readmission into a caste, the culprit is buried up to the knees in the earth, his head is shaved, prayers and conjurations are recited over him. Then for purification he has to swallow a mixture of the five sacred substances, clarified butter, curdled milk, honey, two kinds of cow-dung. Finally he has to pay a fine according to his means.

Whole races groan under the burden of filthy and degrading work, to the performance of which they are forced by neighbours who hold themselves for better men. Thus the Mahars of the northern Konkan dwell in low brushwood huts close to the Hindoo villages, and are compelled by the villagers, who forbid all other occupations to them, to remove carrion and rubbish. Economic considerations alone are capable of dealing with these prejudices. In Travancore the Pulayas count as the lowest class, and yet have to till the land and harvest the produce; so that human food and temple offerings pass through the hands of persons whose mere proximity is a desecration. Economic necessities have in past times had a far greater effect in the formation and transformation of castes. The Vaisyas of the old system embraced the husbandmen, and therewith, in an agricultural community, the mass of the people. But with the advance of culture the Vaisyas partly ascended to the higher castes, partly transferred themselves to easier and more profitable occupations. To-day they are the tradesmen and bankers of India. "Light of colour, with refined features, keen glance, intelligent expression of countenance, and courteous demeanour"—such is the description given of them by that authority on Hindoo castes, the Rev. Mr. Sherring, who vainly sought in the Vaisyas for any reminder of their ploughing, sowing, reaping forefathers. There is no lack of cases of conscious striving after a higher position. The goldsmiths of Madras steadily opposed the supremacy of the Brahmins, and put on the Brahmin thread at their own pleasure. The quarrel led to a separation of the castes in Madras into "right hand" and "left hand," according as they admitted or rejected this claim. Similarly in Bengal the Dattas, a section of the writer caste, tried to get themselves ranked immediately below the Brahmins, while in Dacca the class of "oil-pressers," retaining their name, rose to the grade of the money-changers and traders. Such cases show that Indian society is not organised with so unnatural firmness as the rigidity of its outer shell leads one to suspect, and that wherever the notions of caste and trade-guild run together, the way is open for economic influences to effect a transformation; even though an element of cohesion is provided by the hereditary callings, the common security against want and calamity, the publication of ordinances for the training of youth,

the power to reward by promotion or punish by expulsion. The similarity of such a caste to a European trade-guild is heightened by attempts to fix the rate of wages by means of strikes supported from a common fund. No one can say where, in the Tamul hereditary groups of potters, weavers, and the "five trades" that take part in temple-building, and are held in part worthy of the sacred string, the limits of guild and caste begin and end. In Surat the allied trades form guilds with council, president, and treasury, which override race and caste-distinctions. In the village communities indeed the higher caste holds in theory the higher position; but in practice it will occur that the dignity of village head-man falls to a man of so inferior caste that he cannot sit in council under the same roof with his subordinates.

In no country in the world is the debasement of the lower strata of society carried out and perfected with so intelligent cruelty and so consistently as in India. In the days before the suppression of slavery, it is no figure of rhetoric to say that they were treated not as men but as beasts. A report of 1850 on the Pulayas of Travancore says: "Contact with them, even approach to them, is regarded as impure and desecrating. They stand body and soul at the disposal of their master, who buys and pays for them like cattle, and may chastise them, mutilate them, and even kill them. Even if these atrocities are not exactly permitted by law, no means exists of improving their position." Incredible precepts were always applied with iron consistency and logic. In many districts even at this day the Pulayas may not use the public roads; in others they have to hide in the jungle on the approach of a person of higher caste, so that it is often difficult for them to move from one place to another. If they are set to work on the road, they must put up a sign to warn other castes of their presence. They may not come within ninety-six paces of a Brahmin. They are forbidden to visit the markets, and may not build their huts near a highway. If they wish to buy anything they lay down the money at a distance, and call out their wants. Even the missionaries have been unable to make any wide breach in these customs; the most conspicuous result they have obtained is to be found in the proof—valuable after all in itself—that by dint of careful training, from these people, sunk in filth and ignorance, may be made persons as worthy as any Indian caste can show. It was no small thing that in 1875 the government of Travancore not only praised these outcasts for their good character and industry, but ventured to recommend them to others as models of loyalty and honesty. Christian Pulaya slaves have been flogged to death and their schools burnt down. Among the most cruel consequences of this crowding together of all the members of a nation who are deemed to have fewer rights, is its effect in mingling them amid the dregs of society—with those who have been cast out for good reasons. In South India the thieves' castes are unknown, and criminals associate with the casteless people. In the north, on the other hand, they can often show complete organisations, of which the British administration has been able to avail itself in the interests of public security. The chiefs of a thieves' or other criminal caste are well known, and these are made responsible for all crimes against property and others occurring within the district.

The ethnographer looks at many peoples of India with a doubt whether he has before him a race or a class. The two notions have ere now been mixed in simple descriptions. In Painter's work on the Pulayas we read that the Pulaya

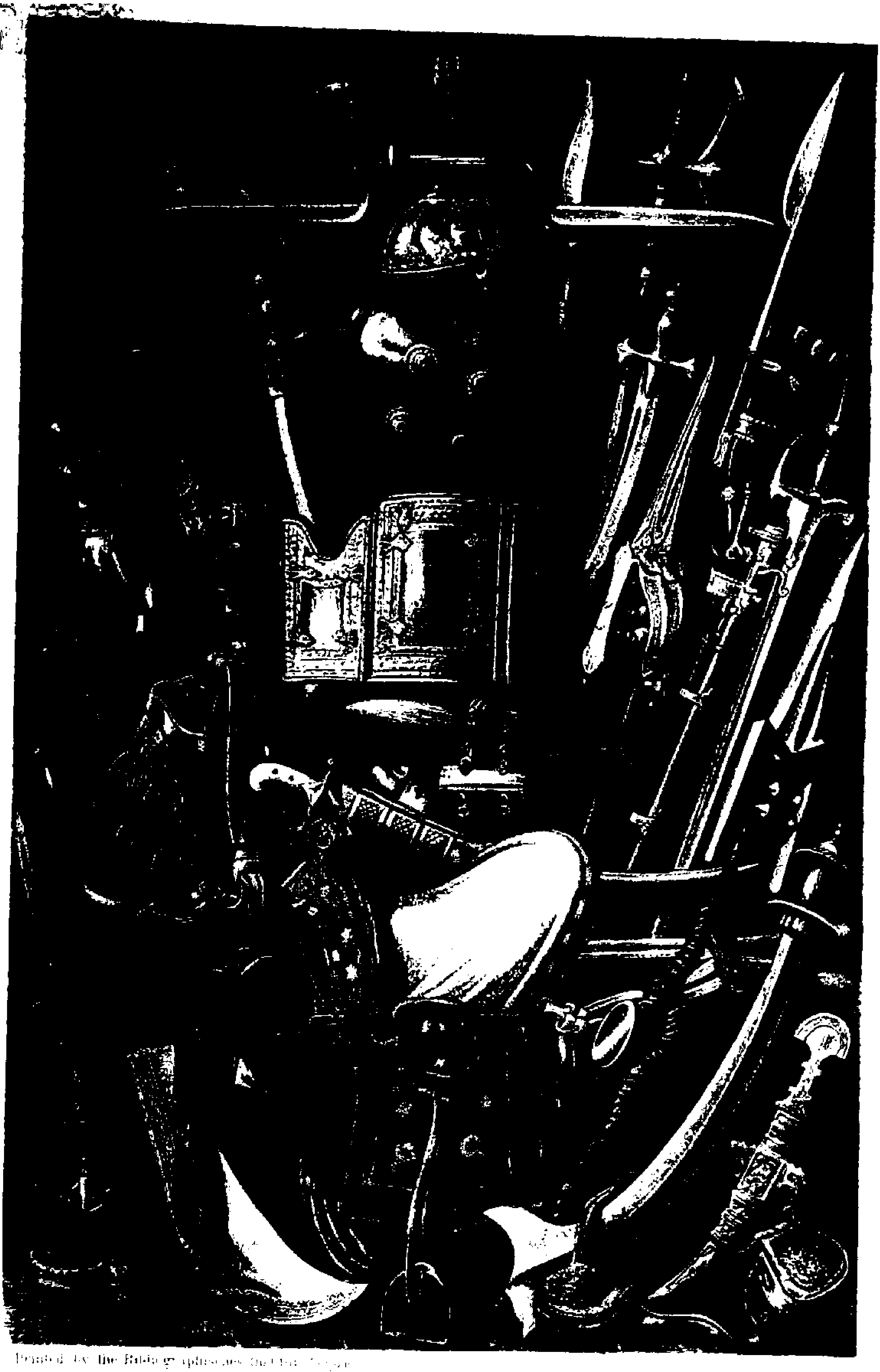
"race" is reckoned as the lowest "class" in Travancore, and we find the difference between them and the Pariahs expressed by the following characteristics. The Pariahs eat carrion, wear the *kudumi,* speak a language distinct from Malayalam, and are the descendants of Brahmins who were seduced into eating meat by their enemies, and therefore cast out. The Pulayas, on the other hand, seldom or never eat carrion, do not wear the *kudumi,* speak Malayalam, and have a tradition that they are descended from slaves. Among the motives of this separation, beside the hypothesis of Dravidian, Turanian, negroid descent, why should not the separation of a social race, brought about by social barriers, be mentioned? Official statistics in British India count the hill-tribes, aborigines, forest-dwellers, as belonging to that stock for which no fusion with the higher Aryan breed can be proved. In that case it would be an anthropological conception. But when a hill-tribe gives up its hunting life, its half-nomad agriculture, migrating from one bit of virgin soil to another, the general instability of its existence, it is counted with the Hindoos. In this way missionaries and able officials have been constantly lowering the figures of the hill-tribes, which even thirty years ago were between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000. It is thus a conception based on stage of culture. Ultimately, however, a certain natural geographical basis cannot be denied to it, for these hill-tribes do not bear that name for nothing; they inhabit all the hill and mountain districts of India from about Delhi to the Godavery and Cape Comorin. We find instances in which one part of a tribe has come into a condition of servitude to the upper classes or castes of neighbouring peoples, while another has kept its freedom in the hills. The Baralis belong to the same group as the Mahars, but are not so degraded socially. Instead of accepting slavery they have preferred to roam about in the hills, where formerly the Hindoos of the Konkan practised man-hunting in organised expeditions. Of the Pulayas there are two main divisions, Eastern and Western, who curiously enough hold so much aloof from each other that they will not eat together. One group are slaves to their neighbours, the other are comparatively free. The Neilgherry tribes also keep at different levels; at the head of them are the Todas who live on the plateau, while four other and lower groups inhabit the slopes. The first regard themselves as the original inhabitants of the Neilgherries and lords of all the soil, making husbandmen render them a sixth of the crop. In the names of the Indian peoples may be found indications of the reciprocal positions. "Bheel" or "Nishada" means "outlawed," "condemned"; and the position of the Bheels towards the Rajpoots is peculiar. Some unknown influence has here succeeded in modifying the caste spirit. Although outside caste, they are not regarded by the Rajpoots as unclean; and at the coronation of Rajpoot kings a Bheel handed to the sovereign the insignia of his new dignity.

In the absence of caste among some Indian races we see nothing original, only a reaction from the exaggerated division, and in some cases an expression of the impossibility of carrying it out with reduced numbers and a general lower position of life. It is natural that the Pariah races should have no caste-divisions; but it is more remarkable that great races like the Gonds, the Bheels, the Mhairs of Central India are equally casteless. All these are peoples broken up into numerous tribes under chiefs chosen by themselves or governed by an elective council. In many cases they may have come in as warriors and avoided uniting themselves in one organisation with the peoples they had subdued.

Among the Khols of Nagpore the most pronounced exogamy, almost to be called a totem-system, prevails.

The rise of the Indian caste-divisions reaches far back in the history of the peoples who inhabit India. Similar divisions are never absent among races at a low stage of culture. We need only recall society in old America and in Polynesia, with its stringently enforced cleavage. By the time of the Vedas appears the division of priests and warriors, including the princes, from the actual people. If the descending Aryans came upon organised states and societies, the great antiquity of caste leads us to conclude that they found similar institutions among those whom they subdued, and accepted them the more readily in proportion as the relation between conquerors and conquered encouraged the sweeping out of social distinctions. It is a mistake to regard the migratory people of old times as too energetic and unsophisticated to let itself be enclosed in the barrier of a caste-system. The Turcoman herdsman of Central Asia connects to this day the idea of a husbandman with that of a lower rank of life; he will only class himself as a warrior. The Rajpoots, who arrived in India as mighty conquerors and founders of states, whose first appearance as horse-worshipping spearmen under military kings suggests Scythians, pride themselves on the name of Kshatriya, and have to this day kept the character of a swaggering military nobility. Even if their claim to a high antiquity is not justified, since the Rajpoots did not cross the Indus till the fourth or fifth century of our era, it shows how easily a race of conquerors among the conquered assigns an exaggerrated importance to itself. Only after many attempts did the Europeans weather the reef of becoming a caste themselves.

Indian laws are not, as is apt to be said, of purely Brahminic origin; they contain far too much of the conceptions and the statutes common to mankind, indeed these are the essential nucleus of them. But they have attained to their establishment by dint of priestly authority and in the spirit of the Brahminic religion, which gives them, viewed from outside, an eminently theologic, theocratic character. Even Buddhism has been as little able to alter materially the maxims of law transmitted to it in a Brahminical garb, as to prevent the revival of caste, which it suppressed. But this capacity for resistance in the laws of India is not in that part which was introduced by the priests, rather in what they include of the stock common to mankind. This is true even of definitions and usages which look like gross abuses of the hierarchy. Graul speaks of a sanctuary for Brahmin thieves and adulterers in Malabar, in the temple of Koonichery south-east of Calicut, where no power can touch them, even if they leave the place. No doubt this counts as one of the sixty-four *anacharams* or abuses which have been introduced by the Brahmins there. In the Indian game laws old ways of looking at things are latent; as when among the Males of Bengal the village headman claims half of the game killed, or when the slaying of a cat must be atoned for by the gift of salt to a child of the village where the cat belonged. Among the Veddahs of Ceylon again we find the hunting-grounds of the villages strictly delimited, and whoever kills an animal out of his own country owes a hind-quarter to the local authority. A description of similar collections from the Malay world applies to the barbaric laws of the hill-tribes and other minutely divided societies; tribal feuds and vendettas are not wanting. A young Naga, in order to earn the name and tattooing of a man—the latter is different for



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INDIAN AND PERSIAN WEAPON[illegible]

different tribes—has to show the head, hands, or feet of a man. In the *morrang* where these trophies are kept, Peal saw no less than 350 skulls hung up by strings or piled in the corner.

The disintegration of great peoples into numerous little tribes is a common phenomenon of various origin. In western Central India the Baralis, the free men of the same stock as the Mahars, are divided into a large list of small tribes, each of which has an old name. Whole tribes, perfectly definable, are represented only by a single family. Here we have probably a case of family-tribes or clans. Thus Gonds, Bheels, Mhairs, and above all, Jats, were divided into family-tribes, with a leader at their head in war-time; but in time of peace each tribe was governed by a council of heads of households. Among the Gonds, however, it is mostly under the orders of an overlord, the Thakore, of Rajpoot extraction. In any case there is nothing racial in the organisation. At the time of the Goorkha War there were twelve larger and eighteen smaller Goorkha states, some of which had not even a nominal sovereign. Hence Frazer found in the circumstances of Nepaul something to remind him of the condition of the Scottish Highlands at the height of the feudal system; and this was afforded still more in his time by the nineteen Rajpoot states in what is now, in the domain of geographical conceptions, Rajistan, each of which in its body of owners and rulers represented a family in which the prince was merely the first among his equals. Yet there is a deeper difference between what we call a nobility and these Thakores and Nawabs in the fact that there everything, which with us appears attached to the soil, is connected with blood-relationship. Property, village, town, state, frontier are movable. They travel with the clan, which does not take its name from the soil which it occupies and rules, but gives it to the soil. Even outside Rajistan the nobles often enjoy a great measure of independence, so that even in Hyderabad, after the Nizam had appropriated the sole sovereignty, the Umaras or Nawabs kept up their own troops independent of his army. The demands, increased in recent times, upon the administrations of Indian states, have been even less complied with by these small princes than by the greater.

In India with its dense population large and powerful states have as a rule been formed by the invasion of foreign races with a capacity for ruling. We have already spoken of this. When the spirit of military simplicity has become extinct in them, oriental despotism puts forth fantastic flowers. The Indian people like to be dazzled by the display of pomp; even Englishmen have to surround themselves with a luxury alien to their nature. Indian princes rely upon brilliant armies, which indeed have seldom offered any stubborn resistance to the small forces of Europeans, and try by an arbitrary, senseless exaltation of their own persons over the masses to attain a commanding height. In their presence every one must keep his mouth shut that no defiling breath may issue from it, and the prince's coachman has to drive his horses standing, because no man dare sit in his lord's presence. "Golden God," the subject calls him, designating himself as "slave"; his food is divine and his birth an incarnation. A loyal attention on the part of the ruler to the good of his state, of which many cases may be noticed in China and Japan, has always been rare in the great Indian States. Rajahs and Maharajahs think a great part of their duty fulfilled if for a few hours a week they stand on a terrace to be admired from afar by their subjects. Even in the time of British supremacy there have been numerous

cases in which native rulers have had to be kept up by European residents to a better administration of their states. In 1831 Mysore was taken away from its ruler on account of misgovernment, and only restored to his descendant in 1882. The Indian apparatus of government too has never, as in Eastern Asia, been thoroughly perfected by the system of examinations and the arrangement of officials in ascending ranks. Attention to the welfare of the people was not the task of the state. For this reason no Indian state has filled up its own limits as permanently as China, nor extended beyond them by colonising on a definite plan.

Under the despots freedom flourished only in small communities. The Afghans who have remained free in their mountains discuss state affairs at meetings where any elder may speak. Among the Banjaris of Central India every caravan forms a tribe under a leader freely elected by the men. The power of this *Naik* is unlimited, but can be taken from him by a unanimous vote of his subjects. All the institutions of these people breathe a patriarchal simplicity. Trespasses against the public interest are tried by an elective court.

At present no really independent states remain in India. Sikkim, Nepaul, and Bhootan are in the domain of the Tibetan races. The so-called Native States, 300 in number, large and small, have a total population of 50,000,000. Whether protected states, paying no tribute and receiving no British garrison, or tributary, in return for protection, or allied and bound to entertain British troops, all are dependent. Their princes, if they give ground for dissatisfaction, incur blame and severe measures from their foreign overlords, and they have to appear from time to time at the Viceroy's *durbars*. Some of them have benefited their countries by admirable institutions on the European model, but a larger number are content with an outward imitation of their European masters.

§ 17. THE IRANIAN AND KINDRED NATIONALITIES.

The old Aryan population of Iran—Antiquity of the Turkish or Turanian element in Iran—The Tajiks—Afghanistan—The Galchas—East Turkestan—Persians—Persia and Islam—Dress, arms, dwellings of Persians and other Iranian stocks—Agriculture and nomadism; irrigation; cattle-breeding—Persian industries—Political conditions—Tribes of the Suleiman and Hindoo Koosh mountains—Wakhanis—Kafirs—Peoples of the Tarim.

NOT without reason did the Greeks place a great Central Asiatic Empire in Eastern Iran. In Bactria, Zoroaster arose, from hence the worship of fire spread westward and southward, here flowed the springs of Firdusi's poetry, and here, since the Arab conquest, we still find purer Zend forms than in Persian. The Persians of Central Asia retain to-day more left of the old Persian language, undeformed by Semitic and Turanian influences, than the Persians of Persia. No one who knows the Iran of this day looks for the Iranic features in the people of Persia; Khanikoff sees more traces of them in the Tajiks, Rawlinson in the Wakhanis, Vambéry in both, as well as in the Galchas, Jemshidis, and Parsewans, than even in the Sassanid bas-reliefs. In Central Asia the Galchas are regarded as the most ancient Iranians. As far as sedentary civilisation reaches its hand across the Oxus to the Chinese, are Iranian elements to be sought; even to

Turfan and Khotan. Northward they extend beyond Khojend to Jadj and Binaket. Only in so far as beyond the Oxus they have always nomads dwelling close beside them—and these not of necessity Turanians—can that river be called the frontier between Iran and Turan.

In the great belt of steppes which extends from the north-west coast of Africa to the north-east border of Asia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, numerous settled peoples dwell as husbandmen, craftsmen, and traders. Ethnographically and historically they are separated from the nomads, by whom politically they are ruled, or have been in the course of their history profoundly influenced. Those who have pushed in as conquerors and rulers are for the most part nomads of Turkic stock, while the subject agriculturists, traders, and artisans are equally for the most part descendants of the old Medes and Persians. It is commonly assumed that in old times the whole population of Persia was agricultural, and that nomadism was only brought in by the inroads of the Turanians. But this is contrary to the nature of the country, which in many districts must always have demanded the nomadic tending of cattle. Destruction of forests and heedless treatment may have diminished the fertility of the country; but Persia can never have escaped the zone of dry climate to which it belongs by laws that do not change within a few thousands of years. Historic evidence refers the ancient Medes to the Turanian nomad stocks, while Iranian nomads lurk under the collective name of Scythians, and once had their quarters from the Black Sea to east of the Jaxartes, from the Scoloti to the Massagetæ. Iranian tribes were in Turkestan long before our era, at a time when agriculture apart from nomad cattle-breeding is inconceivable. The Kudatku-Bilik, the earliest native document for Turkish history, speaks of Tajiks and Sarts as already existing nations. Vambéry thinks that even by that time traces of Turkish were deeply imprinted on the Tajik language, and that the Sarts on the Middle Jaxartes were already linguistically Turkicised.

How are we to picture to ourselves the primeval Aryan-Iranic stock of nearer Asia in respect of physical characteristics? We know one great branch—the Indian. Quite similar to this is the Iranian, as found to-day among the Parsees of India, the Gebirs of Yezd and Kirman, the inhabitants of Shiraz, and, finally, the Luris and Legs. Special emphasis, too, is laid on their difference in colour from the lighter Armenians and Jews. The mixture of fair and brown light-eyed individuals is stronger among the Tajiks of Turkestan, but also among the Usbeks of Ferghana, than among the Iranian tribes of the Pamir. In the hill-country about the Keria reside the fair, blue-eyed Matchins, a blend, it is said, of Aryan and Mongol. Many Beloochees are as dark as Southern Indians, so are whole villages in North-West Persia. The colour of the skin, deficient in flesh-tints, suggests thin coffee with milk; the hair is copious, the beard strong—both dark brown. Pure Iranian Persians must, however, be scarcer than pure Aryan Indians. Everything in their position and in their life is favourable to mixture. They are exogamous and polygamous, and they obtain the elements of mixture from the Kirghis and Usbek stocks with whom they stand in relations favourable in many ways, from political and social causes, to crossing. Where they live in the most sheltered position, in Badakshan, the mountainous region on the Upper Kundus on the northern slope of the Hindoo Koosh, the neighbourhood of the Pamir renders the inroads of Turkoman hordes so frequent that the Persian-

speaking majority in the population, reckoned at 100,000 to 150,00[illegible] been under Usbek sovereignty, and is mixed with Turkoman blood[illegible] Seistan, says Rawlinson, the "Scythian physiognomy" prevails. [illegible] Persia, besides what are called descendants of the Medes and Persians[illegible] we find Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Caucasians, Chaldeans or Nestorians, Jew[illegible]

A Persian of quality. (From a photograph.)

Gipsies, Afghans, Beloochees, Hindoos; Mongols also, as prisoners of war, Abyssinians and negroes as slaves, Russians and Poles as deserters. But as the most frequent form of half-breeds may be pointed out those with Turkish blood, and next those with Armenian or Caucasian. The older layer of Persian population in Afghanistan are the Tajiks, some half million of industrious husbandmen, artisans, and traders, members of the Iranian body which we find in fragments from the Indus to the Jaxartes. From the Afghans they are separated by language, not by their "Sunnite" form of religion. Over them

spread the Afghans three or four times more in number, speaking Pushtoo, and in bodily appearance suggesting a strong admixture of Turkic blood. First in the Turanian stratum come the Kizzilbashes, said to be descended from the mercenaries left behind as settlers by Nadir Shah, people of mixed Persian and Turkic blood, of importance through their courage, their prosperity, and their spirit of enterprise. They speak a later dialect of Persian than the Tajiks, but as "Shiites" are separated from them by a deep gulf. Even in the English service in India many Kizzilbashes are to be found, in the cavalry and in the Intelligence Department. Like them the Usbeks in Afghan Turkestan are masters of the Tajiks, but held in check by detachments of Afghan troops. Lastly must be mentioned the Hazaras, equally of the Turkic stock, a purely pastoral people, poor and badly armed. They are said to have come into the country with Jenghis Khan. They have maintained themselves in semi-independence towards the governing stocks, and are treated in return with contempt.

Situation and natural surroundings have preserved smaller groups of mountain peoples with their primitive characteristics pure and unalloyed. The Galchas are stronger, more courageous, more honest, than the Tajiks. The former are pastoral, the latter agricultural and trading; the former are few in number, the latter are reckoned by millions. On the Kafirs, or Siahposh, and the Dards is bestowed the praise of being people, on the one hand neither fawning nor timid, on the other, more free from impertinent self-conceit than most other Orientals. With the Dards Shaw compares, from a linguistic point of view, the small nations of Chitral and Kunar, perhaps also the Siahposh. A more remote resemblance connects the people of the Suleiman range with them. The Galchas of Kohistan, Darwas, Roshan, Wakhan, Badakshan, Shighan—people of light colour with abundant hair and beards—are the remnants of an older extension beyond the Pamir eastward, where Iranian traces reach to beyond Khotan. Here and there the black hair passes into brown and red. Brown, gray, and blue eyes occur. Horizontal eyes, curved thin nose, thin lips, small teeth, oval face (though also with projecting cheek-bones), small, close-lying ears, strong limbs, and high stature, easily distinguish the purer tribes among these people from the surrounding Mongoloids. The only exception is in the mountain-valleys on the upper course of the Oxus, where there is much cretinism. Some of the smaller groups of the Galchas recall the mountain-dwellers of Europe, and their franker, nobler character marks them off from the Asiatics around. Thus, too, poor mountaineers, like those who live at the foot of the Zarafshan Glacier, with no trace of agriculture, in houses with mortarless walls of stone, having for their sole domestic animal the *ishak*, a half-tamed ass. Hospitality, patriarchal family, and communal life, monogamy, recall the Vedic ancestors of the Indians.

That the entire population of East Turkestan, now amounting hardly to a million, was once of Aryan stock, is an opinion already expressed by Klaproth and Ritter. The things found in graves at Cherchen and other oases show only that a people rich in gold, who even put gold plates over the eyes of their dead, once dwelt here. The country was early inundated by the Mongols, and soon after the Chinese began to colonise it, bringing Dungans with them, while the Kokans or Anjanis immigrated from West Turkestan. Hindoos, too, and people from Cashmere and Badakshan, have mingled with the town population. Wars

often raged, depopulating whole groups of oases; then colonisation, voluntary or enforced, brought new elements, the mixing of which produced Tartarised Aryans. The last remnant of the "Aryans beyond the Pamir," a tribe of 1000 to 1500 souls, was transplanted by Yakoub Beg, and Chinese were put in their place. Yakoub Beg himself was from Khokand, and filled all important positions with his countrymen, who in language and manners hardly appeared as strangers to the people of Yarkand and Kashgar. In the more remote steppe-districts, as on the Lob-Nor, the prevalent blend is more Turko-Mongol. Arabs and Afghans, too, must not be forgotten. In the country itself they distinguish two main stocks—the Matchins, who are said to have originally inhabited a great part of the country, but now reside chiefly in the south-east, south of a line from Cherchen to Khotan, and the Ardbils in the north, mainly north of a line from the Ak-Su to Kashgar. Prjevalsky notes Semitic traits in the Ardbils, Mongolian in the Matchins. The Chinese element has naturally permeated with most force in the towns, where Chinese officials, merchants, and soldiers have never quite disappeared, and in recent years have gained in importance.

The Persian possesses the refinement natural to the child of an ancient civilization. Wit, poetry, elegance, but also a certain slyness of address, make him recognisable among a thousand. He is distinguished from his co-religionists by taste in dress, even to his shoes, with an almost feminine coquetry and a generally well-cultivated exterior. Just as he loves to adorn his body, so he embellishes his talk with figures and jests. The character which he himself describes as *fuzul*—a man of refined address, crafty, fond of gain, cringing to superiors, masterful to inferiors, superficially cultured—is frequent in Persia, and especially in Ispahan. The Persians have the reputation of first-rate diplomatists, negotiators, brokers. Even in India the Parsees stand of all races nearest to the English, and rise by their wits to situations unattainable by other natives. An often-quoted verse of Sadi says: "Better tell a lie in kindness, than a truth to breed offence." Praise is given to the art with which the Persian commands the expression of his emotions, his resignation in misfortune, his innate *nil admirari*, his moderation in eating and drinking, his tendency to accommodate others, his incapacity for refusing to promise a suppliant the fulfilment of his wishes. There is a proverb in Central Asia: "His eyes are as wide open as a Bokhara money-changer's." Much praised, too, is Persian courtesy, but there is a good deal of falsehood in it; a Persian deems himself bound to offer anything, however large and costly, that takes a stranger's fancy. Politeness is natural also to the Beloochee, who, even among the lower classes, greets with a kiss of the hand and many mutual enquiries as to health. Persons of lower rank make to their superiors a movement of the hand from the knee to the ankle. Love of titles is extraordinarily common in Persia; "Mirza," "learned," is prefixed to the name, if "Khan" or "Beg" is not appended. Pious people decorate themselves with "Hadji," the title of a pilgrim to Mecca, or names like "Kerbelai," "Meshedi," from other pilgrimages.

Their geographical position has caused the Persians to play a great part in the spread of Islam, which had to force its way between the Eastern Rome and Iran. Iran was the first to fall, and offered to the fanatics from Arabia an abundant culture and great facilities for extending their propaganda. Mecca had long been familiar to Persian trade, and Persians served in the host which

d led to victory. On other sides, too, Persian influence reaches beyond borders of Iran. In Cashmere and Jummoo, Persian is the official language; the Hindostanee of the Punjab is written in the Persian character and has many Persian forms mixed with it; it is the medium of intercourse for trade from Afghanistan to East Turkestan and to the west coast of India. Though repressed, the Persians still play a part in the Russian markets both in the south and in the interior.

Dress among the hill-tribes is of wool, and dark in colour. The Siahposh get their name from the gloomy colour of their garments. Brown woollen coats and trousers, long felt stockings with leather soles, white or blue cotton turban, compose the dress of both men and women. The women wear long plaits. Ornament is rare, and everything except the turban is the product of domestic industry. Much in the Persian dress of to-day recalls the primitive features of the mountain clothing. The Persian keeps his head warm with the high fur cap, while exposing breast and feet to the cold. The fur cap, which has supplanted the turban, save only among Afghans, Kurds, and Beloochees, is explained as an inheritance from the Kajars, and thus Turkish; but it had belonged from of old to the forefathers of the Iranians in their pastoral life on cold uplands. At present the Beloochee, when most simply clad, wears loin-cloth, grass sandals, and little cap, so that his copious weapons—shield, sword, gun, knife, bullet-pouch, etc., contribute materially to the covering of his person. But when he is in full rig his garments are stout cotton breeches, close-fitting below the knee, and prettily embroidered with red, and over them a similarly embroidered cotton shirt; a large turban and a thick woollen plaid complete the costume. The Persian dress consists of a shirt, of which wealthy people have two—reaching to the waist, and buttoning at the side—a doublet, mostly of cotton cloth, loose trousers, and a coat like a caftan of silk or cotton fastened round the hips. To these is added in cold weather a short cloak, often richly bordered with fur, and, for visiting, a long robe down to the heels, and quite concealing the arms. On the feet short socks are worn, only up to the ankles, and slippers or shoes with wide opening. The Persian likes talking of his clothes, and pays high for them.

The dwellings are, in mountainous parts, built of rough stone and mud, in the higher mountains often of wood only, white poplar being used in the Hindoo Koosh. The larger settlements are surrounded with walls and towers. When entering a house in the highlands of Wakhan, one first comes on the horses and cows in their stall, then through a long narrow passage to the dwelling-room, a small and dirty apartment. In the middle stands a hearth of clay, with a hole above it to let the smoke out. The dome-shaped roof is carried by wooden posts, which stand round the hearth. On all sides open small rooms for the members of the family. The Kharotis, herdsmen of the Suleiman range, who support themselves on their herds of goats, and in winter also on pine-seeds, live almost entirely in tents. The huts are lighted by torches. In Persia air-dried bricks are much used for building, which, when, as often happens, they are made of earth or road-sweepings, soon fall to pieces. The bricks of old buildings are used—in Teheran those from Rai. Building is very frequent, and no one continues what another has begun; so the work is not durable. Houses, palaces, and whole villages are abandoned for a whim, on account of evil prognostics, or in case of death. The arrangement of the dwelling-rooms in the better houses follows the

general fashion of the East. The decoration of other than sacred places with carpets is *not of Persian origin*, but is to be ascribed to imitation perhaps of Europeans, perhaps also of Central Asian tea-houses. Only in temples and sepulchral chapels is it an old custom to hang the walls. Individual dwelling in homesteads is found not only in the mountains; it is usual in the Cherchen oasis.

The rule of the nomads has left its traces even in the peasant life of Persia. Peasants often leave their villages, and go with their small possessions in search of new soil, where the landowner, more often Turkish than Persian by descent, has promised them a lower rate of taxation. One of the commonest complaints of a Persian landowner is that some neighbour has enticed away one of his villages.

The greatest testimony which a Persian gives to the cultured condition of his forefathers is the constancy with which, amid storms and devastations, he has stuck to the tillage of the ground, that foundation of all culture. The Turkish proverb: "where there is earth and water, you will find a Persian," indicates his satisfaction in the soil. Persia abounds in cultivable land, which, however, in most of the agricultural districts in the country, needs to be opened up by artificial irrigation. Every river is split up into an infinity of canals. Where the water reaches, there is life; beyond is desert. Even salt soil with steady irrigation gives excellent arable land. The sparse population, together with the apathy of the government towards every improvement in the husbandman's lot and in his labour, is the cause of the defective development of cultivation in the country. Modern traffic arrangements are unknown; the serfage of the peasantry, and the burden of taxation, form a further hindrance. Searching for springs, digging wells, laying watercourses, is the work of a special trade, the *mukanni*. These receive good pay, the danger of burial by falling earth in shafts of perhaps 200 feet deep being considerable. The post of water-overseer, *mirab* (in Turkish, *subashi*), is honourable, and in much request. There are numbers of underground watercourses; these were formerly even lined with masonry, some of the conduits being many miles in length. Entire river systems have been transformed; in Kurdistan one of the head-waters of the Euphrates was conducted into a head-water of the Tigris. The body of water is calculated according to its power of turning a millstone, sources being referred to as of two, three, etc., millstone power. Formerly ancient legal decisions as to the employment of watercourses were held almost sacred; now it often happens that the water of a whole village is violently diverted. Great cities are to-day lying short of water owing to the destruction of their channels. Ispahan owed its flourishing environs to the waterworks on the Zenden; as the city has shrunk the irrigation works have fallen into decay. The system of dams for ponding back the snow water, which roused the neighbourhood of Persepolis into fertility, has gone to ruin, and the country is dry and desert. The imperfect, wheelless plough, which can itself do no more than scratch the ground, is easily replaced by the hoe. The neglect to use manure in by far the greater part of Persia is in curious contrast to the artificial manufacture of it according to old recipes from all kinds of offal in Ispahan and other places, where high towers for storing pigeons' dung may be found. Threshing is done with a thing like a sledge, having runners set, formerly with stones, now with iron. The chief cereal is wheat; rice is the foundation of the diet of the better-to-do; millet and lentils of the poor classes. Horses are

fed on barley. Next to corn, vines and melons are most extensively cultivated. Mountain pasturage in the higher parts of the hill countries links on to terrace cultivation in the lower warmer districts, which in Kafiristan attains the level of mulberry-growing and silkworm-breeding. In Wakhan melons and apricots are found at a height even of 9000 feet. Everywhere the chief crops on high ground are barley, pease, and beans. Some groups of Afridis and Mohmands in the Suleiman range live by the charcoal trade. Undoubtedly forests, and therewith also water, were once far more plentiful than to-day.

Beside fowls, sheep are almost the only animals which are killed in Persia. As an indispensable beast of burden, the Bactrian or two-humped camel ranks next to them. Even in antiquity the Persians were noted breeders of horses, and "sword and horse" were reckoned the attributes of a freeman; but the Arab and Turkoman breeds are now far more highly valued than the Persian. The wealth of Badakshan consists of hardy though not showy horses and sheep. The inhabitants of Astor are, so to say, all mounted. In Wakhan, too, horses are the principal source of wealth, cattle and sheep coming next. The Shirvaris of the Suleiman mountains treat the buffalo with a kind of reverence. The district where these animals most abound is the hot and unhealthy Mazenderan. Cattle in general thrive poorly on the short hard fodder, full of salts, which is all that they get in most parts of Persia.

The frugal Persian's chief food is *chillau*, boiled rice with little grease; next to it *pillau* of rice, greasy and pudding-like. The celebrated Afghan *pillau* consists of lamb roasted in the hide and covered with a mountain of rice. A thick rice soup, stewed with vegetables or fruit, forms, under the name of *ash*, the third national dish. Barley-bread is the symbol of the frugal Dervish life. Dough, leavened or unleavened, is prepared from coarse meal, and the bread is baked in flat cakes on a hot plate, or in the ashes, or stuck on a hot cylinder of clay.

Sherbet in its many forms is made of iced water with fruit-juice and essences. As is well known, the Persian kings of old had water brought for their drinking from certain rivers, especially the Zab. The nomad ancestry of the ruling class in Persia explains their liking for butter and sour milk. The part played by wine in Persian life we know from Hafiz and Omar. Carouses, accompanied by dancing girls, music, and dice-playing, are carried to the point of helpless intoxication. Tobacco smoking, by preference through the *narghileh*, is practised to an extent unexampled even in the East. In East Turkestan the use of bang or *cher*—extract of hemp mixed with tobacco and smoked, or eaten as a sweetmeat,—meets with that of opium, which is prepared and taken in Persia also. Far too many low dens are devoted to both forms of enjoyment. The custom of tea-drinking also extends from the east to the foot of the Pamir, while coffee stops on this side of it.

Of Persian industry, which is closely connected with that of India and Arabia, we have spoken above, as well as of the trade. As in India, and from similar causes, there has been a retrogression in this respect since the time of Chardin and Kämpfer. Dependence on locality is partly responsible; almost every town destroyed meant the collapse of an industry. Cotton has its seat in certain areas about Shiraz; woollen shawls in Kirman and Meshed; carpets in the province of Feraghan; felt in Yezd; camel's-hair cloth in Ispahan; silks in Kashan, Yezd, Tabreez, Ispahan, and Meshed; leather goods in Hamadan; copper utensils in

Senjan; steel blades in Meshed and Shiraz. The masons, who always [illegible] work, come from Kashan. Little porcelain is now made, and only [illegible] but much is imported from China. Glass-blowing is said to [illegible] naturalised only in the last 250 years. The nomads manufacture carpets [illegible] largely. Handlooms were formerly to be found in every house, and spinning [illegible]

Nasr-ed Din, the late Shah of Persia; of Turkish blood. (From a photograph.)

the spindle, is the women's work at home. To this day everything required in the way of clothing and house-appurtenances is produced by domestic industry.

Although Persia is rich in iron and copper ores, there is a great importation of metals. Khorassan produces a small part of the great amount of copper which is required in the country. Silver is found in Badakshan, turquoises and some iron in the famous mines of the Upper Kokcha valley. Gold-mining in East Turkestan is ancient, as the objects found in graves show.

The position of a merchant is held in respect. A Persian merchant, even when rich, lives on the average moderately and simply; he keeps his word

scrupulously. His frugality seems to his Turkish neighbour astonishing. If a Sart grows rich, he builds a house; a Kirghis in the like case buys a wife. Persian merchants are found from China to Egypt, from Novgorod to Colombo; and numerous Indians are active in their company. Tabreez is the great place for Turkish and European trade, Meshed for that with Afghanistan and Turkestan. The limited sea-trade is carried on in Arab vessels and European steamers.

Political supremacy during the last centuries has fallen now to Persian, now to Turkish families. To-day a Turkish Khajar is sovereign in Teheran. Almost every demise of the crown throws the country into commotion, and these political earthquakes are often lasting and ruinous; but on the murder of the late Shah in 1896 his son was allowed to succeed tranquilly. The ruling house in Afghanistan descends from Nadir, a Persian general, but has long intermarried, especially with the princes of Bokhara. In Persia only the north, with its dense population, largely permeated with Turkomans, and its many cities, is firmly in the hands of the Shah; and in Afghanistan only strong sovereigns have ever succeeded in uniting the numerous tribes. Like India, Iran has been the mark of invasions and immigrations, and the great tribal organisations to which these streams gave rise found especially in Afghanistan a system of mountains and valleys particularly favourable to their existence. The topographical features—sharply-defined rocky ridges affording admirable lines of defence and enclosing wide cultivable levels, accessible only through the *tangis* or natural outlets of the water, contribute greatly to the division of the people into provincial groups composed of two or three neighbour-tribes having their headquarters in the natural fortresses of the adjoining mountains. Thus the Logaris of the Logar valley consist of Ghilzais and Tajiks, the former speaking Pushtoo, the latter Persian. So again in the Lughman valley, under the collective name of Lughmanis, Ghilzais, Tajiks, and Hindoos dwell together, united by community of agriculture, and by tribal fights; in spite of which the Ghilzais look down upon the Tajiks no less than do these upon the despised Hazaras. It is just this provincial composition which is the strength as well as the weakness of the Afghan state. An interesting light is cast on the political conditions of the separate peoples by their position in regard to the historically important mountain passes. The Afridis on the south-east border of Afghanistan have from time immemorial reserved to themselves the rights of passage through the Khyber defile. Any one refusing to pay toll was attacked, plundered, or made away with. Never acknowledging any dependence on Afghanistan, a savage, lawless race, the Afridis have always been recognised by the paramount power in India as keepers and wardens of that, the most important pass in the Indus valley, and have even received a subvention from the British. But the widely different ambitions of the eight clans, which are again broken up into subordinate stocks and families, or Khels, never allow that salutary state of affairs to last. One clan fights another, each family has its blood-feud, while in some the predatory life is firmly rooted. Like them in warlike spirit, and equally independent, are the Mohmunds, somewhat more to the north; their neighbours to the west are the Shirwaris, who have a leaning towards Afghanistan. After them come to the south the Orakzais, no less independent, and then the peaceable Bangashes, who are obedient to England. The Khattaks and Khalils to the east of the Afridis have also submitted. The Bajaurs in the Upper Runar valley, inhabitants of a little still

partly independent country, are indispensable as traders and porters in the traffic by way of the Kalik pass; and similarly the Pohwandis further west, for the trade between Afghanistan and Bokhara. The actual seats of these tribes may in general be determined, but this is not the case with their boundaries. Their pasture-grounds especially are much intermingled, the more so that in winter some groups, like the Aka-Khel, go down into warmer valleys.

The patriarchal government of the Galchas and the Siahposh, who only recognise village headmen, passes into despotism where, as in Chitral, it is possible to rely upon an Oriental monarchy, or where, as in Badakshan, perhaps Turks may be in sole power. The chiefs of these little states were long the terror of subjects and neighbours by reason of their slave-hunting. Quite lately the number of slaves going yearly from Chitral to Badakshan has been estimated at 500; hardly a single family is said to have gone unbereaved. Moreover, the democratic Siahposh and the Dard tribes of Chilas are merciless slave-hunters. In spite of the lofty passes of the Hindoo Koosh, Badakshan is connected by trade with Chitral, and has often been dependent on it.

We may append here some words about the races on the border of Iran and India, who by language are partly akin to India, but locally and ethnographically to the Iranian hill-tribes. The southern hill-tribes who have for a longer time been members of a great political whole, live and dwell in no more luxury than their north-Iranian fellows, rich as may have been the plunder gained by their inroads into the Indus valley. The men's clothing of unsewn skins and rough buffalo-hide sandals, the women's sacklike garments of wool, the low houses of rough stone, sunk on three sides into the mountain, the only woodwork about them being the lean-to door, rival in the Suleiman Mountains the simplicity of the dwellers in the Hindoo Koosh. The white turban extends throughout the hill country. The turreted walls that enclose the villages testify to the unceasing tribal feuds. Sheep form the basis of the live-stock, and next to them buffaloes and camels. Large herds of camels are found among tribes dwelling around frequented passes, as the Afridis of the Khyber. Most of the Wakhanis nomadise on the heights into which their village of Sarhad has been thrust at a height of 11,000 feet. Formerly Kirghises used to journey as far as this for pasture, but have remained on the further side since the relations of the Wakhanis with the Alai-Kirghises, Shignis, and Kunjuks have been hostile. Numerous dwellings in the valley are only winter-shelters; summer entices inhabitants and herds to higher ground. The language is like Dard, and is especially rich in archaic forms. The hamlet of Kila-Panja, where the khan of Wakhan resides, with its 150 inhabitants, affords a standard of the conditions of the country. Among so small a constant population the question as to race can hardly be answered. Trotter speaks in one breath of Jewish physiognomies and Greek noses. In the corner between India and Afghanistan, on the south slope of the Hindoo Koosh, dwell the Siahposh or Kafirs,[1] men of medium height, well built, light in colour, with brown hair and eyes, unlike both Afghans and Cashmerees. Their language is Indian, and recent; and perhaps under pressure from Mussulman peoples, forcing their way southward and eastward, they first came into their present quarters in the ninth or tenth century, where they have since maintained their independence.

[1] Kafiristan, "country of unbelievers," is the name given by their Mussulman neighbours; Siahposh = black-coats.

The bravest, most prosperous, and most hospitable person is the chief among them. Slave-hunting, fighting, and *vendetta* are the chief business of their men; a post, in roughly human shape, indicates by inserted plugs the number of slain. Their clothing of goat-skins, woollen trousers, and stockings with leather soles sewn to them, is adapted to the bleak mountain-climate. The statement of Potagos that they do not squat when eating, but sit on stools at tables, is remarkable.

The lowest level among all the steppe-dwellers of Central Asia is reached perhaps by the tribes on the Tarim and the Lob-Nor. Both speak an Iranian dialect, coming nearest to that of Khotan. If Aryan traits prevail on the Tarim, and Mongol on the Lob-Nor, it is not surprising, looking to the manifold intermixture. Common to both, however, is a dilapidated-looking exterior, due to their swampy surroundings, draughty reed-huts, and bad food. "As one sails," says Prjevalsky, "down the narrow winding Tarim, shut in by high reeds, one sees three or four boats on the bank, and beyond them a little open space in which a few square huts of reed are crowded. That is a village. If the inhabitants see a stranger they hide themselves, and peep stealthily through the walls of their huts. We go ashore, everywhere is swamp, and reeds; nothing else, not a single dry patch. In the immediate neighbourhood of the habitations one can shoot wild geese and ducks, and in one of these villages, almost among the very huts, an old wild boar was wallowing in the swamp." Reeds strewn on the ground serve at a pinch to cover the marshy soil. Even in the middle of March the ice of the winter is often found under this covering. Roofs and walls of rushes are no protection against sun, dust, and stinging flies, to say nothing of storms. In a temperature some degrees below zero such a dwelling is little better than a bivouac in the open. In the middle of the hut reeds smoulder in the little hollow which serves as fireplace. In the spring the young shoots of the reeds are eaten, and in autumn the heads are collected to make beds. In summer these heads are sometimes boiled into a tough dark mass of sweetish taste. The food of the people consists mainly of fish, which are caught in artificial pools. In spring ducks are also taken in nooses of twine. Instead of bread they cast roasted meal.

The clothing of the Kara-Kurtchins, made of *kendyr*, a fabric from the fibre of an *asclepiadea* growing in quantities in the swamps, consists of a sleeved jacket and trousers, with the addition of a sheepskin in winter and a felt cap in summer. On their feet they wear in winter wretched shoes of untanned hide. They line their summer cloaks with duck-skins dressed with salt, for cold weather, and the ducks' feathers also serve for beds. These poor people are living in the Iron Age, but their axes, made at Charchalyk, resemble those of the Stone Age in having no hole for the handle. They are only bent sideways, and so fastened on. Two boats and a few nets in front of the house; inside, a cast-iron dish from Korla, an axe, two wooden cups, a wooden dish, a scoop, and a bucket of *tograk* wood; a knife and a razor, kept by the master of the house; a few needles, a loom and a spindle, belonging to the wife—this is their whole property.

§ 18. THE PEOPLE OF FURTHER INDIA, AND THE HILL TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA.

The Transgangetic group of races—What is meant by Indo-China—Indian influences in the West of the peninsula—Chinese in the East—Formation of states—Malay and Chinese immigration—The ancient Khmer civilization—Descent and character of races in Further India—Superior position of Chinese—Chinese language—Influence of Indian art—Dress, ornament, weapons—Towns—Agriculture; cattle-breeding; the elephant—Industries: Chinese monopoly; influence of China on trade and industry; the lesser arts in Further India; trade; navigation—Society: position of women; affinities with China; increase of population—Slavery—Administration—Splendour of courts in Further India—State-constitutions and indefiniteness of frontiers—Political features of the so-called savages.

COMPARATIVE philology shows the languages of Further India to be members of a great Transgangetic family of language. Historical records and geographical distribution make us recognise older and more recent layers therein—the former squeezed into the sea-board and the mountains, the latter spreading over the interior and along the streams even to their deltas. In Annam, Cambodia, and Pegu—the eastern and southern borders of Further India—reside the races that have been pushed outwards, their languages being as closely connected as are on the other side those of the Tai or Siamese, the Burmese, the Tibetans, and the Chinese. A whole sheaf of traditions point to the northern origin of the present peoples of Further India. The Burmese locate their oldest history in the Upper Irrawaddy basin; the Karens still further north, as far as Yunnan; the Siamese in Laos; the Annamites in Tonking. The rivers coming from the northern mountains form the deltas which are a feature of Further India; Tonking, Lower Cochin China and Cambodia, Siam and Pegu are either entirely, or in their most productive and politically important sections, where people and towns are most abundant, low-lying alluvial districts. By their fertility, ease of communication, and populousness, they are as much distinguished as is the rest of Further India by hilly country, rich forests, and sparse population. Compared with the rest of Further India, these alluvial lands have a geographical, historical, and political individuality. It is with them alone that the history of Further India has for the most part to deal; the rest of the peninsula, especially in the east and in the centre, is almost everywhere the same impassable hill and forest-country, thinly inhabited by "savages."

In the historical and semi-historical period, Further India appears partly under Chinese, partly under Indian influence; whence the name Indo-China came into existence. The peninsula cannot, however, be thus simply halved, for Indian and Chinese influences have relieved each other in Further India. India began earlier, and then slackened; China is always going on with the work, creating for herself a far-reaching effect, especially through her economic activity. Otherwise, Further India resembles India in the character of its history, in which foreign invasions are ever alternating with intestine struggles. Indian attempts at settlement, conquest, and colonisation, in Further India fell before the beginning of our era; and in the west and south, as shown by local names like Manipur, Ayuthia, Vaisali, occurring on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, were crowned with considerable if transitory success. Afterwards came a predominance of Chinese influence, pressing slowly southwards in the East, mastering Tonking wholly, Annam in great part, and finally gaining the

preponderance in Cambodia, Siam, and Northern Burmah. Even if individual operations of culture also intersected in many districts, yet the fact remains that Tonking and Annam use Chinese writing, Burmah and Siam use Indian characters with the Pali language. But Chinese also is widely diffused in Siam. China had already a powerful hold on the circumstances of Further India, when, with the transport by Cingalese of the sacred scriptures of Buddha, and the immigration of many

A Moi, from the hills of South-West Annam. (From a photograph by [illegible]

Buddhists under Brahmin persecution, the dawn began to lighten over the western half of the peninsula. By the third century B.C. China was sending its colonists to Tonking and Cochin China ; and later the Emperor of Annam assigned land in the south of his kingdom to a large number of Chinese who were flying from the Manchus. Thus Cochin China arose, and thus other settlements in coast districts and on islands ; these have increased and flourished to such a degree that the whole economic life in the east of Further India rests in its most important parts on the activity of the Chinese. In intellectual matters they also exercise great influence, so that a person who knows China finds in Tonking, as Colquhoun says, only a pale copy of China. Every insurrection, every year of dearth flung thousands of Chinese upon the less densely peopled country, which at the same

time far excels the border provinces of China, particularly Kwang[illegible] fertility. The numerous Chinese who are settled in the richest part of To[illegible] Thai-Binh, were summoned by the Tonking mandarins to fight [illegible] Kwang-si. The "Black Flags" and "Yellow Flags," who made [illegible] unpleasant to the French, were recruited from both parties. During [illegible] insurrection in Yunnan, Chinese generals gave orders to Tonkinese officials. The sovereignty of Chinese pirates over the west districts of Annam had for many years a similar effect.

An Ahong girl. (From a photograph by Rosset.)

Southern Cochin China was once part of Cambodia, which for its own part, after the fall of the Khmer dynasty, the creators of the magnificent works of Angkor Vaht, wavered to and fro between the Eastern and Western powers.

Laos, once a kingdom of the interior, stretching up along the great river of Further India as far as Luang Prabang, and inhabited chiefly by peoples of the Tai, that is, Siamese, stock, was politically a predecessor of Siam. It was partitioned between Tonking, Siam, and Burmah. Siam first steps into the light

[illegible] 1350, with the foundation of its capital, Ayuthia. In conflicts [illegible] Pegu, and Burmah, it becomes a powerful kingdom; but in the [illegible]ury Burmah rises and destroys Siam, then at its most flourishing [illegible] mythical history of Siam the primeval hero, Phra Ruang, takes the [illegible] Chinese emperor to wife, and opens the Chinese junk-trade with [illegible] Great Seal of Siam shows Chinese characters. In any case the Mo[illegible] of the Yuen dynasty [illegible] the presents of Siam [illegible] sent others in return. Later on, Siamese ambassadors went every three years to China; and the king of Siam ordered from Pekin copper, ginseng, long-haired oxen, and eunuchs familiar with court-ceremonics. He calls the emperor of China his elder brother. Further, he took the state calendar from China, without, however, having it used for reckoning in his own country. Siam has been the latest state of Further India, not yet wholly dependent on western powers, to introduce reforms in the European sense; but the country has become no stronger thereby, nor has the condition of the people improved.

An Ahong girl. (From a photograph by K[illegible])

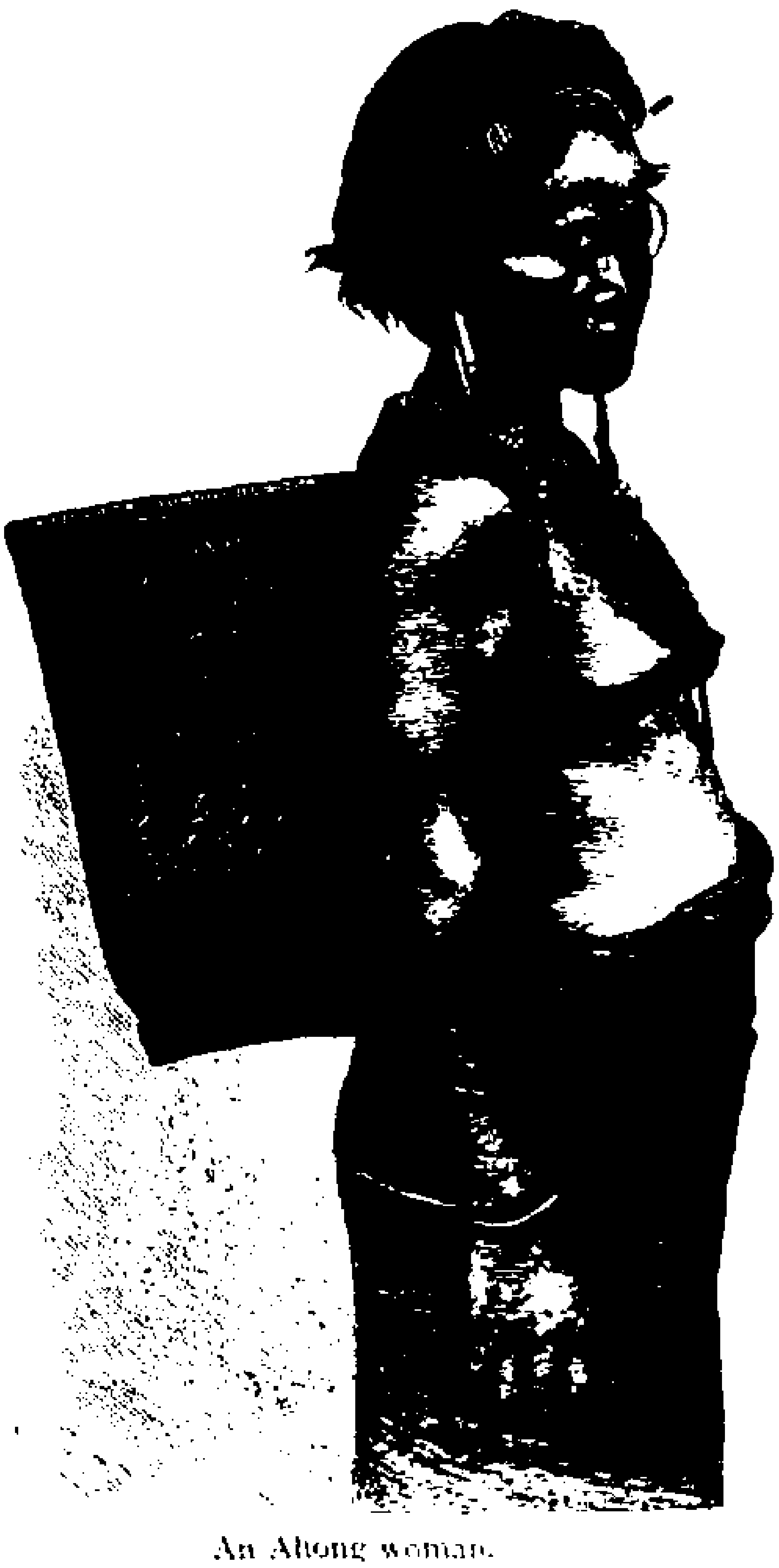
Burmah comes in contact with China in the broad zone of the Shan States, which have never been completely dependent on either. Thus, politically, it had closer relations than Siam with China, but less so in trade. The Chinese frontier was slowly advanced into the Shan territory: Momein, for example, was conquered for China by the Mongols of the Yuen dynasty. Later, we hear of Chinese invasions, and then China was again closely connected with Burmah. At the end of the last century Chinese merchants had a permanent market near Ava, and were able successfully to influence the court of Burmah, where they were in favour by reason of their capital and their astuteness, against all attempts on the part of other foreigners, especially Europeans, to gain a footing.

Apart from traces on the Malay Peninsula and in the Andamans, a few scattered individuals cannot justify us in calling the aboriginal population of Further India negroid. On the other hand Malays were clearly settled in Further

India even before the immigration of Sumatra Mussulmans into Cambodia in the thirteenth century. Malay types, as the last two cuts show, are widely distributed among the so-called savages. The language of the Champas is Malayan. If the old Champa or Tsian-pa was really a coast-track from the Donnai to Tonking, it will be natural to recall similar Malay littoral kingdoms in the Archipelago and Malaccas. Points of resemblance with Battaks, Dyaks, and true Malays are asserted to exist among the Champas, just as Crawford was inclined to find in the Burmese points of similarity with Java. The so-called savages of Further India belong, no less than the races which have pushed them into the hills, in great part to the Mongol stock. Poorer though they may be, politically subject, and plundered, yet they are not so far inferior to the rest of the inhabitants as the name "wild tribes," here quite inappropriate, might lead one to suppose. Caucasian racial traits have even been claimed for Stiengs, Laos, and others. It is certain that members of the Laos race in the hill and forest parts of Tonking are of taller stature, fairer skin, and decidedly pleasanter, simpler, and franker character than the lowlanders, upon whom they look down in a moral sense. The Bolows of the Upper Mekong, as described by Harmand, are a case. Others will not allow any distinction between themselves and their neighbours, and repudiate any descent from the Khas, Penoms, and the like. The Laos on the left bank of the Mekong say: "A Kha can be distinguished from a Laos only by the wide perforation in his ear." Their ethnographical marks point to Malay influence, perhaps Malay origin. The Nagas, a fishing people on Lake Tale Sap, or Bienhoa, to whom Buddha preached his gospel so effectively, were of the same stock. The probability that the more vigorous northern races pushed southward even earlier becomes very great when we see how the same fate befell Hither India, and how nomads again and again invaded China from north and west. The admixture of Chinese elements in quantities throughout the east and north of Further India is a matter of history till quite recent times. The population of Tonking strikes one as quite Chinese. The islands and coast districts, as far as the foot of the Cambodian hills, are occupied by Chinese, and of the population of Siam they are said to form one-sixth. Leaving aside the peculiarity which Chinese crosses, as is reported also in Formosa, are said to possess in common with Jewish, that the Chinese blood always breaks through, and does not easily lose its strength, this extension indicates a powerful influence on the breed. Chinese, as more active, freer from civil burdens, better off, and often more civilized, are preferred by native women; and their offspring, the Minhuongs, approach the Chinese in activity and influence. Every busy town of Further India, even smaller ones like Pnompenh, bear the Chinese stamp.

The ruins of Further India do not lead our view to so remote a past as those of Egypt or Babylon, but they carry our knowledge somewhat beyond the few centuries which here make up the historical period. In the Kha country we have dolmens. Bronze and stone implements have been found in the huge "kitchen-middens" on the coast of Cambodia. Where now dwell the small and mostly poor tribes of the Mois and their kindred, Banams, Sehdans, Banars, remains of cities on the rivers of Annam and the Laos country prove that one or more states existed here whose citizens possessed a developed artistic taste. Whether the Mois, whose name denotes simply "men," are their descendants is an open question. The district of Bassak too has its ruins. The remains of Ayuthia

[illegible] orical period. The course of development of the Khmer architecture [illegible] dia shows Indian influence even in details. The temple, at first [illegible] and fortress in one, developed its ornamental character till it [illegible] decorative whole. The massive forms became more graceful, [illegible], with their carved pinnacles and lotus finials, grew lighter and [illegible] developed from heavier and simpler forms. The same process is [illegible] in the evolution of the pyramids, which, from series of steps piled one [illegible], became mound-shaped assemblages of the most luxuriant themes of Khmer art.



An Along woman.
(From a photograph by Rosset.)

The simultaneous appearance of Brahminic and Buddhistic symbols shows how foreign was the soil to which these Indian growths were transplanted. While the interiors of the temples contain figures of Buddha, Brahminic images are found in the bas-reliefs with which they are covered. At the main entrance of the temple of Angkor Vaht, a roof-timber bears a figure of Vishnu on a serpent. The same deity occurs in a thousand ornaments, in company with Siva riding a bull. But when we go in, behold a crowd of Buddha statues, a great figure of his foot, a sepulchre in which Buddha lies outstretched on the point of passing into Nirvana. The mere fact of its being possible to forget these edifices, with all their size and splendour, throws a sharp light on the fluctuation of the culture from which they sprang. The greater the display of magnificence the more closely they may be compared with that large and splendid bloom which, rising from the water, expends so much growing power that when it fades it vanishes like a dream. The finest of these works must have arisen between the eighth and the fourteenth centuries. This agrees with what Chinese records tell us of the development of southern Further India. According to them the country began to grow great and powerful from the middle of the sixth century. The capital numbered 20,000 houses; and in the whole kingdom were thirty towns with several thousand. The prince was girt about the loins with a girdle reaching to the knees; he wore a tiara set with pearls on his head and gold pendants in his ears. Before the gates of his palace thousands of warriors clad in armour and bearing lances stood as guards. The people had their hair twisted in knots, and also wore gold earrings. On a neighbouring hill stood a temple, always guarded by 5000 men. On the reliefs in these buildings, beside the savage natives may be remarked Annamites and Laos; Indian Brahmins; a Jewish type and another,

short, sturdy, and Mongolic; lastly one noble, refined, gentle, almost classic; the old Cambodian type idealised.

Though Mongoloid racial characteristics, such as breadth of skull and a height little exceeding 5 ft. 3 in. in men, predominate among the population of Further India, we can nevertheless, as we go south and west, establish an even striking modification of the type. Naturally the Tonkinese stand very near to their Chinese neighbours; with their square figures, small stature, olive-brown complexions, they must recall the Puntia of the province of Kwang-tung. When we come to the Annamites the departure is stronger, though Chinese admixture still appears clearly in the Thos on the frontier, who cultivate the *illicium* or *sturanix;* and in the population of Lower Cochin China we see a mixture of Chinese, Malay, and Indian elements, as also in the Pali elements in the Cambodian language are Indian. The Khmers of Cambodia are said often to resemble the lower castes in India; while among the Kuys of the Laos country Garnier even came across Arab features. The Siamese are described as uncouth, undersized, more like Malays, the Laos as more like Chinese, and smaller of stature than the Burmese, whose more powerful figures and sharper nobler lineaments have most accord with the Indian hill-tribes in the north-east.

The dark skin-tint seen in Further India is not in harmony with the prevailing Malay cast of feature. The colour of many persons is like old polished bronze. It is sometimes said that it grows darker towards the south, but this does not quite agree with the facts. The Khmers, indeed, the "black inhabitants" of Cambodia, mentioned in old Chinese reports, the Phuongs, Stiengs, and Chams are among the darkest. The Annamites, however, are lighter than the Siamese and Laos, the Mois again are lighter than their Annamite neighbours, and the Chinese settlers in Further India are conspicuous as specially light people. The lightest are said to be the Rodehs of Cambodia, who for this reason, and on account of their strength, are in demand as slaves. Several of the "wild" tribes are lighter than Siamese, Annamites, and their fellows. Thus we have not to assume a simple cleavage into older and darker, newer and lighter elements. In a native classification from Cambodia, the Khmers are the darkest, then come the savages in the east, the Malays, the Chams, and last the Siamese. Foreign influences have here to be taken into consideration of which history knows nothing; and these can only be Malay and Indian. Intermixtures can be pointed out in numbers. Internal migration from Cochin China to Cambodia and Siam has been very considerable, especially under French administration, and a great Annamite colony has settled on the Cambodian lakes. There are said to be a small number of dark descendants of Portuguese in Cambodia. So long as Further India was still warlike, the resulting slavery brought many foreign elements into the country. According to Yule the population of Ava and Amarapura consisted, in the 'fifties, to a great extent of prisoners of war, Kathé, or Munnipooris, and Assamese.

In character, in intellectual and moral disposition and training, three different stamps are recognisable, depending certainly quite as much on racial distinctions as on differences in the stage of culture. The few unalloyed children of nature, such as live in the hill districts from Tonking to Burmah, as Mois, Stiengs, and Shans, are described as honest, industrious, fond of freedom. They live thinly scattered but over wide areas, the extent of which expresses the limited power of

[illegible]ther India. The Mois' country, entirely unknown to the Cochin [illegible] not more than 250 miles from the mouths of the Mekong. Their [illegible]ners from the lowlanders and the town population is in any case [illegible] says of them: "While in the colony we find, say what one will, [illegible]anised no doubt into tribes, of outcasts, runaway slaves, and the [illegible] the forest upon a peaceable, brave, respectable, and industrious [illegible]. Compared with them, Tonkinese, [illegible]iamese, Burmese, are corrupt and cankered, while civilization has not shown so much of its good side among them as among the Chinese." Those who know them can distinguish them by their great dependence and submissiveness. Though behind the Chinese in real refinement of demeanour, which presupposes dignity, they at least are their equals in cunning. Of the Burmese, who high and low are passionately fond of the drama, it is said that even in real life they are acting comedies. "In Burmah," says Mr. Archibald Forbes, "every industry from governing to cabbage-planting is pursued skilfully, perfunctorily, and as if *tempus inexorabile* were a bauble to be played with . . . trade a mere plaything, to all appearances regarded as a casual joke by those who engage in it." "Light come, light go," is a favourite Burmese proverb. The Siamese too are depicted as a kindly, curious, talkative people, who for that reason were the earliest to open their country to European traffic. Their charity and strictness in religion are also praised. By the blending of these easy-going ways with Chinese intelligence and seriousness, the Tonkinese have become perhaps the best race of Further India. "The people of Tonkin," says Dupuis, "have a far more developed sense of business than the Cochin Chinese; they are more active, and trade in everything. They like making money, but are just as keen about spending as about earning it. The Tonkinese is extravagant; he is a great careless child and fond of jollifications and festivals. No sum is too high for him to pay for showy ceremonies and funerals. Otherwise his character is like the Chinese, who, however, takes more thought for the future, and does not throw away his earnings so recklessly. The Tonkinese usually transact business at table." In purely practical questions the Chinese see their way more quickly, both as men of business and as officials. A certain ponderous honesty is ascribed to the Cambodians. It is a saying often repeated that the Annamites are the French of the East, the merriest of all Orientals. Barrow notes their resemblance to Frenchmen in this and their turn for chattering, while the addres-

A Benong woman with her child.
(From a photograph by [illegible])

of the Chinese is always dignified, and they wear at least the semblance of thinking. He thinks the Siamese perhaps the most tender-natured of all these peoples. The Annamites are reckless gamblers. Neither they nor the Tonkinese are of warlike disposition. The French met with no determined opposition till they encountered the "Black Flags" of Chinese origin.

The superiority of the Chinese to all natives of Further India is generally recognised. Bowring indeed found the Malay characteristics in a refined form among the Siamese; but that higher perfection was lacking which is attained in China. This lies not only in wealth and mercantile activity—the first European embassies that visited the Court of Amarapura were received only in the presence of Chinese traders—but all these countries look to China as the land of money, power, knowledge, and ability. Their government is more oppressive and arbitrary, public security is less, national sentiment is weaker. The Tonkinese are distinguished by a preference for old European uniforms; while the Chinese, accustomed to his old-inherited practical dress, will have nothing to do with them. The difference extends even to small things. We call the Chinese dirty; but in cleanliness the Annamite stands almost lowest of all races. All that is called science in the east and south of Further India comes from China. The entire library of a learned man in Annam still consists of the writings of Confucius and Chinese works on medicine, astrology, and the like, while the literary language of Annam is pervaded with Chinese words as Turkish is with Arabic. Siamese literature has adopted translations from the Chinese, several in more than one version; and their style shows similar influences. Chinese, the language of culture in Further India, is spoken far and wide, understood and written yet farther. Among the Khmers we first enter the domain of Indian literature; their literature consists of philosophical and religious works in Pali. Burmah too, the language of which serves many non-Burmese races in Further India as a means of intercourse, uses Indian writing, and its literature is fed from Indian sources.

The architecture and sculpture of Further India were once under Indian influence on a very different level from that of to-day. "The discovery of the ruined cities of Cambodia," says Fergusson, "is the most important event in the history of Eastern art since the uncovering of the Assyrian ruins." Burmah and Siam also show magnificent remains. They received impulses from the Indian colony in Cambodia; but at least in their architecture the sharp, the hard, the fantastic, predominate. The older Burmese buildings show a remarkable predilection for the pointed arch. A wild undisciplined fancy comes to the front wherever the thought is not killed by the expression of it. The ideas transported from Ceylon also perished in the process of building. Beside the temple of Kandy—which, through the skilful distribution of light and shade, or the appropriate display of a few good statues, produces a solemn, majestic, and impressive effect,—the Siamese temple with its abundance of frippery and tinsel from Chinese shops, and its hundreds of statues, resembles rather a plaything than a place of worship. When the power of Cambodia declined, the centre of gravity for the development of culture in the south of Further India was transferred to Siam. The pyramidal bell-towers of Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam, by no means fine in execution, but in their general effect no less grand than graceful, link on to the later developments of Khmer architecture. If the Indian affinities of Khmer art are established beyond doubt, their display here in the south of Further India is obscure, and not

[illegible] by which they travelled here from India. What is original in [illegible] that the grand design, the entrance portal surrounded by the pillars [illegible] cornice, the gable supported by pilasters, the perfection of the sculpture [illegible]st upon us without any groping or experiment. The nucleus and conception of Khmer art contains an Indian character, but the form has been metamorphosed. Influences from Eastern Asia have not succeeded in developing

Young Siamese woman. (From a photograph.)

the sense of colour in Further India. The Burmese, indeed, paint flowers, but are far behind their Chinese models. In Siam the Buddhist temples are chiefly painted by Chinese, with representations, often lascivious, of the rewards and punishments in the next world.

Annamites of the better classes wear a turban-shaped cap of crape, black for men, white for women, and a long tunic with very loose sleeves. This garment is worn by both sexes; also wide trousers. The full dress for men includes also a tight vest with standing collar. Symbolic figures of animals are embroidered in Chinese fashion on the clothes prescribed for the mandarin classes, made of Chinese materials. The headdress of the higher mandarins in Annam consists of

a black cap with gilt ornaments, covering the long knotted hair, and having on either side gauze appendages, embroidered with gold thread, and sticking out a foot to the rear, like the wings of a dragon-fly. The four lower ranks wear a similar cap without the wings. Chinese shoes with thick white soles are universally worn. A thick tablet of ivory held in front of the breast, or a smaller one hung from the neck, serves as a mark of rank. Attendants bearing indispensable articles, like pipes, betel-boxes, paper, writing-materials, and tea-things, hold a high position; and a military mandarin further has his sword, in a sheath of wood or japanned copper inlaid with mother-of-pearl, carried in front of him. On the Indian side of the peninsula we find among the Siamese the wide trousers of Southern Indians and Malays, with a sash; also a kerchief round the breast, a jacket of gold-embroidered brocade, and a small helmet-shaped cap of black velvet or silk with gold pattern. The great Shan turbans, requiring some 16 yards of cloth, and, like all the garments of these people, indigo-blue, also recall India. The inferior tribes, Mois, Khas, Stiengs, and others are content with a hand-breadth of cotton cloth round the loins for men, a scanty petticoat for women, reduced, for hard work or hot weather, to a mere flap hanging down behind. Necklaces of glass beads and shells, thin rings of copper or brass, worn in negro fashion close together on the forearm, and ear-studs of wood or metal, such as are affected by the Laos of the most easterly districts, serve as ornament. A small vest in the Malay style, worn by the Kha women, is more ornament than clothing. To many of these tribes, as the Mois, gold has not found its way and silver is hardly more valued than copper, which is widespread and universally used for ornaments. The abuse of European uniforms has pervaded the south and west, but not the east, where Chinese culture maintains a footing. But quite in the interior Laos chiefs may be seen wearing European shirts over their state-clothes of silk.

The Tonkinese have never reconciled themselves to the pigtail, which indeed is not national even among the South Chinese; but they let their hair grow free, and gather it at the crown with a brooch. The Siamese cut it to cover the crown of the head, the women sometimes dressing it to a flame-shape with a metal pin. The Annamites enlarge this shock with artificial pads, which may be seen for sale in the markets. The Annamites have indeed no stronger beards than the Siamese; but when we enter Annam by the Laos frontier we meet with the scanty but carefully cultivated Chinese beards and moustaches, not found in Siam or Laos.

The widespread plaiting industry, especially highly developed among the Shans, furnishes the straw and bast hats, good for protection against sun and rain, made chiefly from the fan-palm. The conical Annamite men's hat covers the head like an extinguisher down to the shoulders, while that of the women, broad and flat, looks like the cover of some big round box. Two silk ribbons with tassels hang from the brim down to the knees; and in the crown is stuck a little mirror, wherein the fop may admire his narrow eyes, his little nose, and teeth black with betel chewing.

Ornament is never in excess. Even well-to-do Annam women are often to be known only by two balls of amber in the ears, or by chains of silver and amber, to which a health-giving power is ascribed. On this account men wear them when their wives are with child. Mandarins wear rings; and where sumptuary laws

are not in force, even poor men's daughters break out in large silver rings on their fingers. Long nails, especially on the left hand, are a mark of rank and learning. Innumerable copper buttons on the tunic are also an ornament in Northern Laos. Tattooing was once very common. The Annamites say that they took to it long ago by direction of one of their kings, in order to elude the sea-monsters when fishing. At the present day, with the exception of some smaller peoples, it is found only among the Laos, who execute it in the Polynesian manner with needles fastened together. Formerly, indeed, the inhabitants of the Laos country were divided into tattooed and untattooed, the former being subdivided into those with green and those with black tattooing; but the custom is dying out. In Northern Laos, however, people are found covered with tattooing like Marquesas Islanders. Among the Kayens only women are tattooed, and the Tahoys tattoo only the upper lip. Compression of the feet occurs seldom or not at all in Tonking. Circumcision is of course practised by Mussulmans, but also by Chams and some neighbouring tribes. Filing of the teeth with stones is reported of the Banars and other wild tribes of Further India.

Weapons have in the eastern kingdoms a Chinese character; and, indeed, Chinese armies have crossed the frontier often enough. The Annamites wear Chinese uniform, and, as in China, the matchlock and the spear are the usual weapons; but spears with curious heads, halberds, and tridents are more frequent. In the war of 1883 the mass of the Annam army was still armed with them, Bows and arrows are going out of use. Till lately troops could be met with carrying oval leather shields, two-thirds the height of a man, a relic of ancient warfare. Often all weapons are surpassed in importance by the inevitable bamboo cane, with which the soldiers are stimulated and punished. Generally it plays an important part; there is not a living soul in Annam to whom the whistle of the cane is not a familiar sound. Just as little as in China is there here an original clearly-defined armed force. The inseparable companion of the Kha or Moi fighting-man, popular also with others, is the crossbow; in well-furnished houses there is a large one for elephants, and smaller ones for stag and roe. Miniature crossbows are used by children as toys; perhaps also by witch-doctors. The arrows have iron heads, said to be often poisoned. The bamboo quivers are often decorated with pretty carvings; these are, among the Stiengs, Indian in character. Harmand saw among the Khas a bamboo arrow, without an iron head, go through a board two-fifths of an inch thick; but he could not succeed in setting the cross-bow, though the Khas managed it in a moment. A sword-like knife, slightly curved, is used for cutting through brushwood, and also in battle as a spear-head. A stout pike is used in hunting the larger animals, while a small dagger-like knife with crooked handle is worn in the girdle.

In laying out villages and houses, especially those on piles, the notion of defence is very general; but where there is fear of pirates, as on the Lower Song-ka, the settlements are drawn back from the water. The Annamite, says Morice, lives either on the water or on the mud. The villages are enclosed by palisades or thorn-hedges. Spikes of bamboo hidden in the grass render every approach unsafe; they are placed even round the houses. In the centre of the little place, surrounded by the huts, a small platform is raised on a tree-stump for the night-watchman. Amulets against mischievous spirits hang on trees and poles, and fine threads of cotton, stretched round the roofs to keep off spirits,

terminate in little sand-heaps. For fear of bringing ill-luck into the place the people even decline presents. The places where the wild tribes dwell cannot be called more than hamlets. A Kha village, miserable though palisaded, beside a Laos village with its coco-palms and mangoes, and the inevitable pagoda in the middle of the smooth-trodden place, looks like a gipsy encampment. Its fortifications alone redeem it from the character of absolute hugger-mugger. The Mois and Khas often live at the height of a house on swaying poles or tree-stems with the top lopped off. Their huts consist of a rickety framework, covered in with leaves and reeds. The sides are not upright, but slope inwards, and in the better houses the timbers are carved. Among people who live in security and prosperity, like the Kha Duons, the premises of the house are enlarged to a big family hut, with an altar in a transverse room at the back—the "ancestor" chamber. Among the Laos and the Mois such a house is 100 to 120 feet long and 50 feet broad, and the floor is 8 or 10 feet above the ground. All round stand store-huts, several often raised on posts. In the thickest, most remote forest one often comes unexpectedly upon little huts on shaky posts, containing the chief valuables of a family or clan. The countless Chinese settlements are at once recognised by the more solid work in stone and mortar.

Towns large and small contain a Myoung, a town within the village, enclosing within a square of planks 10 feet high and some 80 or 90 yards in the side, a better class of houses with handsomely carved timbers and pointed roofs, covered with shingles. Thus in Annam the square of the priests', officials', and soldiers' town stands in the middle of the tortuous suburbs, and within this square the square of the palace, in the middle of which a spire indicates as it were the "hub" of the kingdom or province. The Chinese fashion is also expressed in the decoration of town gates as far as Hué and Saigon. The picture of the citadel of Hué—square, with sides nearly two miles in length, above the pinnacles of which no pagoda, no monument rises, only here and there the ridge of a roof in coloured tiles, or a green tree, is quite Chinese. In Siam, too, the Chinese subdivision in provincial or district capitals is carried out; Bassak, as a provincial capital, is a Myoung. The frequent shifting of the capital, which only in the course of this century has caused Burmah to be governed from three places—Amarapura, Ava and Mandalay—is characteristic of the stage of culture. We can conceive how, as Bastian says, "Mandalay is, indeed, a capital adorned with purple and gold, but in spite of all its splendour wears only the appearance of an assemblage of tents, to be struck to-morrow and replaced afresh elsewhere." Further India can show no cities so great and permanent as those in which Chinese millions dwell. In Bangkok, with its 600,000 inhabitants, the largest city of Further India, the largest trading-houses and stores stand on rafts or piles in the Menam, the back-waters of which form the busiest streets. But even when Kämpfer wrote his journal of travels in Siam towards 1700, Bangkok was only a little group of factories and warehouses, and Ayuthia was the capital. In Annam we find one side of the rooms occupied by a raised floor which is the place of the family, and on which no slave may set foot. At one end stands a sacrificial table, beside the domestic altar; at the other, a little table for tea and betel, and the copper spittoon.

Nearly all the races of Further India attend to agriculture with equal zeal. The Shans do better with artificial irrigation and tea-planting than their masters

the Burmese, so that they even export tea to China. The Laos lay on their wild tribes the task of growing rice for them, and at the appointed time they descend into the plains and gather the crop. Similarly Annamite emigrants employ the Mois, who are subject to them as slaves, in growing rice and laying out fruit-plantations on new ground. Rice-growing predominates. Throughout the east the Chinese method of husbandry is unmistakable. Of the exports, rice often forms three-quarters, even in value. Siam, too, where agriculture is far less thorough—only a quarter of the country, and only half even of the fertile Menam valley, being, it is said, under cultivation—used to export considerable quantities to China. In 1890 five-sixths of the exports consisted of rice. The conditions of the soil are so favourable to rice-growing that only in the north of the Laos country is maize to any extent important. Rice is the chief article of food, to which though probably wrongly, the indolence of the Siamese has been ascribed. In the lowlands of Tonking inundations of the Song-ka often devastate the rice-crop, in spite of the dykes 20 to 25 feet in height, with which groups of villages have surrounded themselves for common protection. A special kind—the glutinous rice—is grown for sacrificial purposes. In Annam, also, agriculture is highly flourishing. A French traveller calls it "a sunny land, of full rice-fields, sweet potato plantations, mulberry-trees, castor-oil, and maize, with men everywhere digging, hoeing, fetching water." The quantity of villages shaded by areca and coco-palms produces a truly cultured landscape. Here the *bankul*-nut, *Aleurites triloba*, rich in oil, forms a chief object of cultivation. Tea is grown in Northern Annam and in Tonking; but well-to-do people use only the imported leaf. So, too, Tonkinese silk is less valued than Chinese, but is exported for special purposes to China and Japan. Just as in China, the embankments of the paddy-fields are planted with mulberries. The plantations of sugar-cane are mostly in the hands of Chinese; they come every year in large numbers from Amoy, and rent the land for a small yearly sum. The cane which they grow is in turn sold by them to the Chinese owners of sugar-mills. The cultivation of pepper and cardamoms, of the cinnamon-acacia in Siam, and of indigo in Tonking are also practically in Chinese hands. All these products, as well as the valuable woods, went to China until Siam was opened up to European trade. Unfortunately agriculture in Siam is heavily burdened by the system of leases and monopolies, under which taxes are levied not merely on the individual trees but on the tale of coco-nuts, the quantity of oil, even the brooms made of the leaf-ribs. Wild rice is given to horses and gathered for men in times of dearth, when lotus-fruit also serves for food.

An important part of the economy of these peoples is their share in the vast timber-felling industry about the sources and on the upper waters of the Salween and the Menam. Teak in the first place, then ebony, and sandal-wood, and *agila* (*Aguillaria agallocha*) are the objects of this industry. Bastian speaks forcibly about the teak-cutters, Shans and Laos, less often Siamese and Burmese, to whom the Chinese bring spirits, tobacco, and other luxuries, in order to take back with them what money there is among the group, by keeping the bank at their nightly gambling-parties. The plough is almost universally known. The heavier Chinese hoe, resembling the English, has been widely spread by the Chinese in the north of Further India, the native tool being too light for thorough work. As an implement for drilling holes for seed and for breaking small the soil, the Khas use

a pointed club of hard heavy wood, ingeniously fixed with cross-bands into the split end of a bamboo.

The buffalo is the most important domestic animal of Further India, for, apart from its value as a beast of burden, it likes swamps, and the important function falls to it of kneading the soil of the rice fields with its ponderous body. It is most frequently found in Laos. In Upper Annam buffalo-carts are seen; otherwise, except elephants, man alone is in demand for the transport of goods. Next to the buffalo comes the Indian humped ox, and a small, lean, Indian breed of cattle. Among the characteristic sounds of a Laos village-scene are the clang of the wooden bells on the home-coming buffaloes, and the shrill trumpeting of the tame elephants being led to water. Ox-races are a great sport in Cambodia. The small Laos horses are esteemed for their carrying and climbing powers. Further India is the land of tame elephants; the Laos and their wild neighbours are particularly clever at taming them. The enormous carrying-power of these animals is a source of great economic advantage to their owners; and it is no wonder that the kings of Annam monopolised not only ivory, but tame elephants. The king of Cambodia had three hundred of them. The extensive use made of elephants in these countries somewhat explains the imperfect arrangements for communication. "The Laos," says Harmand, "have no need to trouble themselves about the road; in a trice the elephant roots up trees in his way, tears down the creepers, smashes through the bamboo thicket, and never forgets the dimensions of the load he is carrying. If you have an elephant you need no roads or bridges; he climbs up and down places that would puzzle a goat."

The diet of people in Further India consists in great part of rice, accompanied by fish and tropical fruits. Owing to the greater poverty and smaller capacity for work, it is much less plentiful than in China. Barrow declares that a Chinese spends more on food in a week than a Siamese in two or three months. Betel-chewing extends as far as the south of Yunnan. In Tonking no official, notable, or citizen allows himself to be seen in the street without a servant carrying the elegant case that contains his betel, tobacco, areca-nut, etc., and in the case of learned men also brush and ink. Opium also, in spite of high duties, has won a large domain in Tonking and Siam, owing to the influence of the Chinese. Tea is grown and drunk in Tonking, Annam, and the Shan States; in Burmah the upper classes are fond of it. Here, too, the leaves of a large-leaved species of tea are eaten as salad. Of spirituous drinks there is a light rice-brandy; also the fermented juice of sugar-cane and pine-apples.

The coast-fishery, as far down as Siam, is to a great extent in the hands of Chinese, who combine it with a little coasting trade, ineradicable piracy, and, on the Chinese frontier, smuggling on a gigantic scale. The islands off the coast in the Bay of Tonking are inhabited exclusively by Chinese. The *holothurium* or sea-cucumber, *trepang*, and the sea-weed called *agar-agar*, are gathered here by them and sent to China. On some islands they have settled in small numbers, at others their junks call in passing to take in provisions, and offer prayers and sacrifices to some sacred image. In the interior the Laos are clever and diligent fishermen in the old arms of the Mekong, while in their low-lying, yearly-inundated and easily-dammed lands the Cambodians possess excellent fishing-grounds, so that they are able yearly, with the help of Chinese, to export quantities of salted and dried fish. Late in every year some 20,000 persons travel from Cambodia

and Cochin China to the shores of the lake, then swollen, where they live in pile-dwellings, and fish.

In the trade with Further India, China imports raw materials of consequence, cotton, silk, sugar, metals, precious stones, in return for opium, silk, copper and iron goods, dried fruit, woven goods, and endless small articles, even porcelain. Hence it may be recognised that industry is not up to the Chinese or Japanese level. Of the taste of the Khmer architects and sculptors, whose decoration reminded the French in its general effect of late Gothic work in their own country, it is at most among the goldsmiths that anything survives. According to all evidence most is at the present day done in Tonking, least in Siam. In the former, cabinet-work and wood-carving are highly developed, and Tonkinese lacquer and mother-of-pearl veneering are famous; but metal goods are almost entirely imported from China. By ancient laws the Chinese are not allowed to export raw metals. Inlaid work of especial beauty is made at Hanoi from the shells of a river mussel. There is in that town a special "Rue des Incrustateurs." Porcelain forms an important part of the imports from China, even going by Rangoon to Burmah; a blue kind of Japanese pattern is made in Annam, it is said by Japanese immigrants. The numerous precious stones of Further India, especially rubies, the famous jade of Mogaung, and the amber of Hukong, are sought and mined by Shans and Kakhyens, and brought in a rough state to the Chinese, who farm the works, for further treatment. The Laos and Chinese bring iron ploughshares to the Burmese and Shans. The Sedangs are the blacksmith race of Further India, who smelt and forge iron in seventy villages. In Crawford's time Chinese in large numbers worked the silver mines of Burmah; and the gold, silver, and iron mines in Tonking, of which we hear so much, were started by Chinese. The Siamese bring the ore to the furnace where Chinese workmen are employed, and sell it incredibly cheap; the iron being shipped off to Bangkok. The tin mines too are mostly worked by Chinese companies. The best artists and artisans in Bangkok are Chinamen, and all the tinmen, blacksmiths, and tanners. The Burmese have always obtained a great part of their cotton goods from the Coromandel coast and from China, spinning and weaving being little attended to among them. The looms of Further India cannot turn out heavy silk stuffs like the Chinese. The Siamese do not know how to make paper either so well or so cheaply as the Chinese, and have also to leave shoemaking to them. In lacquer the Shans achieve better work than their Burmese neighbours. The Chinese lacquered goods of plaited bamboo from Nyoung-oo near Pagan are famous. Wages are much lower than in China, but the cost of living is even less. "People work for nothing, and live for less," says Crawford. Hides too are exported to China; and all this goes through Chinese hands. "The Siamese attends only to his religious duties."

Siamese art is a copy of Chinese models, more rarely of Indian. Stone images, even gigantic granite statues, are imported from China. The Siamese show less independent taste than the Chinese; there more recent temples are overloaded with gilding. Chinese theatres are always playing in Bangkok; and the theatres of Siam and Annam are far inferior. There is more independence about the lesser arts in Burmah, where the forms of ornament follow the Indian model in being predominantly geometric. In bell-founding the results are at once gigantic and artistic; while in filigree and embossed work Burmah is hardly behind China

The people of Tonking and Annam, like the Japanese, were in old times forbidden to leave the country on shipboard. Hence they travelled by land only in any considerable number, from Cochin China, for example, to Cambodia and Siam. Further, they lacked capital for greater enterprises. Chinese junks managed the greater part of the trade from the ports of Annam and Tonking. Haifong has a future before it; but in the first period after its opening six times as many Chinese junks entered as European vessels, and the value of the imports from China, European and native fabrics, opium, silk, porcelain, tea, etc., was estimated at one-half that of the total imports. Till quite lately the only coast-navigation in Tonking, even in the most important districts, was in the hands of Chinese shippers at Hong-Kong. They sailed chiefly on the king's account, and collected the tribute in the provinces. The decline of this navigation, which the French, under the pretext of putting down piracy, treated very oppressively, has turned out to the benefit, not, as may be supposed, of the Tonkinese, but of shippers practically European, especially German; that is, owning craft in European style and under European flags, manned by mixed crews of Europeans and Chinese. For the history of southern and eastern Asiatic dealings it is important to note that the Japanese once had a trade-colony on these coasts at the port of Faifo, from which at the end of the last century they were driven by the Chinese, or as others say, recalled by an edict of their sovereign. Even in 1889 three-fourths of the export trade in Cochin China was managed by Chinese. In Siam, too, the most important part of the foreign trade went on with China, especially to Canton, Amoy, and Ning-po, and was carried entirely in clumsy junks, Chinese in shape and commanded by Chinese, but built in Siam. Of late steam communication and direct connection with European merchants have caused Chinese navigation to decrease. As every man on board does business wherever the vessel calls, and a junk of 600 tons carries ninety men, the number of trading Chinese may be imagined; also the incapacity of this trade to keep abreast of the increasing production in these countries, and demand for exportation, of raw materials, rice, sugar, etc.

For river navigation the people of Further India construct long "dug-outs." Hard-wood trees, above all, teak, are more plentiful here than anywhere else on the earth. Long and narrow, with a chisel-shaped projection at each end, the canoes of Laos type, found everywhere, recall Malay craft. Shipbuilding on a large scale after European models has been attempted with little success in Annam and Siam.

The overland trade again is chiefly with China. Chinese in numbers reside in the little trading-places in the interior and on the frontier. Between Burmah and China they trade from Bhamo on the Upper Irrawaddy, which can be reached by steamers from Rangoon. The chief article is cotton from Burmah for Southern China. The Chinese used to buy all cotton except the small amount used in the country, till 1854, when the king took into his own hands the cotton with all other branches of trade, advancing money just as the Chinese had done. From Bhamo the goods are taken to China by great caravans of 500 to 1000 men. Every man has several pack-animals, some as many as 15 or 20. Marco Polo mentions their big dogs, compared, perhaps with some exaggeration, to mules for size. The main road leads up the Irrawaddy valley to Bhamo, and thence to Yung-chang in Yunnan. From Mogaung in the Shan and Singpho or Kakhyen

country roads go to Assam, Yunnan, and Bhamo. There are also some frontier trading-towns in Northern Siam. To the favourably situated town of Zimme or Chiengmai especially many thousand Chinese traders come every year, having had to travel for months through the mountains in order to bring their woollen and metal goods on pack-animals to the markets of Siam. But the next thing is that they drop every kind of retail trade, and play a part as brokers and money-lenders, keepers of gambling-hells, and mining speculators in the Siamese provincial towns. They have the largest bazaars in Bangkok. "Hundreds of Chinese boats," says Bowring, "are vibrating up and down the river, calling at every house, penetrating every creek, supplying all articles of food, raiment, and whatever ministers to the daily wants of life. They traffic with the interior wherever profits are to be realised"; and are masters in the art of demanding and plundering, not to say squeezing. In Cambodia the Chinese, through their ramifications in all the villages, command the entire trade. They export cotton (buying up the whole crop in advance), rice, ivory, pepper, and dried fish, and import the products of Chinese industry. In Tonking, while it was independent, the Chinese alone of all the neighbours had the right to trade, by virtue of China's suzerainty over Annam. They used it at markets and fairs, in mining and in industry, and, next to that, helped the king to make the most of his profitable monopoly of the rice trade. Trade-routes after the Chinese pattern have been laid down in Tonking and to a smaller extent in Annam—in the Song-ka Delta a very complete network of canals, the embankments of which serve as roads, in the rest of the country poor roads with resting places at regular distances. One main road leads from Hué to Saigon, a distance of 300 miles. All main roads lead from Tonking to China. In Cambodia we find remains of old granite-paved roads.

Monopolies of every kind and every extent have been founded at various times by the governments of Further India, and have done more and more to stunt the love of labour and spirit of enterprise. The traditional right of the sovereigns to monopolise the ability of skilful craftsmen, without paying them in proportion, has always created only small centres of higher development. At Hué nothing was produced, outside the articles in ordinary use, save a little inlaid work; while among the missionaries, who were protected from the royal monopoly, real masterpieces of this minor art were executed. With them industry made progress, seeing that as the demand grew it was better paid. In Siam some dozens of duties and monopolies bring in the greatest part of the state revenues. Almost all are farmed out to Chinese, and these have the right of entering a debtor's house and taking what they find. Behind them as protector stands a nobleman of the kingdom, who has made over the monopoly to them for good remuneration. In Annam and Burmah it has been customary to monopolise the rice and cotton trades; in Siam at one time only the king and nobles could trade, and the economy of the country suffered.

The coins and weights of Further India as far as Siam bear Chinese inscriptions, for which cause the importation of spurious pieces from China is frequent. Zinc coins have spread far and wide from Tonking and Annam. A string of them, value 10d., weighs 2 lbs.; and as 3000 of this small change are required to pay a dollar, the burden becomes incommodious. The *kwans* of the Laos are 600 zinc coins on a string of straw, and are worth 10d. Besides these, there

are in Annam large copper pieces, worth six of the others. These usually lie in the state treasury, and are used only for presents. In Burmah the coin used for small payments is of lead, which here has to silver the ratio of 1 : 500. Silver and gold are used for large payments, the reckoning being by weight, the Chinese *tael*, value 6s. 6d., being the unit. In Siam spherical *tikhal*-pieces, with the king's signature, are current. Since the conquest of Burmah by England the rupee has come in. It is significant that gambling counters of porcelain and lacquer are also in circulation, the issue of which is a privilege of Chinese gambling-house farmers.

The position of women approximates to that in China; among the "savages," especially the strictly monogamous Kuvis, it is not seldom better than among their more civilized lords. The Annamite women are accused of immorality, not found, we are told, in Tonking and China. The industrious habits of the Tonking women are highly praised. They carry heavy loads to market, row more than the men, working the steering-oar with their feet, and at the same time keeping an eye on the baby lying in the bottom of the boat and the pot of rice simmering on the fire. Polygamy is universal among people of quality. Where Chinese administration prevails marriages are officially signified. Where Buddhism reigns in full rigour, as in Siam or Cambodia, widows and widowers often enter celibate communities of bonzes. In Cambodia widows regularly go for three years into a nunnery and cannot marry for that interval. In the countries of Further India, which are saturated with Chinese culture, the full significance of the desire for children is connected as elsewhere with ancestor-worship. The penalties for parricide are most severe, but the murder of a disobedient child goes unpunished. Coffins are welcome presents from children to elderly parents. That the increase of the population is to the glory of the sovereign and the good of the state holds good not only in Chinese parts of Further India but also in Burmah, where, however, it is practically effected by the incorporation of prisoners of war in thousands. In fact, the population of the lowlands is everywhere dense, even if not equal to China; on the other hand, it is extraordinarily thin in all hill countries, which from Tonking to Cambodia are occupied by almost independent hill-tribes. Exposure of children is less practised here than in China, its place being taken among the poor by the sale of children.

Among the forest-races of Further India, marriage has a Malay character. Purchase is clearly conspicuous in the Moi custom whereby a daughter leaves her parents only when her future husband can indemnify them by the gift of a slave. If he is not equal to that, he must stay in his father-in-law's house and work. Something similar takes place also in Annam. The slave, however, must never be sold. Gautier notes that in a Moi household the real master is the child, who is cherished and tended with extraordinary care, and brought up with great kindness.

The social organisation of Further India is not so elaborately bureaucratic as that of China. The great importance of the nobility reminds us of Japan; and in Cambodia and Burmah we have Indian institutions, of which there is also a glimmer in Siam. In Cambodia the royal family stand in the first class, almost a caste; in the second are the descendants of the old kings of the country. Third come the *preams*, the Brahmins of India, and fourth, the servants of Buddha. The lowest place is held by the labouring population, husbandmen, fishermen,

artisans, shopkeepers. These are nominally free, but have to render service to a lord and most liberally to the state. In addition there are the slaves, specially numerous in Siam and in Cambodia, in whose ranks is much of the best labour-power in the country. A creditor takes some of his debtors into his house, gives them food and clothing, usually insufficient, reckons any damages they may do against them at a high figure, and regards their labour as the interest of their debts. Cambodia and Bangkok are among the greatest slave-markets of the East. Beside the slaves for debt there are state-slaves, and slaves for life, who are mostly taken from the wild tribes. Kidnapping is universal. Among the Mois *coman* denotes slave-hunter, pirate, and also avenger; the *vendetta* in many cases taking the form of capturing a member of the hostile family. If the taxes in some province of Siam that has been visited by failure of crops or sickness, especially in the Laos country, fail to reach the expected figure, the officials make raids upon the wild tribes in bordering districts, and thus cover the deficit. Among the Mois slavery assumes a humaner character. A well-to-do person acquires slaves by buying children, three to eight years old, and bringing them up with his own, making hardly any distinction; the possibility of being sold is a remote menace. A slave can marry his master's daughter, but the menace remains over his head. Only the children who are born to a slave in the house of his master, the master may not sell. Public opinion would express itself against unreasonable ill-treatment of a slave no less distinctly than it would look upon the flight of a slave as a crime which it is the interest of every free man to punish, or would regard the harbouring of such a slave by a neighbouring tribe as fair ground for a blood-feud.

In the various kingdoms the administration corresponds with the profound difference between the Indian and East Asiatic conceptions of the nature of the state. In those of Chinese-Japanese type the subject enjoys more lavish protection, greater quietness, and freer movement; his capabilities are not smothered under an oppression which makes him into a slave, and squeezes out of him whatever seems worth coveting. In these countries the people consists of individuals who work and earn for themselves and for the state in comparative freedom and independence. The strictly regulated education of the official class at least guarantees a somewhat higher rank for qualities of intellect and character than the Burmese and Siamese custom of distributing provinces and districts on the "eating-up" system, whereby offices are sold by provinces and districts to dignitaries. The holder keeps himself upon his office, and gives the balance to the prince; until the lowest "eats" part of a village or a few families, and seasons his meal with what he can make by selling justice, since there is no crime, however heinous, the punishment for which cannot be bought off. An attempt on the part of some Burmese dignitaries, with European help, to bring about some moderation of the excesses due to this system brought to its promoters only a bloody reward, and to the country none whatever. In Annam an official receives a low salary, with fixed rations of rice, and a private soldier, besides a plot of ground, gets one franc per month. Officialdom in Annam possesses a secure basis below it, for under the *Huyên*, to be mentioned hereafter, stand the individual village presidents, and for many purposes a number of villages form a district. In general the French have retained this system, replacing only the highest officials by administrators. The village-president is elected for a year by the council of elders, and

confirmed by the governor. At his side, though really above him, is the village council, consisting of hereditary members, whose decisions he has to execute. The village-president has to keep two registers. One contains the names of all landowners, with details as to the nature, value, and productiveness of their property, the second of those who possess property of any other kind. From the data of these books the poll-tax is settled. Those who do not appear in them form, to a great extent, a roaming population, who are oppressed and persecuted indeed, but at any rate have nothing to lose and no services to render. The traditional assignment of certain species of revenue is often curious; in Siam 10 per cent of the sum levied on brothels goes to the maintenance of the public roads.

Direct taxation takes exclusively the form of compulsory labour. Fully as the system of farmed monopolies is developed in Siam, the government still demands of all inhabitants, men and women from sixteen to sixty years, except Indians, Chinese, and Europeans, besides their taxes, personal labour service for some months in the year. Any one unfit for it has to pay, and the receipt is a string round the wrist, sealed in wax with the official seal. Besides the usual taxes, Chinese pay a poll-tax every third year. They are not liable to be tattooed; but all Siamese are tattooed, usually on the arm, with marks showing to what province they belong, and if they are slaves, their servitude to a particular master is also indicated. The last government tattooed on the back of the arm, the present does it on the front.

The laws are copied from China, but have something of the savagery of the blood-feud in them. Formerly at Hué boys from the provinces whose parents had been guilty of some state-crime were kept at court, as relics of a family which had already fallen under the headsman's axe, till they were grown up, that when they had reached full understanding, and not before, they might be executed for the trespass of their relatives. Asiatic insensibility must not be overlooked; the majority of Annamite criminals would prefer capital punishment to the term of years in the bagnio of Pulo Kondor which French humanity has substituted for it. Widows and orphans of executed criminals had to pass the remainder of their lives in wretched places of banishment where they might associate only with others of the same class. Espionage, as a means of regulating the machine of administration, is officially recognised and organised. During their visits and conferences in Annam the French saw people, with no mandarin's tablet, forcing their way in everywhere and going to and fro in every direction; these were the people who had to spy on the mandarins, and who were in their turn watched by others. The last King of Burmah but one, the so-called Mindoon King, who was raised to the throne from the indolent tranquillity of a monastery, and always kept up intimate relations with monks and ecclesiastics, founded a society of semi-monastic lay-brothers, who called themselves "Hallowers of the Sabbath," and acted in the country as spies for the king upon the officials who levied the taxes; and the condition of the people is said to have been materially improved by this peculiar method of control.

In comparison with the despotism of Burmah, and the autocracy, limited by an aristocracy, of Siam, the monarchy in Annam and Tonking is rather democratic—a bureaucracy with a prince at the head. Naturally in practice a wide field remains for Asiatic despotism, but in spite of that a certain degree of communal autonomy, of personal liberty, and of promotion by merit prevails. Officials

[illegible] certain rank in the army, attained a certain degree of erudition, [illegible]amination, before nomination to their posts. As in China, the [illegible]ush-) manship opens the road to the highest dignities. The [illegible] "circles" and their capitals, with the appellations of Foo, Huyén, [illegible]on is Chinese; Myoung denotes province or district generally. Of

Mongkut, a former King of Siam (From a photograph.)

the last sovereign of Annam, Harmand wrote: "Tuduc is a king in a strong fortress, at whose nod heads fall and strokes of the bamboo rain down on the shoulders of the most learned people. Not long ago he degraded one of his ministers to the rank of a common soldier; yet, owing to the seclusion in which he is kept, he is nothing but the supreme slave in his country." The ceremonial prescriptions, and the tradition which surrounds the sovereign with women and eunuchs who have to row his state-barge, form a wilderness around him. Europeans have struggled in vain with the ignorance of the real state of affairs which

the decisions of these sovereigns show. The King of Annam's privileges are empty smoke. He alone may use yellow in his flags, his clothes, his writing-paper, the clothes of his servants, and his elephants; he alone may go through the central opening of the gates, hunt in the province of Hué, kill small birds, build houses of two stories, or use ironwood in them, and pronounce or write certain sacred words. King Hialong (1796-1820) left at his death a gold casket with certain fans, which his successors one after another were to open at their accession, and which contained these sacred words.

In the west more echoes appear of Indian absolutism, which lacks the redeeming quality of care for the people's welfare enjoined in China upon the sovereign and his officials. This feature also predominates in external politics. It was this purely predatory policy which inflicted upon the smaller states exorbitant tributes and military burdens; in the same domain China is held to show more intelligence and moderation. The kings of Burmah regarded themselves, after the Indian model, as unlimited lords of their land and people, and took of crops and revenues just what they pleased. They traced their descent indeed from the Sakya kings of Kapilavastu, but with few exceptions all the Burmese kings of this century have been cruel despots. In Cambodia, too, the king was absolute and despotic, pocketing nearly all the public revenue, and disposing of it at his good pleasure.

Hué, like Pekin, has its ceremonial office, resembling that of our Lord Chamberlain. Its main business there is to see that a strict distinction is maintained between the insignia of various ranks, especially the mandarins' umbrellas. The hammocks of higher officials are made of red cotton or silk; *literati* of lower rank have them of blue, and slung from a large red pole with gilt ornaments. Visits of state may be paid only in the hammock, with umbrella-bearers and runners armed with sticks. The French declare that before the visit of their envoys in 1873 it took the mandarins a full month to settle the nature of the requisite visits, and the order in which they were to be paid. As we have seen, among the presents which Siam received from the court of Pekin in return for its tribute were eunuchs well versed in ceremonial etiquette.

What the ambition of these courts was when their means were greater than they are to-day may be seen from the remains of the palatial buildings of the Khmers in Cambodia. No doubt that was another Cambodia—more populous, richer, and in some respects more cultivated. Rice-growing formed the basis of its agriculture. Roads were laid on the dykes, which rose above the districts inundated by the Mekong, and the streams were crossed by stone bridges of many narrow arches. The towns were walled and rectangular; in the centre rose the places devoted to religious worship, containing libraries, which by reason of the ants were built of stone and stood on piles in water. Beside the pagodas were monasteries and schools for the novices, and in the immediate neighbourhood the king's palace, a little city in itself, within which the astrological observatory also found a place. These palaces had roofs ornamented with gold and coloured glass, and walls of polychromatic tiles. On the bas-reliefs of Baion and Angkor Vaht may be seen processions of kings preceded by military bands, mounted spearmen, archers wearing helmets, foot soldiers in armour, with spear, axe, and two-handed sword. The warriors are followed by hundreds of women, probably the guard of the innermost palace. Then come the dignitaries in gilt palanquins, the metal

betel-boxes carried by their servants and the scarlet umbrellas held over their heads being ornamented according to their rank. Next appear the queen and her suit on costly litters, and lastly a host of palace-servants with rich vessels, little pagodas, idols, and models of the giant temples. Then the king himself upon an elephant in goodly trappings, and after him soldiers on elephants with gilt tusks and rings and chains about their necks. In his hand he holds the *Prea-khan* or sacred blade of the Khmer sovereigns; umbrella-bearers surround him on every side. The procession is closed by a number of horsemen. Before the kings were performed athletic contests, races in "dug-outs" painted to look like dragons, animal-fights, horse and ox-races. They attended the representations of the Brahmin mysteries. Nautch-dances were among their favourite enjoyments. They went in great state on the water to gather, and present with other offerings in the temples, the lotus-flowers which rose out of it. The peculiar blending of religious and political ceremonies may still be seen in Siam. At the "water-festival" the men repair to the pagoda, drink "the water of the oath," and renew their oath of allegiance to the king. As they return they sprinkle each other with water, as is also the custom at the "feast of the line" and at the dedication of a child. In Cambodia the astrologers are still a special caste.

Here there is no question of an exclusive national polity, such as China and Japan have created in the greater part of their domains by the incessant operation of culture. The population of Siam is composed of Chinese, Malays, Siamese, Laos, Cambodians. Besides these there are the "savages," who, however, have in the north been largely converted to Buddhism, aud have settled down near the Laos villages. In Burmah the Shans have been estimated as numbering half the population, in any case they occupy the entire north. In all these kingdoms the ruling races are always only fragments, who are either at war with the rest of their fellow-citizens, or plundering them, or just letting them alone. Hence the undefined frontier zones to the kingdoms of Further India, as for example between Annam and Siam in the Mekong district, where remains of towns and fortresses show that the Annamites had once established themselves, and marked out three provinces, but some decades ago either deserted them again, or rather constituted them a neutral frontier zone between themselves and the Siamese. This treatment of subject peoples, looking for results rather to lapse of time than to force, has its origin in Chinese statecraft. The sharp frontier-lines which our maps and our books lay down between the states of Further India have only a theoretic value. It is a mere fiction that the Tamuok forms the boundary between Khas and Laos, and that all to the east of it is liable to pay tribute to Annam. When Bock gives the Mekong and its tributary the Mekok south of 20° N. as the limits of the Shan States, he is just as much and just as little right as other geographers who drew this line further north.

"The hen betrays her nest by cackling, the bird hides hers in the thickest boughs," says a Siamese proverb, praising the fortunes of a race that lives in seclusion. Closely connected therewith is the system of interposing small, half-independent principalities between the larger states. In the zone between China and Burmah especially there have been a mass of little hill-tribes, each with its own chief. Their relations to one another, to Burmah, Siam, and China, were extremely obscure; they paid tribute, in individual cases, to all three, but at least to the first and the last. To what blunders and muddles that leads

was recently shown by the difficulty of delimiting the French sphere of influence in Siam.

The subject races of Further India have been decentralised in a way which does credit to the state-craft of the local great powers. Every village—and their villages assuredly never number 100 souls—forms a centre for itself. The excessive number of these races diminishes as soon as we remember how often political are taken for ethnographical names. To this must be added sheer confusions of names. Kuy, Kha, Muong, which all mean only "men," are erroneously used as ethnographic or political appellations.

§ 19. THE HILL-TRIBES OF SOUTHERN ASIA.

General survey—Remains of earlier populations in China—The Shans of Northern Burmah—Racial stocks—Dress; ornament; extension of tattooing—Weapons—Economic activity—Family—Political disintegration.

FROM the Eastern Himalaya to the eastern range of Further India, and from the mountains which surround the middle courses of the Irrawaddy, the Salween, and the Menam far into the Chinese provinces of Kwang-tung, Kwang-si, Kwei-chow, Szchuan, and Yunnan, dwell peoples of Mongol or Malay appearance. Where accurate researches have been made, these in many cases manifest themselves as akin to the great Tai or Shan stock, extending from Manipur into the heart of Yunnan, and from Assam to Cambodia. Of this the Siamese form to-day the only politically independent member, while traditions point to a great Tai State as once existing in the north of Further India and the south of China. With the exception of the Khassias and Palungs in Assam and Burmah, the so-called wild hill-tribes of Further India are always near kinsmen of their neighbours dwelling in the valleys and plains; but they either have remained strangers to the progress made by these in culture, or have fallen from their level. From west to east appear, as members of these scattered groups in North-Eastern Assam, the Akhas, Daphlas, Miris, Abors, Midjis, and Mishmis; in the Indo-Burmese district the Guros, Khassias, and Nagas; in Burmah, from the Irrawaddy to the Mekong, and from the Chinese frontier to the Karen country, the Shans proper, who once formed nine states in Yunnan, and their kinsmen the Salungs; in Yunnan, again, the Lolos, Miaos, and smaller tribes, who have made this province the least Chinese in the whole empire. The Miao-tse of Kwei-chow and Szchuan, and numerous small fragments of races in other southern provinces of China, belong to this stock; but hardly the boat-inhabiting Tankas of Kwang-tung, to whom the Chinese refer as equally aboriginal.

Many of these peoples once spread more widely. The Shans certainly once extended further to the north, as local names in the Kakhyen country on the Upper Irrawaddy and Salween testify. In China these Tibetan, Burmese, and Siamese peoples were partly forced back, partly subjugated, and brought to adopt the Chinese language and customs, by the immigrant race, which gradually impressed a uniform stamp on the other races, and so created the Chinese people. Only in the most inaccessible mountains on the frontier are really independent still to be met with. They are divided into three main groups: Si-

fan or Tangutes (already spoken of), a Tibetan race on the frontier of Kan-su; Miao-tse, a Tai race between the provinces of Szchuan, Yunnan, and Tibet, also in small numbers in the less accessible parts of other southern provinces; Lolos, a Burmese race in the mountains of Yunnan. The names Laos and Lava are given by the Chinese to small peoples on the south-east frontier of Yunnan—that of Lava-min being also given to the Burmese. Lolo seems also to belong here. The Mutsas and Lanlans, in the neighbourhood of Kiangtung, are doubtless Miao-tse and Lolos. The Linkuinlongs of Hoo-peh, who are said to have been subjugated in the fourth century A.D., have been quite merged in the Chinese population. It is naturally impossible to fix the numbers of the races who are not reckoned by the Chinese among their own people, and therefore never enumerated in the census. They have ceased to play a political part. No doubt their places of abode are still a hindrance to intercourse—neither soldiers nor traders ventured to make their way through their domains. It is surely no accident that risings against the Manchus have so often taken place in the southern provinces. But most now pay tribute to the Chinese, who in return give them kings without power, are satisfied with actual instead of formal dependence, and are content if by trade and usury they can suck them a little drier.

The mountain-tribes in a great part of Western Szchuan are in a fair way to become genuine Chinese. Many have adopted the pigtail as a token of subjection; Chinese dress and language are spreading ever further, and significantly enough, here also the women alone retain their peculiarities any longer. Among completely independent tribes the Zandis near Tatsian-lu, and the Loo-tse, 1200 men capable of bearing arms, near Atenze are mentioned; more dependent are the Ya-tse, the Leisus, and the Mosos. The tribes that have adopted Chinese ways are more widely spread, but their boundaries grow ever more undefined as Chinese language and culture encroach on all sides, and one special feature after another drops out. The fact of reading and writing being taught only in Chinese causes the old Burmanic Lolo language to disappear all the faster. Hybrid languages of Chinese and the various local dialects are very common. During the Mussulman rebellion in Yunnan some neighbouring tribes marched at the invitation of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, who retired before them sooner than before the Chinese. By cleverly playing off one tribe against another the Chinese have succeeded in completely subjugating the once powerful Leisus.

It is in the north of Further India that these races have retained most cohesion and independent importance. There, in many forms, reside the Shan peoples from the valley of Assam to Cambodia, and from Munnipoor to Yunnan, in the region bordering on China, Burmah, and Siam, in numerous small tribes under princes called Tsawbwas, who stand in a position of more or less formal dependence on some neighbouring state. A large part, bounded on the east by the Upper Mekong, and on the north, west, and south by the three countries above mentioned, is nomally subject to Burmah; this is the "Laos province" of the older geographers. In South-West Yunnan are tribes subject to China, and another part is subject to Siam. The level of culture among these fragments of races, broken up and flung into pathless mountains, is not low, and once was yet higher. Some part of the trade and industry of Further India is in their hands. The Shans grow cotton, which is supplied to Burmah; the Palungs tea; Kiang-hung exports great quantities of tea to China; and the country of the Red Karens—not to be

confused with the Karens of Tenasserim—is for long distances cultivated from the valleys to the hill-tops, the slopes being terraced as in China, and is crossed by roads in every direction. A curious legend, mentioned by Yule, relates how the Red Karens are descended from a detachment of a Chinese army which overslept itself here, and so got left behind in the hills. Chinese influence, which has already been operative in the culture of these hill-people, if only by way of trade and commerce, displays itself among some of them as strongly as anywhere among the half-independent races of Yunnan and Szchuan. Kiang-hung, indeed, pays tribute to Burmah, but is more immediately under China; Chinese language, dress, and customs prevail among persons of rank. The Chinese keep a host of officials here, and levy, besides, a tribute of silver, and, it is said, 560 mules' burdens of tea, a tax assessed upon the seed-corn. The much-frequented trade-route from China to Northern Siam goes through this country. In the city of Kiang-hung the Tsawbwa's palace is built and ornamented in Chinese style.

Not all these hill-tribes are simply former inhabitants who have been driven back; at any rate none of them is so exclusively. As in China, so in Further India, many political and social outcasts have been mingled with them. In China there is a law fixing rewards for "savages" who deliver up fugitive Chinese. The tradition of some tribes in Further India that they are the left-behind part of a Chinese force, or are descended from South Chinese, is sometimes, perhaps, not unfounded. The Panthay rebellion in Yunnan drove many of its inhabitants into the small Shan states of Kiang-hung and Kiang-tung. The Payis on the south-east frontier of Yunnan towards Bhamo are indicated as hybrids between the native Shans or Laos and the Chinese who colonised here some 500 years ago. They have become less Chinese than the purer Shans of Bhamo, who speak the dialect of Yunnan, and form to-day three little principalities paying tribute to China. Lastly, these races have undergone numerous shiftings among themselves. The Mikir tribe of the Khassias is said to have migrated to Assam from an earlier abode near Kachar. Hesselmeyer conceives the Akhas to be a Shan race, pushed by the Ahams from Further India in the neighbourhood of the Patkoi range into the Khassia and Garo country, thence into the plain, and finally into the corner between Bhootan and the Bhoroli river. In the Garo language an Aryan admixture points to closer connections between the Garos and the peoples of the plain. It has been asserted that the Mons of Pegu strikingly recall in their language the Khols of the Vindhya Hills; and Phayre thinks nearly all their place-names are Dravidian.

In their description of the physical build of these races, most observers do not go beyond a general Mongoloid character. Caucasian traits among the Burmese Karens, as gray eyes in the Palungs, negroid features in the Akhas of Assam, and the like, are adduced on the strength only of isolated observations. A likeness to Malays is ascribed to the Looshais. A history of movement, and scattered mode of habitation, are conditions of free intermixture. With no political or geographical barriers, open to manifold influences, these races were not in a position to form a firm individual type. In general may be noted a lighter colour, shading off in the Miao-tse to light yellow, stalwart powerful build, wiry hair, honesty and frankness of character. The men are more manly and freespoken than the Chinese and Siamese; the women, owing to their unmutilated feet, more mobile and active than Chinese women. In an economic point of view they are

distinguished by a flourishing agriculture and a brisk industry; socially by their primitive marriage-customs and Malay style of houses; politically by disintegration; intellectually and spiritually by conceptions which have not departed far from primitive "animism" and ancestor-worship.

The dress of the tribes living in the damp heat of the Eastern Himalaya is widely different from those who dwell near the clothed Chinese. They wear a loin-cloth, often hung with shells. The women have an oblong plate of brass hung by two strings, corresponding with the arrangement mentioned vol. i. p. 407 as in use among the Alfurs. In Assam an approaching woman can be heard afar off by the clatter of these plates, which they wear in numbers. Girls wear this scanty appendage with nothing over it, women cover it with a small gown. Loankta, the name of one Kooki tribe, is perhaps correctly interpreted as "naked." In the cool season, and in advancing years, the upper body is covered with a woollen blanket or a tight sleeveless waistcoat; among the Mikirs, who resemble the Khassias, this is made of cotton, with red stripes and fringes at the ends. The Akhas of East Assam wear cloths with long fringes round the body and thighs. The Naga women, some of whom also wear the little brass plate, and in addition wrap the lower part of the body in a cloth reaching from the hips to the knees, further have a cloth over the breast. The Shans of North Burmah wear the complete Burmese dress, as the Miaos and their fellows in China wear the Chinese. Yet here too a section of the Palungs is distinguished as "trouser-wearers," just as the Nagas are divided into "naked" and clothed. Beyond the Chinese frontier, the Miaos, who are widely spread, wear either complete Chinese dress or something like it—short jacket with tight sleeves, and loose trousers. They prefer dark blue or black; the Shans like loud colours. Only in the large towns of Yunnan is the Chinese uniformity of appearance found; in the country all kinds of gay variety prevail. The dress of their women is original; their gowns lie in many pleats, so that they demand many yards of stuff, and hang heavily and stiffly to the knee. Their legs are wrapped, often to a disproportionate thickness, in stuff of a red and white pattern. They wear a jacket with tight sleeves, and a curious apron with shoulder-straps. The dress of the "black" Miao women is more pleasing to a European eye. Their gowns are closely pleated and reach to the ankle; they have an embroidered border. A fillet of black woollen material encircles the head. The jackets are short, and decorated with pretty silk embroidery at the wrist and along the seam of the sleeve. The three Looshai groups, Looshais, Suktes, and Pois, are distinguished by the way the hair is tied either on the scalp or at the back of the neck. Bast hats form, throughout these tribes, a contrast to the Tibetan cap and to the turban of the Indian and West Himalayan peoples.

They are distinguished by the quantity of their ornament from their neighbours, who are often richer in silver and gold. It is not only the East Himalayan tribes who wear necklaces of teeth and rattling seeds, or brass arm and ankle-rings, in rows often covering half the limb. Women wear these rings often of a more massive make than men. Naga men wear bunches and rosettes of bleached cotton on their ears, the threads of which hang down to the neck. In war they wear feather ornaments, and not rarely a fantastic helmet. Among the Singphos the ebony-inlaid ear-disks assume large dimensions, and drag the ear down to the shoulder. They wear a large shell by a cotton band round the

neck. Both sexes of the Miaos wear silver earrings descending almost to shoulders; some have arm-bands, and many three or four silver neck-rings in addition.

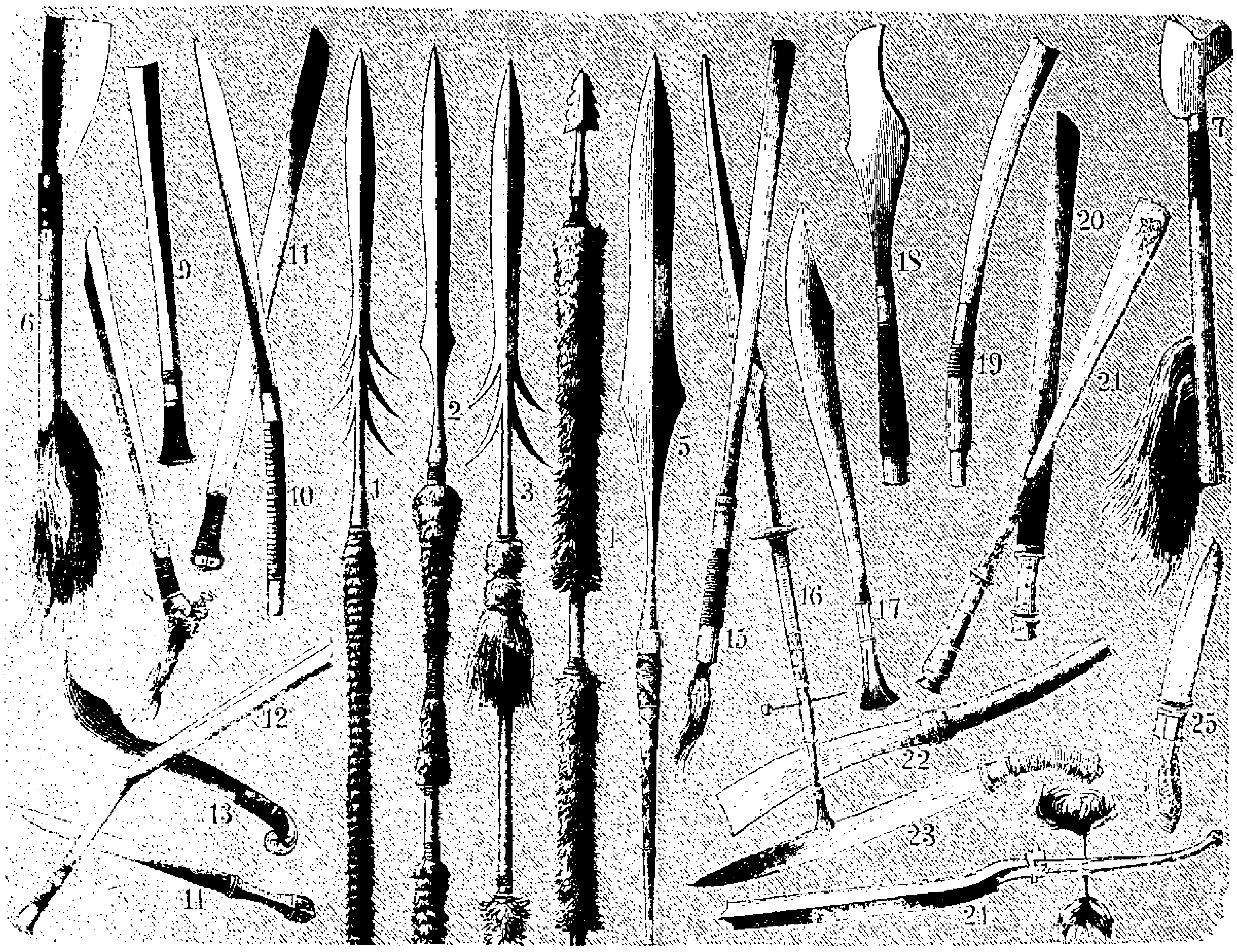
Tattooing is usual among most of these races; among the Nagas every tribe has its own token affixed in this way. It is especially developed in Yunnan, and along the northern borders of Burmah and Siam. Naga warriors tattoo their faces like Maoris. The Khais of Arakan give as a reason for tattooing their women that it was intended to scare away the Mongols when they demanded the maidens of the tribe as tribute. The tucking up of the hair into a knot at the back of the head is held as a common mark of all the East Himalayan tribes. Part of their festival finery consists in the adornment of this knot with ribbons and feathers; and this with the Khassias has turned into the pigtail, which among the hill-tribes of China indicates adhesion, politically and in culture, to the ruling race.

Among the Akhas large bows with poisoned arrows predominate; also with the Tchins on the frontier of Burmah and China, famous tiger-hunters. The Shans of Tongsan, east of the Salween, also use bows with poisoned arrows, and the like is reported of the Was on the Upper Mekong, said to be cannibals. The equipment of the Nagas is shield, sword, spear, and axe. The spear has a long iron head; it must not be leant against anything, but always stand by itself perpendicularly, for which reason the butt-end is armed with an iron spike. The *dao*, battle-axe and wood-chopper in one, the Naga sticks in his belt behind. Singphos and Kakhyens wear a long sword suspended by a short thong below the armpit. The sheath covers only the back, the edge, and one side. The shield is nearly as high as a man and from 20 to 24 inches broad; its frame is of bamboo, its outer covering of the skin of a wild animal with the hair on, its upper end ornamented with feathers and the like. The Shans manufacture matchlocks; the Kakhyens, who buy them, know even how to make powder.

While the Khassias do not make enough of their fertile rice-growing country, and the Garos every three years break up a new bit of ground with their simple hoes to plant rice, cotton, and millet, the Shans in North Burmah grow tea and cotton, and the Lilloons of Kwangtung opium for trade. The amount of cattle-breeding is remarkably small compared with that of the West Himalaya and the Hindoo Koosh. This is no doubt connected partly with the Chinese system of small farming, partly with the influence of Buddhism. Eggs are used in divination; they are thrown on the ground, and the future is predicted from the rings of colour. Betel-chewing is usual in the East Himalaya. Rice spirit (arrack) is popular; so among the Tchinbons and kindred tribes on the frontiers of Burmah and China is home-brewed beer. The Miaos of Yunnan, unlike the Chinese, drink a great deal of this. A man at the table keeps filling cups and handing them to the guests in order. At their wine they sing songs, always two together. Opium-smoking has spread quickly among the hill-tribes of China. Margary calls the Miao-tse of Kwei-chow "hopelessly abandoned to opium-smoking."

It is not for nothing that the Shans of Burmah are the nearest neighbours and the subjects of the cleverest workmen in Further India. From the Chinese they have learnt lacquer-work and glass-blowing; the influence of which makes itself felt in the architecture of Shan towns, like Labong and Zimmay. The Shan ironwork goes as far as China. The Lavars, who live on the Upper

Mekong, furnish great quantities of cotton, iron, and tin to the Chinese. The Khassia steel, made from magnetic iron, is said to be excellent. The Miaos and Shans weave all that they require for the household on vertical hanging looms. The Palung tea-growers of North Burmah are said to be clever weavers and smiths. The Abors bring musk to Sudiya; also a powerful arrow-poison. A great part of the trade of Yunnan is managed by Chinese and Burmese Shans who pass the mountains with horse-caravans. In the Eastern Himalaya barter preponderates, while the Shans are capital merchants after the Chinese pattern;



Weapons from the East Himalaya:—1-4, spears from Assam; 5, spear from Kachar; 6, 7, Naga battle-axes; 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 22, swords from Assam; 15, sword from Upper Assam; 24, sword of the Agami Nagas; 13, 18, swords from Kachar; 16, sword from the Khassia hills; 21, sword from Darjeeling; 14, dagger, and 20, sword from Bhootan; 10, 19, 23, 25, swords from Burmah. (After Egerton.)

the "chopstick" Shans, so called from their Chinese customs, are well known as far down as Rangoon.

A great part of these peoples live in pile-dwellings. Among most of the East Himalayan races the huts stand on piles or gratings, and the same fashion recurs, though not so generally, in the north of Further India. In the Irawaddy valley it predominates. There they also have the "bachelors' house," where the young men of the village sleep, and the family house, 60 feet long and more, but not half so much in width; a single hall for living in, with sleeping-cells. The Garo chiefs' houses are as much as 250 feet long, with the roof resting on carved pillars. The predominant building material is bamboo. Defence is sought by building on heights, palisading, and concealment of approaches.

The process by which these peoples have been forced back may be traced.

It is rather more than twenty years since the Man-tse, who live in the neighbourhood of Ngan-Shun in Szchuan,[1] were forced out of several valleys into the higher parts of the hills, where their villages are stuck in clefts of the rock like eagles' nests. Lower down are found numerous ruins of recent date, and often a Chinese village hard by, an eloquent witness to ejection. But in South China, where, owing to the risings of the 'fifties and 'sixties, the towns had fallen to villages, the Miao-tse came down from the hills again and lived peaceably among the ruins, on their old soil. Mixture with the Chinese is, as it were, the tacit condition of the continuance of the natives in their old seats, but it goes slowly forward. The Kong-Kia-tse near Ngun-Shan are the result of such a mixture, but they now hold aloof from both Chinese and Man-tse. Nevertheless, in the course of years, as may be supposed, intermixtures enough have taken place; for the historical movements in China have flung these races and their conquerors among each other in all directions. To this day the descendants of the insurgents transplanted from Yunnan can be recognised in Manchuria; and from them come the "Manchurian Mussulmans." Much that has no great importance in detail, the wild glance of the Kwei-chow people, which had to Margary a Formosan look, the insubordination of the Yunnan people, split up as they are into numerous clans, even the gaudy colours in the Yunnan dress, point to the extent to which the otherwise uniform Chinese element has been influenced. Even where foreign elements have long been absorbed, legend preserves recollections of the former savage inhabitants of hills and forests.

Family life among the East Himalayan tribes is a tangle of primitive customs. Before marriage, intercourse between the sexes is unrestricted. Marriage is decided by free choice, in which, among the Garos, the girl is said to take the initiative, and its conclusion is celebrated by the priest's sacrificing a fowl, and by a feast. Well-to-do people live in polygamy. Among the Akhas we hear of presents to the bride's parents. Adultery is severely punished. Among the Akhas the sons inherit, and have to maintain the female members of the family; among the Garos, on the other hand, female inheritance prevails in a pronounced degree. A Khassia, too, enters as a new member the house and kindred of his wife, whom the children without exception follow. If the marriage is blessed with offspring, the eldest child is formally offered as a gift to the parents of the husband, the second to those of the wife. The husband must live for a period varying from seven to ten years with his parents-in-law; at the expiration of this time he may if he likes return to his father's house. The women's position is that of industrious workers in house and field. Even among the "savages" of Kwangtung, lads and girls make each other's acquaintance without any go-between, especially at the fairs held in the temples at the New Year, as in Tibet.

The Nagas, whose small tribes are counted by hundreds, are a type of political disintegration. The little Midji tribe falls into ten subdivisions, with as many chiefs; war, especially from blood-feuds, is the order of the day. The Nagas declare war by sending a bullet (formerly a spear-head), charcoal, and Nepaul pepper, to denote the principal weapon, fire-raising, and pain and grief. They are not forwarded directly, but passed on from one village to another. (Compare

[1] [*Sic.* but Ngan-Shun appears to be in Kwei-chow. In 1868 the late Mr. Cooper found the centre of the dependent Man-tse government at Ta-tsian-lu, which no doubt is in Szchuan. Gill found them in Yunnan and Szchuan nine years later.]

the Battak custom, vol. i. p. 447.) In Szchuan eighteen Miao-tse and eighteen Man-tse tribes are reckoned from Yunnan to the extreme north of the province, all under their own chiefs, male and female, who receive tribute in labour and produce. Twelve other little Shan States are confederate with the petty prince of Kiang-hung alone, who is dependent on China and Burmah. Such disintegration renders it impossible for any political action to be exercised except locally, as by closing a mountain-pass, or the like. It is maintained and even demanded by the corroding evil of slave-hunting, which has become a necessity for the Nagas owing to their human sacrifices, and allows the growth of no confidence, as well as by its encouragement at the hands of neighbouring powers, especially China. The primitive population, still numerous, of the Linshan district in the province of Kwang-tung, had formerly even a republican government. Every hundred men formed a "century" under an elective commander, and the "centurions" collectively were under the tribal president. Other tribes in Kwang-tung have always been under native officials, confirmed by the emperor.

§ 20. UPON THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN EASTERN ASIA

The Stone Age in Eastern Asia—Extension and migration of the Chinese—Transmission of Chinese elements of culture to Japan—History of the mutual relations of China and Japan, and the exclusiveness of both powers—Korea—Manchuria and its acquisition for China—The Ainos—Their distribution and relations with the Japanese—Some of their most curious habits and customs.

SOUTHERN and Eastern Asia were inhabited before their inhabitants attained the higher stage of culture which their history shows. Stone implements and weapons have been found in many places. Stone implements, among them circular objects with a hole through them, which may have been for the purpose shown in the cut, vol. i. p. 88, or weights for nets, generally of moderately good work, rough pottery, smashed bones, heaps of mussel-shells, lie near the great lake in Cambodia. In the museum at Toulouse, among similar objects, are also worked shells. We have already spoken of the objects furnished by India. Japan is rich in remains of a Stone Age. Stone arrow-heads are used by the Ainos and venerated in Japanese temples at the present day; no survival of Aino usages, but reverence or awe in presence of things from antiquity. Even to-day in the same temples the purest fire for sacrifices and as a protection against evil spirits is produced by rubbing the wood of *Retinospora obtusa*. In 1879 Morse discovered near Omori heaps of mussel-shells like the "kitchen-middens" of Europe; with them lie implements of stone, earthenware, stag-horn, and bone, partly of an antique and rough character. We assign no great weight to the traces of cannibalism which Morse thinks he has found, for mistakes are easy in this matter. Dolmens of unhewn stones have been found on Kiusiu and in the south of Yezo, where there seem to have been burial-places. The one- and two-chambered dolmens, with stone passages and stone-paved floor, occur near artificial caves, and contain urns which have been shaped on a wheel, stone arrow-heads, splinters of obsidian. Remains of iron swords may have been added later. Dolmens have also been discovered in Korea. Japanese stone articles frequently occur in conjunction with objects of more recent dates when iron was already in use; and the pre-

historic earthenware is distinguished from the simpler modern kinds only by the absence of glaze. Stone weapons and implements have, however, been found in caves by themselves. It is thought that the *maga-tamas,* "rod-beads" of cornelian, and the open gold rings, as in the cut, which are held by the Japanese themselves for very ancient, may be put somewhat later. From the Chinese annals the conclusion has been drawn that even after 3000 B.C. bronze alone was in use, iron not having been imported till two or three centuries later. These annals, however, are not fully to be trusted so far back. If we make our enquiry of the things which belong closely to man, and thus travel only in his company, we get the impression that China originally had much in common with the other regions of culture in Asia, and that its stock of culture underwent enrichment principally from Southern Asia. We are looking at the China of the earliest recorded history, in the northern and north-western portions of the later empire. Thence it slowly pushes forward. The founders of China lived on high ground, came down into the lowlands, and then the plough "pursued its tranquil course." The appearance of the mythical culture-heroes, who drain swamps, construct canals, spread agriculture, symbolises the difficulty of cultivation in prehistoric China, and the joy over work successfully completed. In the low-lying districts inundated by the Hoang-ho and Yang-tse rivers, where the canals form a network, men have excavated their basin-shaped rice-fields, and used the thrown-up earth to make partly dykes and embankments, partly wider spaces where at present the houses stand, thus creating a cultivable and habitable, that is, an entirely new land.

Antique Japanese earrings and neck-ornament.
(From the Collection of the late Herr von Siebold, Vienna.)

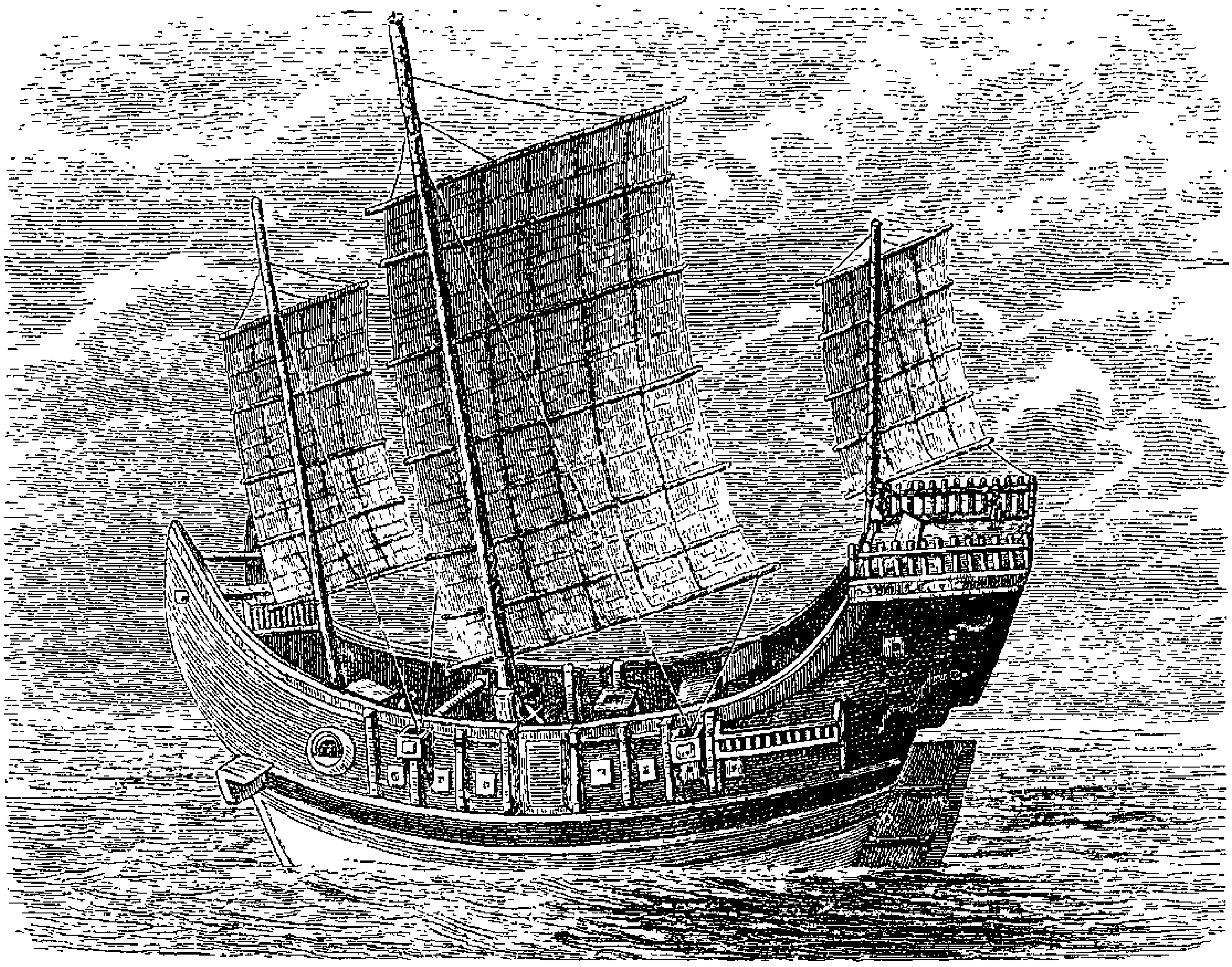
The leading theme of Chinese history is the gradual—because depending on the pressure of masses and superiority in culture—but victorious extension of the race, its customs and institutions, in all directions. No other Asiatic kingdom has spread its power, and, where this failed, its culture and language, so widely as China. When we think of the position towards China of Japan and Korea, which may be called daughter-races of Chinese culture, the phrase, "China the Rome of the Far East," seems justified. Its progress southward and eastward from the north-west can be traced. Peoples were exterminated, or shifted *en masse* to the north; but for the most part gradually gained for the Chinese domain by a culture already highly developed, and an orderly government.

With the exceptions of Yunnan, South Manchuria, a frontier strip in Mongolia, and the western half of Szchuan, China embraced 2000 years ago the same territory as is now understood by the term "China Proper." The Tibetan, Burmese, and Siamese races, which have maintained themselves till to-day in all these lands, have never had power to check the growth and ultimate preponderance of the Chinese element, which merged in the struggle as a genuine element of culture. Roads, bridges, schools, trade and traffic, are its weapon. So far as possible it avoids sanguinary conflicts, to win the victory by patience and cunning.

This method is closely connected with the Eastern Asiatic nature—Japan, too, was a long time growing from Kiusiu to Yezo—and with the natural conditions of existence there. The position of China led naturally to an ever further-reaching formation of colonies. The wall built to protect the frontier, the fertility of the soil, the conditions favourable to intercourse, furthered the growth of the population, till, in spite of many checks, its mass easily rendered it possible for China to seek the untamed nomad races in their own quarters, educate them to culture, and cunningly keep them disunited. All governments of any force and insight made it their task, by dint of campaigns and incessant foundation of colonies, to extend their rule over the nomads beyond their borders. At the same time, like every people that has defended the frontier of culture against savages, they were forced to take ever-lengthening strides, which Chinese red tape soon brought into a system of civil and military colonies. The Mongols themselves when they attained to sovereignty were no less extensive founders of colonies than the former emperors, and transplanted thousands of families from one province to another. Nay, Kublai Khan provisioned his troops for the expedition to Japan by means of a series of colonies which he had had founded in Korea by Korean families. This internal colonisation, continued by the Ming dynasty, contributed materially to the obliteration of internal distinctions among the Chinese people. Monuments were set up to meritorious founders of colonies. The process went on slowly but surely. In the favoured south-west, the eastern half, which is among the most fertile countries of Asia, that is, Szchuan proper (the "Land of the Four Rivers"), was acquired by A.D. 316; the western, mountainous half not till the time of Kang-hi, about 1700, and gradually. Chinese legend tells of an emperor who wished to conquer Szchuan while it was still ruled by a Man-tse king. He caused a report to be spread that he had two cows which converted all that they ate into gold, and sent word to the Man-tse king that he would present them to him, only they were too delicate to travel over rough roads. The king thereupon caused the splendid road which still exists to be built with much labour, and the Emperor of China marched into his country and subdued him. Such was the Chinese conquest of the border-lands by means of trade, road-making, and cunning.

Chinese history has a decidedly *inland* character; but the Tibetans and Mongols are even more of landsmen, to the point of having Chinese to act as boatmen on their rivers. The efforts of China have always been directed more inland, into Asia, than towards the sea and distant shores. Perhaps the dictum of the She-King still holds good: "If a king is wise and loves virtue, all foreigners will come and make themselves subject to him." In the Chinese ocean of races, which has always tended to grow more homogeneous, have all traces of more nautically-disposed peoples, Indian or Malay, such as we meet with in Japan

and Further India, been submerged? It is certain that the Chinese coast-peoples, who still almost solely feed any seaward emigration from China, whose ships, with those of Mangi (Man-tse?), Marco Polo mentions beside those from Zaitun, were first forced to adopt a policy of exclusion by North China. This exclusiveness towards foreign powers is a principle which at some time or other came into credit, and then made its way throughout Eastern Asia with the effect, important in the history of the world, of deadening the outlook of Asia towards and across the Pacific, and introducing Buddhist self-absorption into politics. The Chinese

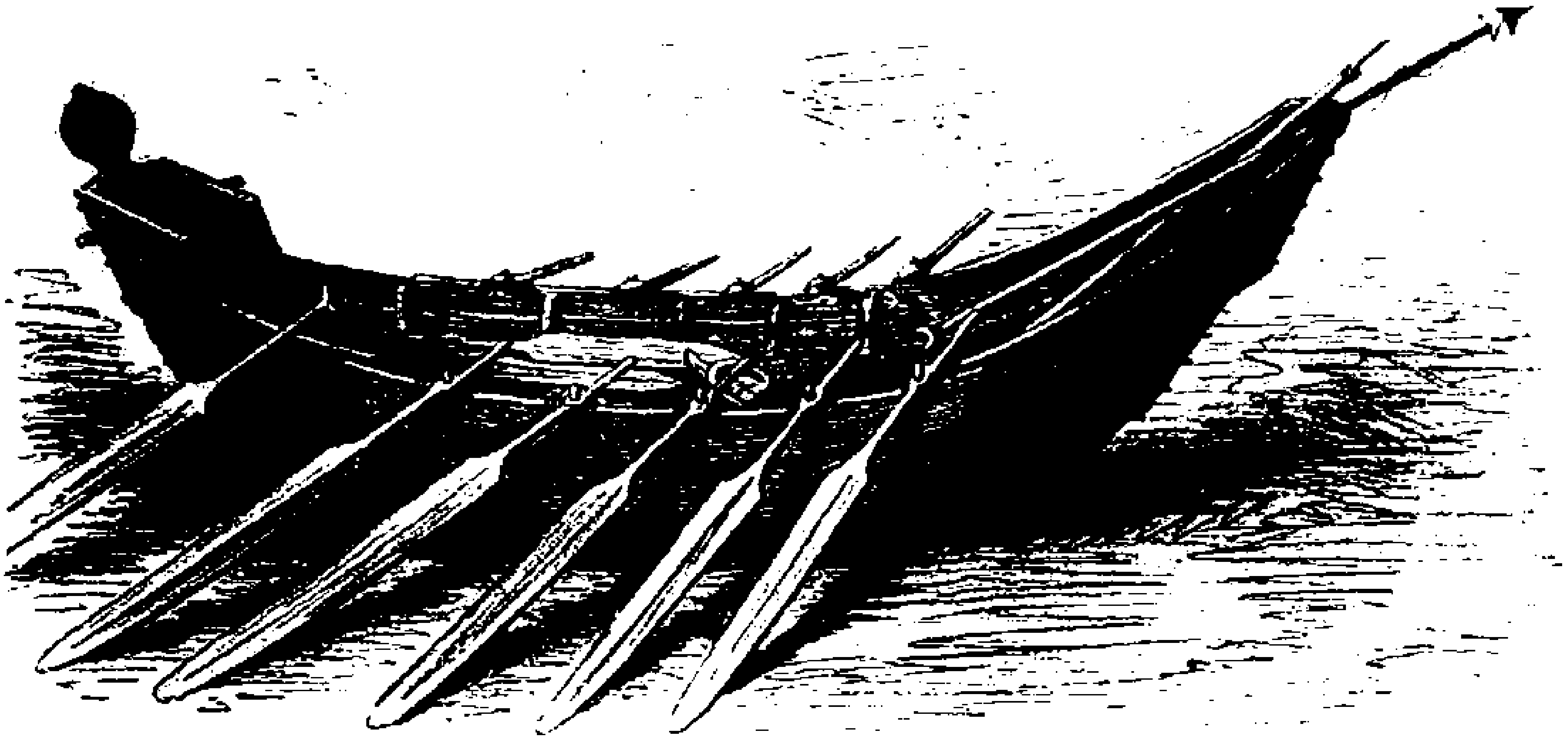


A Chinese junk. (From a model in the Leipzig Museum of Ethnology.)

were, however, the predecessors of Europeans in the trade and intercourse of South-East Asia. Magellan found Chinese goods in the Philippines; and on the Mariannes were also traces of older intercourse with China. Zuñiga is inclined to refer both the Igorrotes of Luzon and also certain parts of the population of the Mariannes to a blending of Chinese with Japanese. On the Sunda Islands the Europeans found Chinese; nay, their traces extend to the north coast of Australia. As early as 1429 Makrisi knew of Chinese in Aden and Jeddah, and Ibn Batuta saw Chinese ships off Calicut. On the other side, Arabs and Persians seem to have been settled in Canton as far back as the eighth century. When the Portuguese appeared before Malacca they found friends and helpers in the Chinese, as did Oliver Van Noort ninety years later on the coast of Borneo. Down to 1712 the Chinese were buying all the pepper-crop of the Dutch even in Banjermassing.

The Chinese sail with a poor class of craft along the coast of Further India

[illegible] Sunda Sea, and to the islands where gold and spices abound. With the [illegible] monsoon they are still accustomed to perform their yearly journeys [illegible] Further India and China. They have sent out strong colonies to Further [illegible] the Indian Islands, and together with Europeans and Arabs command the trade of these countries. This emigration was followed by that which, since the second decade of our century, has been going on to America, and later, since the discovery of the gold-fields and the development of coolie labour, to Australia. The number of Chinese outside the borders of their own country may be estimated at 3 to 4 millions, and everywhere, save in America and Australia, where it is limited by legislation, it is on the increase. Singapore and Bangkok are semi-Chinese towns; Manilla becomes more Chinese every year, and in every corner of the Archipelago wandering Chinese artisans and hawkers are found. Since

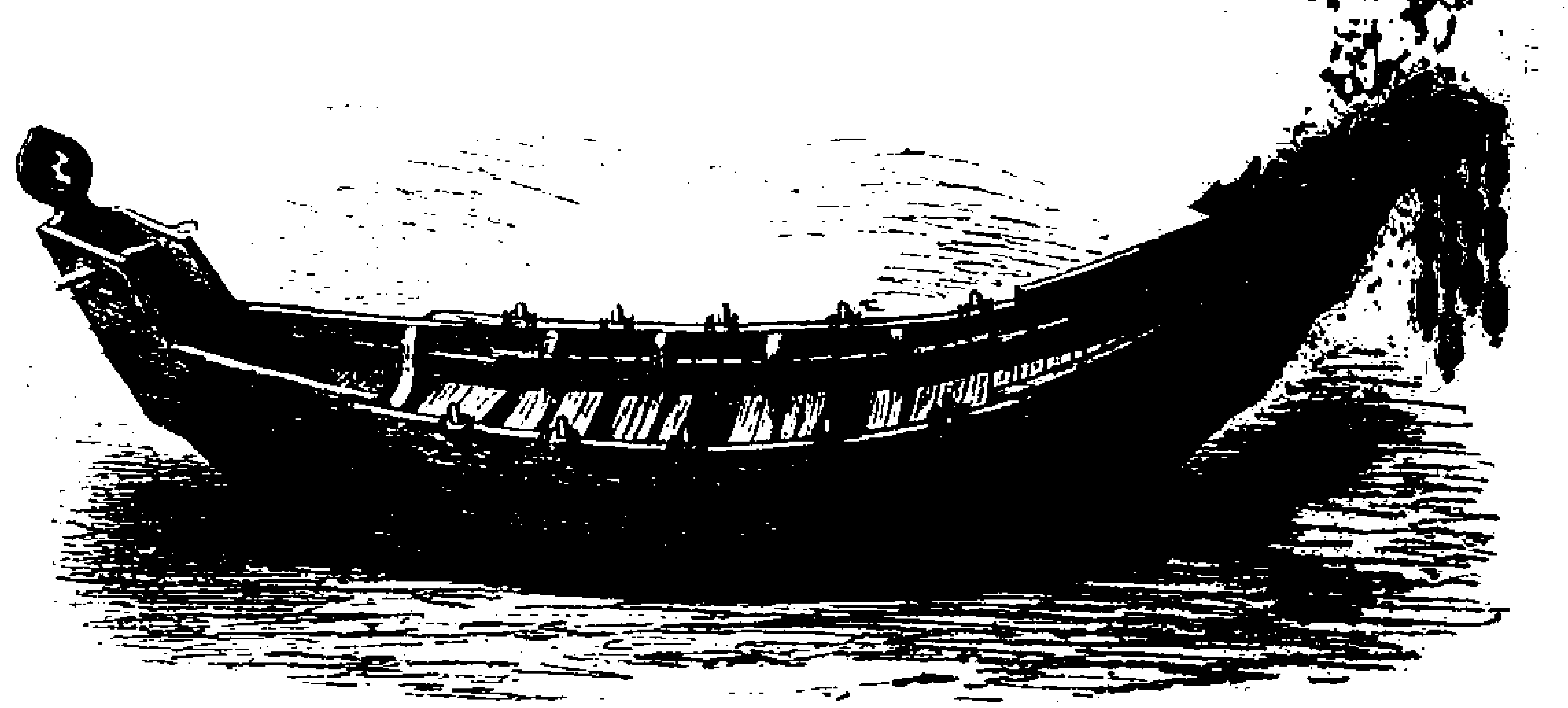


Aino fishing-boat. (After Von Siebold.)

the causes which have promoted Chinese emigration, as well as the facilities for intercourse, will only tend to strengthen, and since the demand for Chinese labourers, who are known to want less in the way of wages, food, and housing, will always increase, the number of emigrants will in the future grow ever higher. Ritter has expressed the opinion that the Chinese are not colonisers, the law forbidding emigrants to take their wives and children. But apart from the fact that in the children of Chinese by Malay, Mongol, or Manchu wives, the physical and intellectual characteristics of the father as a rule prevail over those of the mother, the emigration of Chinese women seems actually to be increasing. Emigration by families to Mongolia and Manchuria has become positively frequent.

Up to the beginning of our era only two trade-roads of any importance were known from China to the west; the southern through Tibet to India, the other by the Koko-Nor and Kashgar to the Pamir and Bactria. Since the colonies of China in Central Asia have begun to flourish, a third road, rather a military road than a trade-route, goes by Hami and north of the Celestial Mountains through Kuldja to Ili. Silk has spread westwards from India and Bactria. We find it in Babylon—Isaiah seems to refer to Chinese who brought silk—and even in Jerusalem. India, no doubt, also produces silk, but even in the Mahabhárata there is mention of foreign silk.

The direct intercourse of China with the west has never b[illegible] that with the east and south ; and in this lies the fact, so impo[illegible] history, of the separate development of the two great culture-re[illegible] Ritter has occupied himself much with the thought of how diff[illegible] been the course of the history of civilization if the Chinese and [illegible] had been able to come into more intimate contact. Would no[illegible] needle, paper, block-printing, gunpowder, to say nothing of porc[illegible] things, have made their way sooner to the west? China once ha[illegible] than it had at its first opening in the sixteenth century. Chri[illegible] Nestorian form, Islam, Judaism (by way of Persia), the total [illegible] development of occidental culture, were brought to China from [illegible] return China offered tea, silk, certain products of industry, and [illegible] of art, which have had less effect upon the artistic institutions of [illegible] than



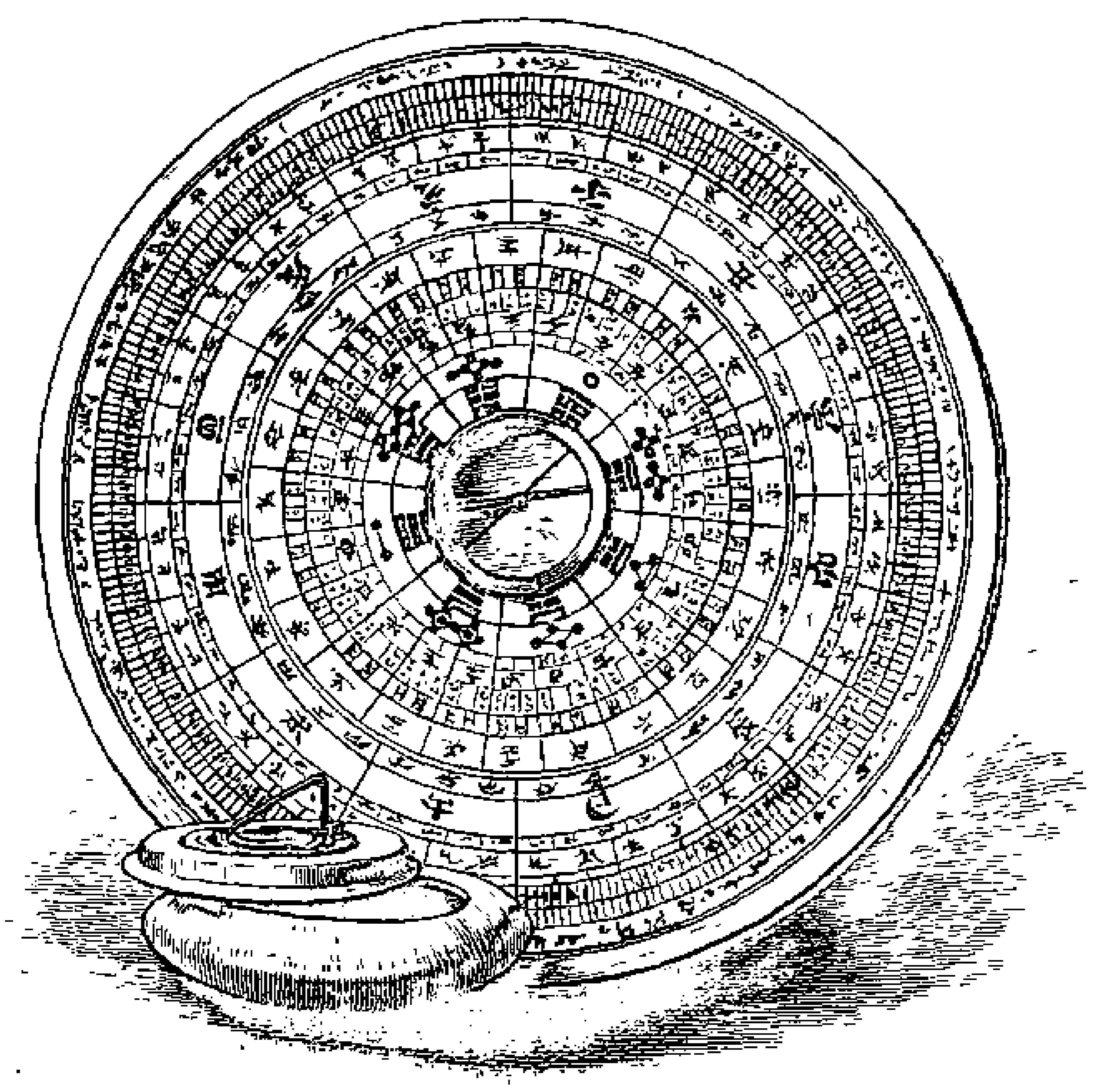
Aino tribute-boat. (After Von Siebold.)

those of Japan. However, the way is now laid for more intimate intercourse than formerly ; and people are already surmising that no contact of two great domains of culture has ever proved itself more efficacious than will some day be that of the west with the furthest east, with Eastern Asia, "that mighty central home," says Chevalier, "of activity, that inexhaustible source of industrious men, that great, frugal, sober, patient, indefatigable race." And we add, with the culture which, among all Asiatic developments, still stands the nearest to our own.

China needed renovation, for she is at present in a period of decay. Every step affords occasion for comparing the existing poverty and sloth of the people with their former better position. The time is gone by, though it is barely 100 years ago, when Staunton could point to the size and duration of the Chinese empire as the most sublime object of human contemplation. What remain of handsome edifices in towns and villages bear witness to a more fortunate era. Towards the end of the 'sixties, owing to the direct effects of ruinous civil war, the fine city of Nankin was almost depopulated. Pekin is now hardly more than the scene of continuing decay. The want of vitality in the forms of religion and government may pass as the inward causes of this ; but the exhaustion of the soil, the deterioration of the weather, rains becoming heavier and less frequent, the destruction of forests, the bad means of communication, the over-peopling, especially in some

northern provinces, must also be taken into account. In many parts 90 per cent of the adult population are victims to opium-smoking. To all this China can oppose the mass of her population, the magnitude of which, embraced within the frontiers of a single empire, and permeated by the same culture, is unexampled in history. Upon it rests, in the first instance, the hope for China, with her tenacity of life.

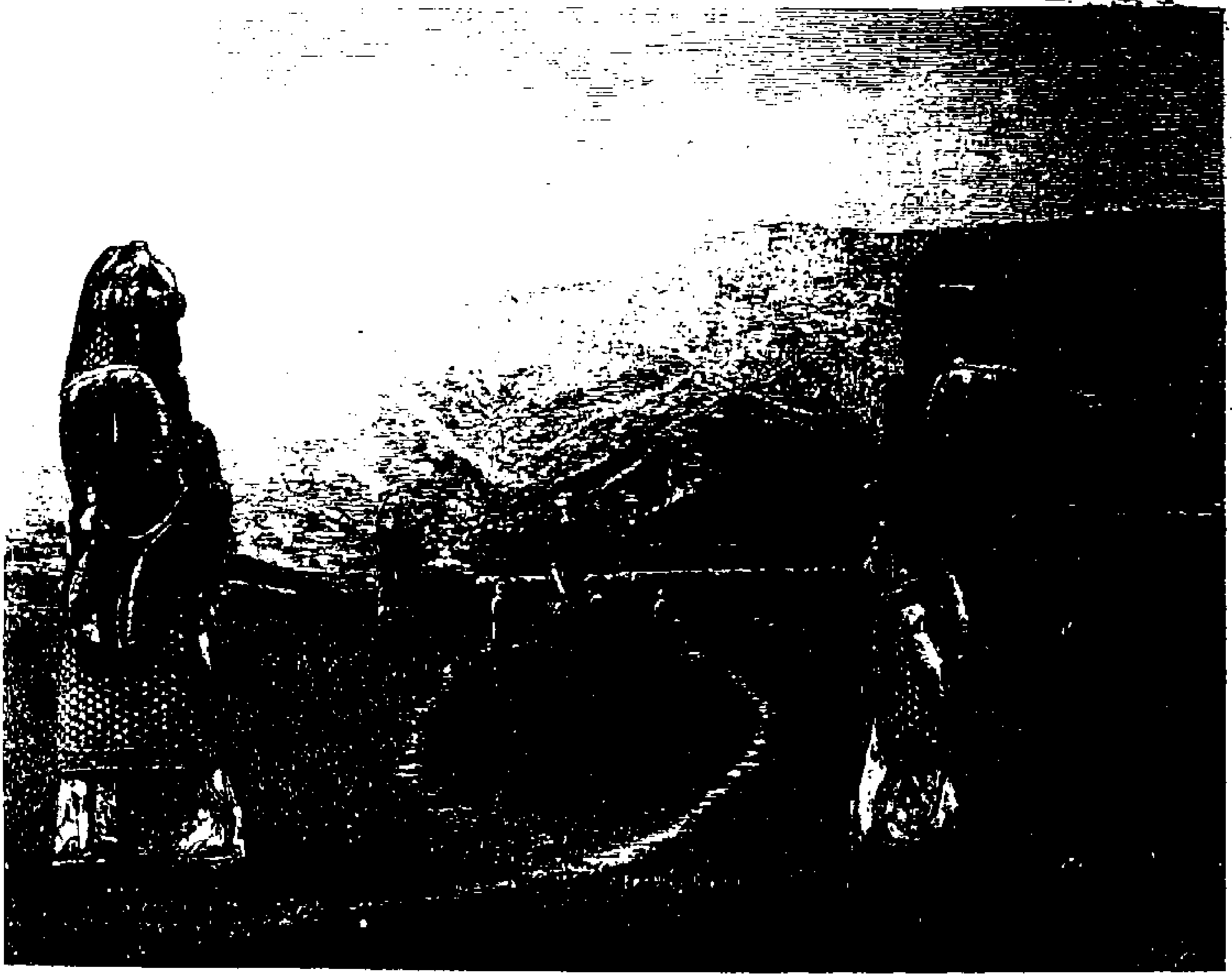
Japan, as regards its culture, is a genuine colony of China, but has at the same time kept itself so independent politically and economically, that, in spite of all "founder's kin," the Chinese have never atttained to any political or mercantile preponderance in the island kingdom. Thus Japan offers a picture of divergent behaviour; exclusive towards foreigners, it is more open to be impressed by and to adopt foreign ways than any other Mongolic stock. The ideal of all Eastern Asiatic states, insular exclusiveness and tranquil development, has been granted to Japan by nature. The beginnings of Chinese influence upon Japan lie in the same obscurity as the rest of early Japanese history. In the third century A.D. Japan sent envoys to Korea in search of men of education. They brought back one Onin or Bonin, a wise man of the imperial stock of China, who taught the writing and culture of his nation. The grateful Japanese in after times revered Bonin as a god. This sudden bringing into action of Chinese influence is certainly mythical. If Japan was the Fu-san of fable, it was known earlier to China. But the state of culture in Japan, before they went to school to China, was assuredly by no means so low as the mythic chronicle makes out. In the Japanese stock of culture we find things which are not traceable to China. It is indeed a question whether Chinese influence meant progress in all points. Thus Chinese writing in Korea and Japan seems to have been preceded by an older script similar to the present alphabetic writing of Korea; the Japanese call it "divine characters." In tradition a knot-writing even appears at the beginning of all things. Buddhism was probably introduced A.D. 543; the doctrine of Confucius is said to have reached Japan much earlier. Expounders of Confucius were to be found as court functionaries at the Shogun's court. Japanese also contains Chinese words, but in no greater quantity than Arabic words have been diffused by the Koran. Most Chinese influences, according to tradition, reached Japan by way of Korea. The structure of the internal administration, which betrays Chinese traces in the very names of the various



Chinese compass, after European model.
(Munich Ethnographic Museum.)

officials, no less than in the medical notions and remedies, together [illegible] amount of industrial knowledge, points to China. Exclusion grew [illegible] this long and profitable connexion. Since the war waged by the [illegible] Taikosama in 1592, with little result, against Korea and China, the [illegible] civilized realms never came into actual conflict, but they drew [illegible] further apart, although their roads crossed at many points from [illegible] to Formosa, until the sense of force welled up in Japan, rejuvenated [illegible] European and North American lines, and brought about the recent collision which so suddenly revealed the rottenness of China.

Once Japan took very different strides to those of its centuries of exclusive-

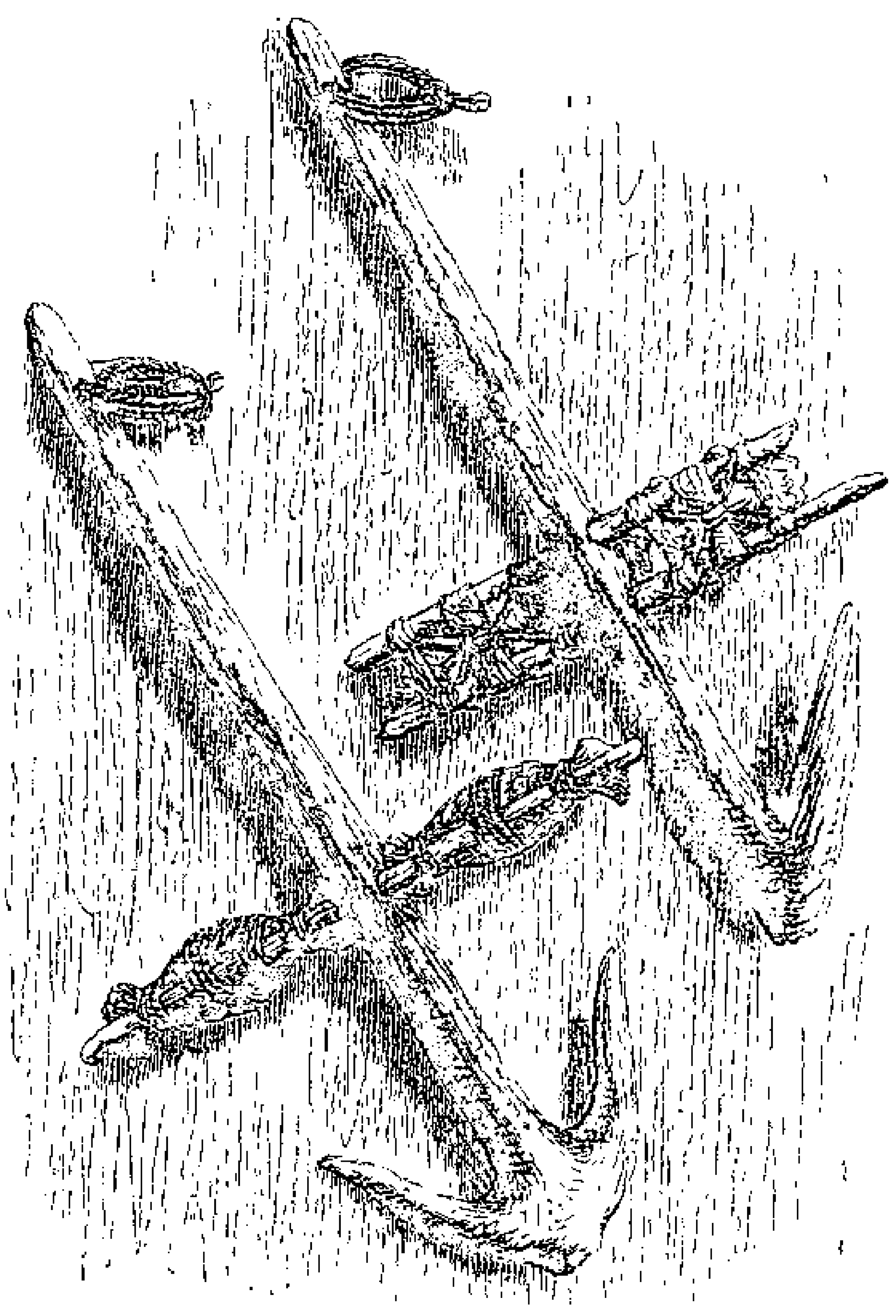


Approach to the kings' tombs near Shehol. (From a photograph.)

ness; formerly, indeed, a far brisker impulse towards foreign parts seems to have been natural to it than was the case with China. The Japanese have traded with China, Cochin China, Java, Cambodia. They appear in the Philippines by the end of the sixteenth century, and the Dutch found a Japanese settlement at Kesho in Annam. Japanese are said to have been fighting in the service of Siam in the seventeenth century. When, under the Mongols and the Ming dynasty, China forbad its subjects to make long voyages for purposes of trade, the Japanese took to smuggling and piracy far up the navigable rivers, becoming as great a scourge to the country as the Normans were in the early middle ages to Europe. The prohibition to build ships other than for the coasting-trade, which paralysed all larger expeditions in the seventeenth century, and caused the loss of Loochoo and the transference of Formosa to Chinese hands, may have been connected with

this, or only with the wish for political exclusiveness. The Japanese have referred to relations with America, since their vessels were often driven ashore on the north-west American coast. As to the possibility or probability of such relations see vol. i. p. 164.

The fundamental point in the foreign history of Japan, till the war-year 1894, is the close connection with Korea. Japanese history in earlier times is by no means limited to the islands, but comprehends parts of that country. Korea has always stood in some close relation to Japan, if not always a peaceable one. Once again, as 300 years ago, a considerable trading colony has settled on Korean soil, equipped this time with the resources of European culture, so that Japan has appeared as the bearer of western improvements. Looking to the peculiar position of Korea towards China, political relations of a more intimate kind could not exist; since the unsuccessful war of Taikosama, the presents of Korea to Japan had been only testimonies of friendship, and rested on reciprocity. The pressure of China on the little peninsular kingdom has been more energetic. For two centuries Korea has been a subject state, tributary to China, but within these limits independent.[1] In recent years the Chinese have remembered their old formal connection with Korea, and tried to adopt an intermediary position between that country and European powers, at first successfully. Formerly a neutral frontier zone, 35 to 60 miles wide, separated the two territories. At the entrance of China, where all settlement was forbidden on pain of death, stood the Kaolimon gate, a small guard-house, with a passage for one Chinese cart. Traffic was permitted here only in April, June, and October. The famine of 1877 drove a number of poor Chinese from Pechili and Shan-si into Manchuria, and prevented the filling-up of this frontier tract.



Aino wooden anchor, weighted with stone—one-fourth real size. (After von Siebold.)

Non-political Chinese influences do not seem to have penetrated any deeper in recent times. Yet a knowledge of Chinese is not rare among the population of Korea, while that of the Chinese character is even universal. Korean young people get their first instruction from the Chinese *Book of the Thousand Characters*. Korea, like China and Japan, is predominantly a rice-growing country, but, owing to its hilly nature, not very fertile. It exports to China hides, ginseng, silk from wild silkworms, silk stuffs, paper, metals, receiving chiefly the products of Chinese industry and agriculture. It testifies its intellectual dependence on China by an

[1] [Korea is now, by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), wholly independent of China.]

annual ceremony of fetching the Pekin calendar. When the French were reconnoitring the Han-kiang they found on the island of Kanghoa, besides a quantity of weapons, a library of Chinese works and a map of China. The doctrine of Confucius has taken deep root in Korea, while that of Buddha has developed more freely in Japan.

Thus Korea, like Japan, flourished as a colony of Chinese culture, but has remained far behind Japan politically and ethnographically, though nearer to the great continental empire. After Korea had waged its wars with China and Japan, it, like Japan, closed itself so entirely to the outer world, that when intercourse with the latter country was resumed, the only fishing-boats in the whole country were wretched things like those of the Ainos. Exclusion was carried out more consistently here than in Japan; and on this account Korea was called the one amongst all barbarian countries most endowed with reason and virtue. The Japanese envoy Kaidzu relates how stones stood all about the country on which was inscribed a decree, not to quarrel with foreigners. "If their grandchildren observe the like, Korea will always belong to the Koreans." Our interest in Korea and its people rests in great measure on the fact that owing to this exclusiveness alone old China, as it was before the Manchu supremacy, has been preserved in Korea; even Korean Chinese stands much nearer to the old-fashioned Southern Chinese.

In the north of the domain of Eastern Asiatic culture, the remains of two races still subsist, which participated decisively in building up the nations and empires of China and Japan. Their places of abode, pushed back and contracted, lie in the Amoor district and the islands off its coast. When the Russians reached that river in 1650, they found solitary forests, wherein Tungoose hunters roamed. Kang-hi was the first to found a settlement of Mongolian and Chinese soldiers at the confluence of the Zeya. Meanwhile the Russians had set an active colonisation on foot, which seemed to be fast pressing back the 20,000 Tungooses. But climate and soil were less favourable to the enterprise than was at first believed, and to this day the nomads have remained in practical possession. A civilized branch of them exists in the present rulers of China—the Manchus—who were originally seated on the Sungari and its tributaries. The extreme north-east of the country is inhabited by the Gilyaks, in the delta of the Amoor and the bordering coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk; the northern half of Saghalien seems to have belonged to them. The Ainos occupy the southern half of that island, as well as the south-eastern part of the Amoor country—Yezo and the Kuriles. That the population of this territory was formerly under conditions of culture very different from those of the time of their first meeting with Europeans, conditions which were obviously affected both by China and by Japan, is shown by numerous historical traces on the Lower Amoor and on Saghalien, utensils of ordinary stone and flint, of forms like their European equivalents. The flint must have come from abroad, and the tools of obsidian also testify to relations with the inhabitants of Kamchatka or the Kuriles. A quantity of sherds of simple earthenware vessels are found also, and remains of human habitations; round caverns excavated in the earth, like the dwellings of the Kamchadales, with bones of bears, dogs, and other beasts close by, as to-day they are by the Aino huts.

The older Manchus, formerly settled in the modern Manchuria, make their appearance in Chinese annals as shifting peoples who had acquired the means

[illegible] of nomadism from the Mongols, perhaps also undergone frequent [illegible] these, whose outliers extend as far as the Amoor basin. They did [illegible] become Mongols. The progress and success of Chinese colonisation [illegible] is much more due to the circumstance that the Manchus are rough, [illegible] and good-natured. Their teachableness and capacity for adapting [illegible] has been compared with that of the Japanese. The Nyuché race, [illegible] erected his empire on the ruins of that of Khitan, seems already to have [illegible] susceptibility of Chinese culture. When a veritable interchange of

Aino huts, with frames for drying fish. (From a photograph by the late Herr von Siebold.)

races set in with the Manchurian conquest of China, those races who had held wide predominance fell back so quickly into the obscurity of a life without a history as nomads and hunters, that the connection of the later Manchus with the fallen Nyuchés was obscured. It has been seen that before this time Chinese elements had implanted themselves in the peoples beyond the Liao-ho, which may explain the rapidity with which they became Chinese. At any rate, by the tenth century, when the empire of Khitan, which afterwards embraced a large part of China, and gave the name "Cathay," arose in Southern Manchuria, numerous Chinese, mostly prisoners of war, were transported as colonists to Manchuria.

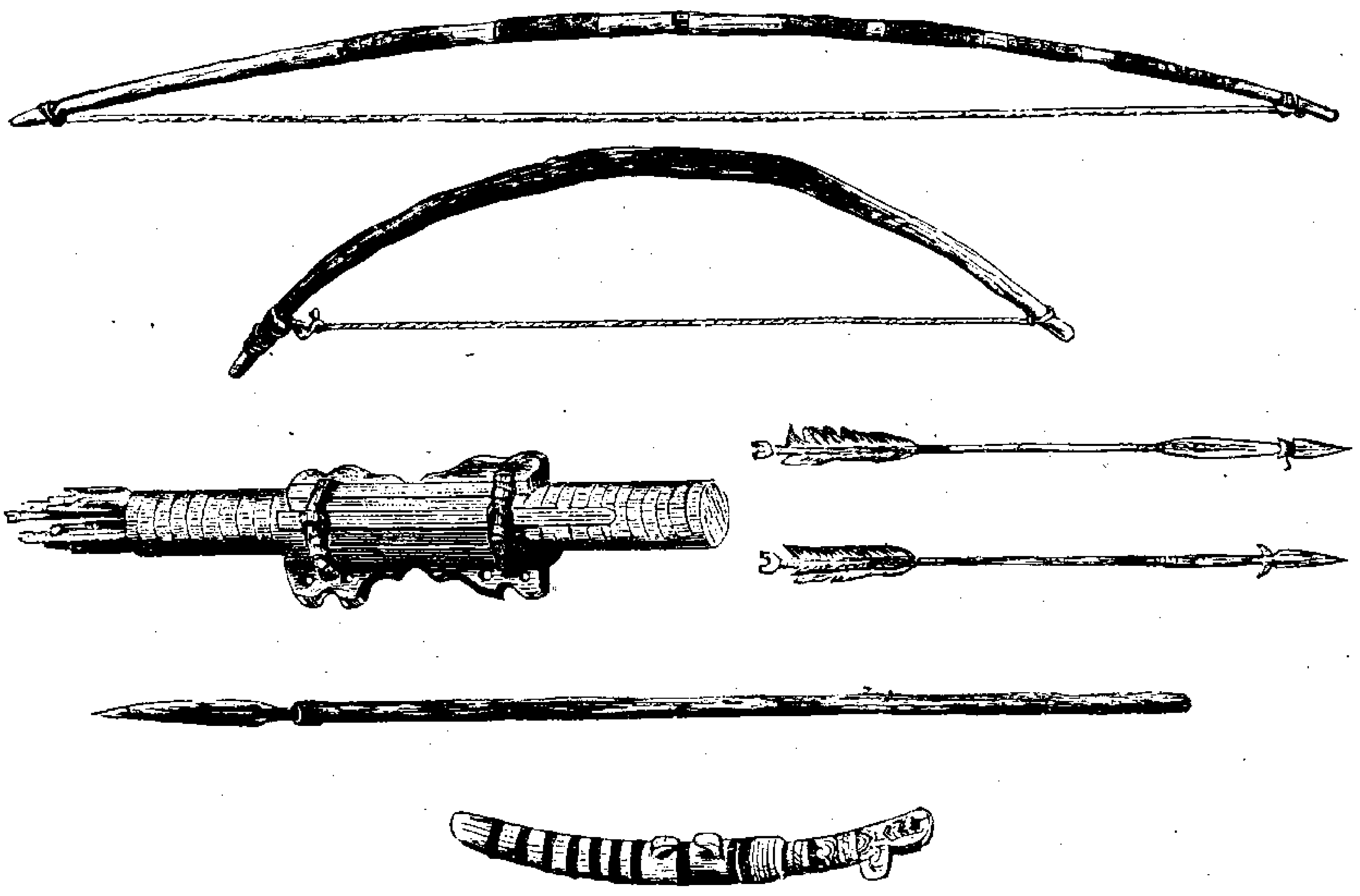
When in 1644 the conquering horde of Tungoose-Mongols had established itself in China as "Manchus," at once began a twofold stream of migration—Manchus going to China, and Chinese to Manchuria. It has had the effect of causing the Manchus to be rapidly vanishing as a separate race, while Manchuria

is filled up with ten or eleven millions of Chinese. The country which, so far as its southern half goes, is comparable to North China for fertility, had lost a great part of its population, drawn after the sun of the new dynasty into China. The government now aided the colonisation by large penal colonies. Even now one can distinguish the offspring of people from Yunnan, who were banished after the collapse of the insurrection, and obtained land, in some cases charged with the duty of keeping up posting-stations for the service of the imperial mails. The Manchus were pushed ever further northward, so far as they did not enter into alliances with the colonists, to whom, since 1887, the country has been quite open. Even thirty years ago purely Manchu places had become rare in the parts about Mookden. The Chinese have succeeded in thrusting themselves into the most influential posts. Still the aristocracy has reserved to itself privileges in the possession of land and in the administration, so that the extent of the estates held free of taxation by the Manchu excites the discontent of the Chinese. But these aristocrats have learnt Chinese, and send their children to the Chinese schools which have been founded and well provided with teachers by the immigrants. The Manchus do not think of that kind of thing. It is characteristic of all Manchurian towns in the north of Mookden, that the city proper is rather a fortress inhabited almost entirely by soldiers and officials, while the suburbs consist of wooden huts. The villages are on the average smaller than in China.

In freedom from the fetters of the paternal governments on either side, there have sprung up in the frontier zone between Russia and China conditions of national life of a very peculiar kind, repeating in an Eastern Asiatic variety the independence and lawlessness of the far west of North America. Of late quite a little robber nation, known as the Chunchoos, has developed itself from the workers in the illicit gold-washings and other desperadoes. These people, being audacious and excellently armed, stand in suspicious relations to the settled Chinese, or rather Man-tse, who act for them as fences and harbourers, spies, purveyors of provisions, and traders generally. So far the Russians have not got to the root of this mischief, since it is always finding lurking-places and fresh recruits on the other side of the frontier, where it is not followed up with the same energy. They have only put difficulties in the way of Chinese immigration into East Siberia, which was assuming threatening dimensions.

The limits of Chinese expansion northwards are formed by the sea and by the edge of the primeval forest solitudes, with which the Amoor country from the Lower Usuri and Sungari is covered. Any advance they have made into those dreary regions has not been due to the adventurous charm of hunting fur-bearing animals, such as has carried the Russians all over Northern Asia, but the wretched occupation of digging for roots. When they have settled near the sea, the attraction was the collecting of holothurians and seaweed. During all the time of their supremacy on the Amoor, they never laid hands on Saghalien; yet that island lying immediately off the mouth of the Amoor must have appeared to the Chinese as a desirable possession, and as an essential protection had their colonial policy been as energetic and far-sighted as it is clever and persistent. No doubt they tried to exercise some suzerainty over the Ainos of Saghalien; but they owned no permanent colony on the island. On the other hand, the Japanese, as the real lords of the Ainos, long maintained a firm settlement in the south of it.

The first Europeans who visited Yezo, Saghalien, and the Kuriles found Japanese goods among the Ainos; and Japanese productions reached St. Petersburg at the end of the last century. From Japanese sources we know that the Kuriles, only five of which were still inhabited in 1875,—Saghalien, too, contains not more than 2000 Ainos,—used formerly to barter beaver and fox skins, thongs of seal's hide, feathers for arrows, and other things for Japanese manufactured goods, silks, vessels of porcelain and iron. Even Yezo, the real Aino country of the Japanese, is for climatic reasons not fitted for a dense population. Here the number of Ainos was stated by Kreitner in 1881 at 27,000; but in 1891 the total population of the island amounted to 294,000. The Ainos, who in the



Aino bows, arrows, quiver, and hunting-knife. (After von Siebold.)

'seventies still touched the coast about Sapporo, are now surrounded by a ring of Japanese settlements. History, poetry, painting, sculpture, even romance, in Japan are quite clear as to the population that preceded the present. The strong, muscular, hairy body of the Aino, his long coal-black beard, his wild hair, his rude manners are a favourite subject of representation. In Japanese fancy he stands for the type of an earlier, ruder type of humanity.[1] The consciousness of being quite different makes them regard these ancestors with a kind of playful humour, not unmixed with self-complacency. The distribution of the Ainos in North Japan, whither they were forced back within historical times, between the second and eleventh centuries A.D., indicates that they once extended further south; and they have been seen even in the Osos of Kuishiu. Stone Age remains, however, have so far yielded nothing characteristically Aino; they may just as well be Polynesian, as has already indeed been suggested in Japan.

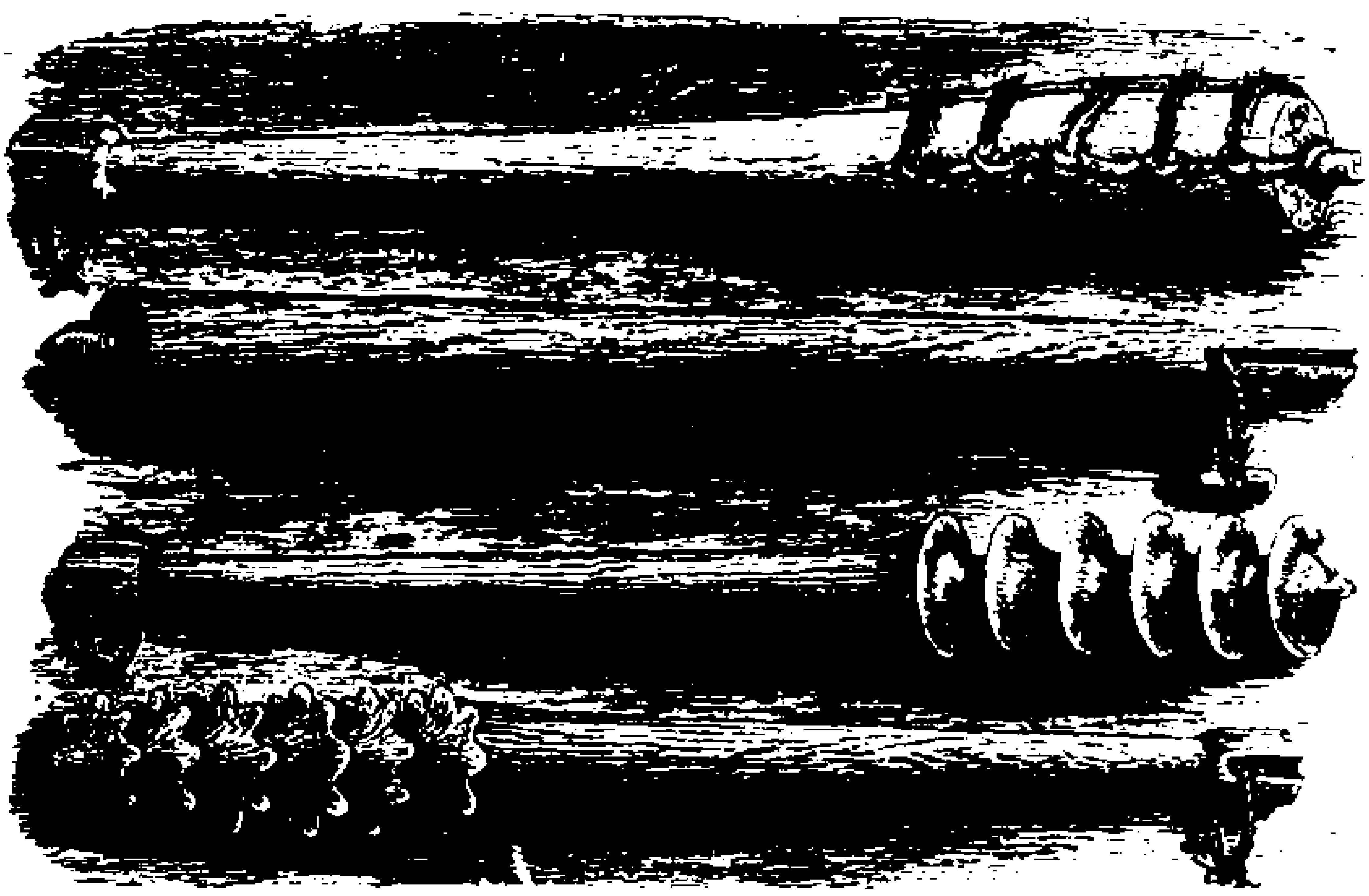
[1] The name has been interpreted by some as = archer; by others as a contemptuous corruption of *inu*, dog. Formerly the Japanese called them Emisu or Ebishu, barbarians: or simply Yezo.

Without doubt the Ainos show physical differences from the Japanese, but not seem to be fashioned with complete uniformity among themselves. One type is said to be of small stature and essentially Mongoloid, another to be taller, reaching nearly 5 ft. 9 in., and approaching the Caucasian racial character. In this variety Von Schenk and others see the result of the blending of Mongols with long-skulled "Palæasiatics." The colour is the same as in light Japanese. Genuine Mongol physiognomies are met with beside pure Caucasian. The hairiness so much talked of is not an all-pervading race characteristic. It is stronger than among Europeans, and thus much stronger than among the Japanese; but for this very reason has been exaggerated by them. Spanberg called the Ainos "hairy all over," and spoke of their hairy skin, by which they might be distinguished from the Kurile Islanders. Resemblances to Ainos can be traced not only in the Kuriles and Saghalien, but on the Lower Amoor and to the south point of Kamchatka. Linguistically they are most closely connected with the Goldis and Gilyaks on the Lower Amoor, of whose ornamental themes those of the Ainos, akin to those of Old Japan, are clearly echoes. The conspicuous features in the Aino character are good-nature and honesty. They are lacking in industry, but not in talents. They are extraordinarily dirty.

Among the Aino women tattooing is universal. Many faces are disfigured by a stripe across the bridge of the nose, connecting the eyebrows. Hands and arms are tattooed without exception; a bit being added to the arms every year—in the case of girls, till marriage. Japanese razors serve as tattooing instruments. Men shave their foreheads from the time of maturity; both sexes wear side-locks. The Japanese customs of shaving the eyebrows and blackening the teeth are unknown to the Ainos. Women wear fillets, men on festive occasions peculiar crowns of bark with carved bears' and owls' heads, bears' claws, etc., hanging from them. Large earrings of silver or tin, silver neck-pendants, like that shown on p. 438, and often clasps of brass soldered round the arm, form the women's finery. Clothing consists in the warm season of home-woven bast-cloth, in winter of skins; a long coat with a jacket under it, tight trousers, and shoes of hide or salmon-skin. The men, when they go out, gird a strap of hide about them, in which is always stuck a dagger with a wooden handle, in a wooden sheath. Children go quite naked in the huts, but grown-up people have a great dread of being seen even by the sky in a nude state. Festal garments, especially those of men, are ornamented with curious embroidered patterns, in the execution of which the women show dexterity and taste. Among these garments is a longish apron of blue cotton cloth, worked with designs in red and white thread, which is fastened to the girdle. A bridegroom gives his bride festal robes and large silver earrings. Cast-off Japanese finery is sent for sale to Yezo.

The Ainos shoot poisoned arrows from small gnarled bows of yew, stringing the bow in a different way from the Japanese. With the same bows they arm their crossbow-like arrow-traps. The poison for the arrows used to be taken from the Japanese monkshood, and was said to kill a bear in ten minutes from the infliction of the wound; but the Japanese government discourages its use. The arrow-heads as a rule consist of bamboo, but are also hammered from the brass bowls of Japanese tobacco-pipes. The quivers are of wood, covered with bark, and look like pen-cases. Swords, more often of wood than of iron, seem to have been brought from Japan.

[illegible] huts are as a rule set upon short posts, and are roomier and more [illegible] than those of many Japanese peasants. The framework of the [illegible] the walls is filled in within and without with rushes, like the steep [illegible] Along the walls are raised couches covered with hide; in the centre, in a [illegible] hollow, is the hearth. There is no lack of small windows; a door leads through a dark roofed porch into the open air. The lamp, made of a mussel-shell with cotton wick, recalls that of the Eskimo. Fire is now made with flint and steel, touchwood serving for tinder. Near the living-hut is the store-hut, which occurs in a similar form on the Bonin and Loochoo Islands. Utensils and vessels seem mostly to be coarse imitations of Japanese types. On the largest of the Kuriles, Etorofu, we find the greatest skill in carved work.



Aino clubs. (After von Siebold.)

Pottery, and the preparation and forging of metals, are unknown to the Ainos; what metal they use, Japan sends them. Their boats consist of hollow tree-stems, the sides being raised with planks. The anchor is a wooden hook weighted with stones. For fishing they have hooks, nets, harpoons with poisoned brass heads. Everything belonging to their nets of lime-bast, and the tools for the manufacture of them, are Japanese. The river-fishery is productive, possessing in the salmon an almost inexhaustible source of food; while on the coast the abundance is so great that in the fishing-season a regular exodus takes place from the main island of Japan to Yezo, to pass a few lucrative weeks in catching and preparing fish and boiling down oil. Saghalien and the Kurile Islands no less than Yezo are of special importance to Japan as fishing-grounds. For the northern Ainos, and those in the mountains, hunting is the chief source of food. Kreitner describes four-fifths of the island as wooded, and estimates the number of bears killed every year at 50,000! The only domestic animal is one used in the chase, the large shaggy yellow dog. The dogs of the Aino Island, whose size is renowned by the Japanese, are said to be near akin to those which draw the sledges of the Ainos on the Lower Amoor. They are used in hunting; also in fishing from rafts.

Yezo is within the range of agriculture; but except in the wide plain of

Satsuporo, cultivated tracts are not found save on the coast. The dense primeval forests, a tangle of undergrowth and creepers, are hard to clear. The chief objects of cultivation are millet and tobacco, also beans, cucumbers, gourds, and turnips. The implements are simple; the mattock-like plough, made of wood, hardly deserves its name. In the diet of the Ainos millet plays a part approximating to that of rice in Japan: but with it they partake of meat and fish in larger quantities than the Japanese. One edible seaweed, it is said a wrack, is mentioned as a delicacy; also kinds of fungus. They used formerly to pay their tribute to Japan in hides and fish. They also eat with relish a greasy clay, which is flavoured with the bulb of a wild lily.

Women are held in more respect among the Ainos than by the Chinese and Japanese. No man may marry before his twenty-first year, and must always obtain permission from the chief. Polygamy is said to occur only among the chiefs. Any son whom the father chooses is the heir. Life is embellished and alleviated by hospitality and politeness; and finds its culminating point in village-carouses on rice-spirit. There seems to have been nothing like a regular constitution before the people became vassals to Japan. A specimen of their marks of ownership, resembling writing, is given vol. i. p. 34 (where it is the horizontal, not, as there stated, the vertical series).

§ 21. THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN ASIA

Physical nature, mental and moral qualities—Alleged homogeneity of the Chinese race—North and South Chinese—Puntis, Hakkas, and Hoklos in Kwang-tung—The Japanese; finer and robuster types—Aino and Malay elements—Koreans—People of Further India—Mongol, Indian, and Malay elements—(The so-called "savages" of Further India)—Migration from the north, and to the coast.

THE three countries of Eastern Asia—China, Korea, and Japan—are, as a rule, on ethnographical maps coloured in the same way as the Mongols of Central Asia. Does not history indeed show us influxes of the Central Asian nomads into the lowlands of China, halting only at the sea, and casting their waves as far as Further India, Formosa, and Japan? Yet it cannot escape a careful observer that it is impossible to conceive that a race so skilled in navigation as the Malays, with its seats extending as far as Formosa, could have subsisted without some expansion towards the north. We shall thus have to consider, on grounds of anthropology and geography, the possibility of a twofold origin for the peoples of this district.

Racial elements other than Mongolic have so far never been pointed out in the wide circuit of the Chinese empire; but also they have hardly been looked for. Yet it is hardly permissible to conceive these three or four hundred millions of human beings as one quite uniform mass, their slanting eyes, broad faces, straight black hair, round heads, and medium stature, excluding all individual peculiarities. We shall first have to ask ourselves, How much of the Chinese uniformity is based on similarity of culture and political idea—is, in short, of an intellectual nature? The colour of the skin certainly varies from one zone to another. In Northern China the children have rosy cheeks, and even in old people the face has a pink glow; while in the South the corn-yellow of the

[illegible] verges towards brown. In the south, again, the breed is smaller [illegible] north, where it includes a large number of tall men, giants occurring [illegible] there. The general manner of the Pe-chili people is sharply contrasted by [illegible] roughness from that of the friendly little people of Shan-si. A traveller of tall stature, fair and fresh-coloured, in Chinese dress, can pass undiscovered much more easily in North than in South China. On the other hand it would be much harder to detect a Siamese or an Annamite in the south. Besides climatic causes, social also should be taken into calculation. China, too, has its aristocratic type, with curved nose, narrow eyes, thin lips; the most refined Japanese excels him in a yet longer face and larger eyes. On the other hand, the lower, labouring classes show flatter, more debased features, which in the south even recall Malays. Here, however, the difference is at most one of culture, with its reaction on the bodily frame, issuing ultimately in the "butcher-like" aspect of the red-faced, hard-bitten Mongol when compared with the round-shouldered Chinese, weakened by industrial labour and opium, or in some circumstances refined. We have to take note of existing divergencies, based perhaps only on historical and economic causes, but possibly also covering physical differences. In the single province of Kwang-tung there live three stocks, keeping as much as possible aloof from one another — the Puntis (natives), Hakkas (immigrants), and Hoklos, whose dialects stand to each other as German, Dutch, and Danish. The 21,000,000 of Puntis take the lead in all offices—in trade, industry, husbandry. Their villages show more prosperity than those of the Hakkas and Hoklos. Their women mostly have mutilated feet, while those of the others are in their natural state. Their fields are in the fertile plain, those of the Hakkas more on hills and mountain slopes. The Hakkas, some 4,000,000, are said to have immigrated among the Puntis, and so as later comers they have not a favourable position. Yet they are the stronger, the more energetic; in the colonies they make themselves of more account than others, and in Formosa particularly have pushed farthest into the territory of the hill-tribes. A great many of the Hakkas wander about the country, and hire themselves out as labourers of every kind. Among them the Christian missionaries make the most numerous proselytes. The third element in the population of Kwang-tung, the 3,000,000 Hoklos, are immigrants from the province of Fu-kian, live mostly on the coast, and occupy themselves in fishing and farming. They are the darkest and strongest of the Southern Chinese. Nearest to them, according to Chinese tradition, stand the Tankas, numbering 40,000 souls, who live on boats and pile-dwellings in the Canton River. The men are ferrymen, wharf-labourers, and the like, the women row pleasure-boats.

A young Chinese. (From a photograph.)

In the Chinese colonies the subdivision of this gigantic mass of peo[illegible] conspicuous, though often only sharp observation can make sure of th[illegible] difference. In Singapore the Chinese of Fu-kian stand highest as th[illegible] most respectable merchants. Those from Canton are next to them [illegible] Those from Macao stand far lower; but what the colony least want[illegible] those who come in the largest masses, the dwellers on the coast of Kwang[illegible]

Japanese [illegible], the companion of the late Col. von Siebold. (From a photograph in the Ethnographic Museum, Munich.)

Last of all come the Chinese creoles, half-bred Malays, who speak Malay, and, as a rule, Chinese, and learn English quicker than the Chinese of pure blood.

In general the Japanese are of lighter colour than other Eastern Asiatics, not rarely showing that transparent pink tint which white men assume as their own privilege. In the lower classes, especially in the northern part of the Archipelago, darker tints prevail, often suggesting the Malay, and therewith goes a stouter build, with coarser bones. The Japanese, however, sees the ideal of his breed in fair skin, dark sleek hair, and slender figure. Wide divergence from this makes him readily suspect foreign admixture. Thus curly, even wavy, hair is looked

upon as vulgar, that is as a sign of a strain of Aino blood. But even to a foreign observer it will only be at the first glance that the Japanese people will look homogeneous. Bordier assumes no less than six strains, to explain the various Japanese types, among them Negritoes, and, "above all," Malays. For the mulatto-like cast of many Japanese faces the following story speaks. Broca noticed among his students a little yellow, dark-haired man, very quiet and industrious. "Are you not a Japanese?" he asked him. "No, I am from Brazil, but I have often been taken for a Japanese in Paris." Social influences, too, must not be overlooked in a people where classes have long been strictly divided. In the upper class the figure is rather fine and slender than stalwart; but the slight girlish forms, with inturned knees and stooping carriage, which in Europe are taken as representative of the Japanese race, must not blind us to the fact that in the middle and lower classes a muscular, even stalwart, build is common, made yet more conspicuous by putting on fat.

The Yetas or Yetoris, like the casteless Pariahs of India and South Arabia, excluded from all association with the rest of the people, are regarded as hereditarily unclean. They slaughter animals, or flay those that have died, which makes them unclean; and until Buddhist influence had prohibited the consumption of the flesh of domestic animals, they were refused admission to all consecrated places. No one will share quarters or fire with them. They collect in villages of their own, where they pass a melancholy despised life in disreputable occupations.

Skull-measurement is thought to have recognised Malayo-Polynesian elements in small narrow Japanese skulls. The differences in physiognomy are more readily seized. A coarser type with low forehead, flat nose with wide nostrils, large-lipped, wide mouth, and powerful jaw, appears beside a more refined type with oval face, eyes narrower and more oblique, finer nose, and smaller mouth. This, in a conventional exaggeration, is found in all the pictures representing Japanese ladies of the higher classes, while we meet with the other in pictures from lower walks of life, and also in representations of great warriors. Where the finer type comes up in men, it is apt to appear with a girlish cast of feature; but that charming intellectual expression which, coupled with great mobility, so often distinguishes the Japanese physiognomy, is also special to it. Baelz's interesting observation that Japanese regularly took the photographs of Annamites for those of their own countrymen points to relation in another direction.

In the ethnographic domain, Malay affinities are to be found above all in the house. Among the Japanese, just as among Malays and Polynesians, the fundamental idea is the pile-structure, with its framework held together only by ties. In the Japanese house, too, the roof is a subject of loving treatment; it is large and heavy. Latrines, built bridgewise over streams, and therefore called "river-houses," may likewise be noted as a Japanese and Malay peculiarity. Rein found the Hawaiian *lome-lome*, or "massage," quite similar to the *amma* of the Japanese, only that in the former case it is performed by girls, in the latter by old men. The *odori* dance, which might once be seen at Nagasaki, is in its more indecent form in no way behind the *hula-hula* of the same Polynesians. The love of weapons and of luxury, the passion for cock-fighting, the richness of the language in vowels, have also been claimed as legacies from the Malays. Finely wrought arrow-heads, especially of obsidian, such as are found in Japan, have also been ascribed to Polynesian origin. Also the ancient

Japanese bow, like many implements of agriculture and other indus[illegible] to the south.

On these facts is based the assumption of the strong representation [illegible] elements in the people of Japan. That sea-faring Malays came to the [illegible] that country is probable, considering their wide distribution from Mada[illegible] Easter Island. Here they might exercise influence upon the nature of the to[illegible]

Koreans. (From a photograph.)

population, while on the opposite continent they were submerged in the races of the interior, descending from the west in ever-renewed floods, and rapidly multiplying in the fertile lowlands. Nor can it be concealed that reasons connected with the geographical situation are in their favour. An ocean-current from the Philippines, touching Kiusiu, Sikok, Nippon, Yezo; the south-west monsoon; lastly, the chain of islands, Luzon, the Babuyans, Formosa, Miyako, would have facilitated the journey. Involuntary landings on the part of foreign vessels often take place along the far-stretching coasts of Japan. In Kämpfer's time there was in Nagasaki a special officer for receiving and looking after shipwricked mariners.

The Koreans, again, are among the most varying groups of the Mongol type in China and Japan. Even among the very best classes, nay, among the Korean envoys, members of the royal family, who not long ago were staying at Tokio, the refined Chinese face, with curved nose and slanting eyes, might be seen beside the Hun physiognomy and the Malay features. The Caucasian type, testified to by former observers, Baelz at any rate professes not to have seen; but he confirms the assertion, often made by Japanese, that the Loochoo Islanders are strikingly like Koreans. Among more than a hundred of them he never saw but one type —brownish, or dark yellow colour, long face, thick, long, mostly somewhat convex nose, stronger beard than in the Japanese.

Even yet the judgment of Europeans about the civilized countries of Eastern Asia is hardly made up. Before the seventeenth century exaggerated notions prevailed of the great empire which legend had already advanced with fabulous wealth and a kindly and upright population. The Jesuits, who from the sixteenth century were in a position to see deeper, had to believe the best, for the very reason that they set great hopes on the conversion of the people to Christianity. The population, of all classes, met them with childlike confidence. Xavier praised the steadfast friendship of the Japanese as one of their chief virtues. Others, again, when they reached the most flourishing parts of Siberia, or got beyond Canton, saw much in the way of traffic, industry, wealth, and dense population, which Europe at that time could not offer in its most advanced regions. China and Japan were actually the only civilized countries outside Europe. Those merchants, who after the opening of the treaty ports in 1842 came into contact with Eastern Asiatics, found themselves disappointed in China. Much wealth, indeed was amassed; the opium trade, which Lord Elgin called "a lazy business, the evil effects of which can hardly be overestimated, equally debasing for producer, trader, customs-officer, and purchaser," especially brought in enormous gains. In production, even in the difficult times of the Taiping rebellion, the Chinese were equal to all-demands. But that they presumed to compete, and that successfully, with European trade was a thing to revolt the heart of every true shopkeeper. The limitation to a few coast-towns, agreeably to the traditional self-sufficing policy of this "world by itself," which hit Tibetans and Koreans no less hard than Europeans, increased the exasperation. Strong disapproval of everything Chinese became the fashion. The trading communities of Hongkong and Shanghai, characterised acutely enough by Lord Elgin when he said that from the talk of his countrymen he had got the general impression that "our trade is conducted on principles dishonourable towards the Chinese, and demoralising to our own people," had got the policy too much into their hands. Since 1860, and the publications of Meadow, Medhurst, Oliphant, Von Richthofen, Hübner, more thorough observers and more amiable critics of Chinese peculiarities have appeared in increasing numbers. Scholars and statesmen have penetrated deeper into the life of this remarkable people, until science finds to-day, in the missionaries of all Churches, enthusiastic disciples and servants as numerous as those of the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; furnished, too, by the progress made since then, with equipment of quite another kind.

The eagerness of the Japanese to throw themselves open to western institutions seemed for a long time to influence the opinion of Europeans in favour of this more supple, more amenable branch of the Eastern Asiatics. People spoke of

the "merry, polite, amiable, cheery, chivalrous, nation." The circumstances of the country were in better order, and more promising than those of China. Hübner wrote: "At the arrival of the Europeans Japan was a happy, contented country. There were no extreme differences of prosperity or security, few sanguinary excesses." Presently came disillusion; transformation did not come about so quickly or so smoothly. The over-hasty development of railways and telegraphs—the first was laid in 1858—caused President Peirce's gift to the Mikado of a small railway-train to be subsequently regretted. The Chinese had been found too stiff; now the Japanese were too pliable. The fluttering haste with which Japan pressed forward was blamed and mocked. From a medical point of view the Japanese constitution was described as incapable of bearing this sudden change in all the conditions of life; the frequency of suicide in Japan was even traced to it. Those who judged thus did not know that European training, mainly under Dutch instruction, had long been growing tranquilly in Japan, and that not only in Nagasaki, but in Yeddo, Osaka, Miyako, European languages and customs had been diligently studied. Japanese statesmen have no doubt advanced very rapidly since 1854, but the mass of the population has not yet followed them on their westward course, and it may be questioned whether the capabilities of the country as they now are, and will for the present remain, will be sufficient to meet the increasing expenditure for the new institutions. The production of Japan has for years shown little increase. Its population is too large for a small country with wide districts unfit for cultivation, which is the main reason for the efforts to get a footing in Korea and Formosa. China's resources are greater, and less easily exhaustible. It was a bit of Chinese practicality to introduce customs-duties first of all European innovations, and with least consideration. Besides, the Chinese possess the inestimable advantage of numbers. In Formosa, in Mongolia, in the provinces bordering on Further India, half-breeds are introducing the pigtail, the ideographic writing, opium, into native circles, and their ever-flowing stream of immigrants allows of no reaction. The contact of this colossus with Europeans could only be brought about through individuals, and its effects spread slowly by an assimilative process through the body of the nation. Chinese rigidity is thus not wholly voluntary or conscious. That they have long felt their superiority to other Asiatics may strengthen their belief in the vitality of their culture, and indispose them to rapid changes. As a trader, however, the Chinaman is neither rigid where adaptability is called for, nor immovable in the selection of his place of settlement or sphere of business. Immobility is a false generalisation from a small hide-bound aristocracy to the mass of the Chinese nation. Before the era of railways there was in Europe no life of traffic even remotely comparable to that of the interior of China. Connected with this is the fact that throughout China trade is to a great extent in the hands of natives of certain northern provinces; also the predilection of the Chinese for the homeless business of the pedlar. He makes journeys of months across the steep mountains on the frontier of Yunnan to offer his silk and metal goods to the inhabitants of Burmah and North Siam. He works through the Russian Amoor provinces, thinly peopled as they are, until the snow stops his trade; then he passes the winter with tea, opium, and gambling at the farm of some fellow-countryman. In this distant corner the Chinaman is far more active than the Russian. The importance of this pedlar-

trade in the colonisation of Mongolia has already been indicated. We need but to see how quickly the European settlements in Hongkong and Singapore have been filled with an uninvited Chinese population. And this is called a torpid people!

As in Japan, so in China, the East Asiatic has made a pleasanter impression on observers in all those regions where he has come less into contact with foreigners. Von Richthofen, the first European naturalist who visited Szchuan, found the people "the most amiable of Chinese, courteous, friendly, they would soon become our devoted friends." Of those in the equally little-visited Ho-nan, he says: "a more good-tempered race than that of Ho-nan seems to exist nowhere on the earth." Cooper, who traversed China under great difficulties from Hankow to Batang, and penetrated into Yunnan, found that an essential part of the art of getting on in the interior of China, with a curious and sometimes obtrusive crowd, consists in making a joke at the right moment. "On such trifles," he says, "may the life of a traveller in China hang, for this crowd, easily moved to laughter, would have been as easily led on to bloodshed." The frequency of theft in the coast-towns cannot be denied; but we have references to the honest inhabitants of the interior, and the proverb, "In old times if anything dropped on the road, no one took it up." It also speaks for the Chinese character that joviality is one of their characteristic peculiarities. A contented grin is almost a standing feature of their broad countenances. Beggars seem to be a merry band, and are well treated by the rest of the population.

A strain of kind-heartedness runs through the institutions of these races. The fact that external forms almost shroud his sentiment causes the Japanese to appear unfeeling. The intercourse between different classes and stations is, especially in Japan, based on benevolence. Japan is the land of presents. Even in taverns present and return-present replace in more dignified fashion the usual "tip." Even the poor man is well-mannered in Japan, but European influence has been a blight on Japanese modesty. In China every large town has public charitable foundations. It may be that a rich man is sometimes compelled to let a portion of his superfluity find its way back to his fellow-citizens in the form of public beneficence, yet the fashion of this is often admirable. Institutions for dispensing medicine and providing coffins for the poor do much good in large towns. Private people, too, erect granaries, and in time of dearth sell rice below the market price. In the cold January of 1893 private beneficence is said to have spent in the central and southern provinces nearly £400,000 for wadded clothing, shelter, and hot food. Rich men even leave by will sums for the improvement of the public roads.

The intelligence of the Chinese has not been esteemed so low as their disposition or their morality. It has its imposing monuments in literature, in numerous inventions, in wise institutions of state. It is not denied that among the Chinese one often has to do with wonderfully acute minds endowed with a patience and a capacity for getting to the bottom of things, which in undertakings of a practical kind may often replace creative force. What European judges do not understand is the stagnation of this culture. They can hardly put themselves in the position of the Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, who sees in his own culture an unsurpassable ideal. And much really has been and is better there than with us. Japanese and Chinese have developed a refined luxury quite peculiar in style,

which in that tranquil seclusion has far surpassed ours, especially in uniformity and harmony. What wisdom is displayed, to take one instance, in the rules of the Japanese tea-party, *cha no yu*, where amid religious and scientific conversation in artistic surroundings, with prescribed forms and colours, the works of the ancients are admired, to the exclusion of politics and gossip. Quite lately we read Rippold's remark: "The style in which the people of Japan live is simple and natural, and there is no happier people on the earth." What he has, has to the Eastern Asiatic long seemed the best; he has no sense of ideals, and plans, even golden, for the future. Whence comes this contentment? Some say from sobriety, from tranquillity; and when to this is added a preponderance in the development of the understanding and a deficiency of creative fancy, it is thought that the combination, whence at some given point this enigmatic stagnation must have resulted, has been rightly recognised. But we must, however, also try to explain how, from this sterile disposition in the East Asiatics, their rich culture could have been developed. To create what they possess in art and literature alone they needed fancy in abundance; in their works no one would miss it. Japanese stories, Chinese novels are as fragrant of fancy as any but the best productions of this kind in Western literature. Japanese animal-legends are more copious than the Germanic. Our artists speak with admiration of the colour-fancy in Oriental art. Even their games are more refined and more interesting than their European offshoots. Their thoughtful game of dominoes, the "227 eyes" based on astrological principles, is arranged like the heavenly bodies, and gobang excels our chess.[1]

Is perhaps the intellect of these races less powerful, of less endurance, supported by weaker wills? Not at all. Statesmen like Elgin or Grant hold that western diplomatists must get into the way of regarding Orientals as their equals. According to Syrski the Chinese rustic, viewed from the practical side, can see farther into things than the European; the silkworm-growers in particular seem to him far more able than our own to give an account of their mode of procedure. The late Laurence Oliphant goes so far as to place them, in knowledge of the world and activity, in the pursuit of agriculture and horticulture, in their aptness for all kinds of industry and trade, and lastly, in their exclusive nature, next to the Anglo-Saxon breed. In view of these judgments we may also notice the high level of popular culture in the three kingdoms of Eastern Asia. All observers of the Japanese peasantry admire their delight in popular books and lays of heroes, in the game of chess, their enjoyment of pictures, of colour, of natural beauty. There is in them an intellectual vitality which many people at a similar level in Europe do not possess. Chinese and Japanese read more than all other Asiatics, in this ranking with Europeans. Not only learned works like the great encyclopædia in 105 volumes, or the dictionary in 59, testify to the literary requirements of the Japanese. There is a popular literature of many volumes, and for women of the better classes a mass of books dealing with conjugal behaviour, domestic affairs, and education. Japan is well off for books; though a large number of them are translations from the Chinese.

What then is lacking to the Eastern Asiatics sufficient to cause them to stand still, where we of the west struggle unrestingly on? It must lie in the application of their talents. The Chinese have never grasped the meaning of science as

[1] [It might perhaps be pointed out that chess, the inferior game, is equally of Oriental origin.]

understood in the west from the time of the ancient Greeks. They observe nature, they go in quite an admirable way into the smallest details of phenomena, but they do not turn the results of this activity to account in correcting false conceptions. "We have a list of inventions without number to admire in the Chinese, but we do not owe them one single profound glance into the connection and proximate causes of phenomena," says Peskel. De Rosny is briefer: "They have not got the right method." The Chinese never cease repeating the fables of their books. Instead of progressing they move in a circle. According to their idea, quails in the autumn turn to moles, resuming their garment of feathers in the spring. In spring hawks turn into pigeons, recovering their former shape about mid-summer. Thus again many small birds become crabs in autumn; pheasants in the winter being changed to "Venus-shells." The theme is inexhaustible; for the unlimited capacity of matter for transformation is an assumption in agreement with their modes of thought. At the same time the whole world of phenomena is to them a soap-bubble. Ice, shut up for a thousand years in the interior of the earth, turns into rock-crystal; and in order, with the help of red sulphuret of arsenic and tin, to transmute lead, the Father of Metals, into silver, only four periods of some 200 years are required. Indeed one specially learned man says: "That quails turn into moles and grains of rice into young carp is a ridiculous supposition. Only the transformation of rats into quails has been proved; this has been mentioned in all newspapers, and I have constantly observed it myself. There is of course as much a recognised course for transformations of this kind as for births."

Superstitious medicine, one of the deepest-seated disorders of the human mind, of which perhaps it will never be quite cured, is among the East Asiatics on its ancient level, and gives the impression of having changed little since the days of the prince who immediately after the invention of writing, 4000 years ago, wrote the classical work on diseases and the pulse. The Chinese *Materia Medica*, whose compiler is said to have tried seventy poisons on himself in one day, contains 365 remedies, one for every day in the year: for there are 365 ways in which the heavens can influence earthly existence. What chiefly keeps the Chinese back from sound development of the healing science is want of anatomical science; though they are not restrained by any Buddhistic prejudice from killing animals and touching dead bodies. The Japanese, who formerly used to imitate the Chinese in medicine as blindly as in other things, had long before 1853 translations of Dutch and German works on anatomy.

His national narrowness hinders the Chinese in his observation of foreign countries. Every geography or history compiled in China is invariably a geography or history of China. Yet Chinese descriptions of travel have done much more than Indian notices towards the knowledge even of countries lying nearer to India. The Japanese have very frequently depicted both with pen and pencil all the neighbouring countries, but especially "three lands"—Yezo, Korea, and the Loochoo Islands (though unluckily not the islands to the eastward where the elixir of life is to be found); and the number of geographies of European and American countries which have appeared in Japan of late years is large. Japanese literature is especially rich in those works beloved by the people, midway between history and romance. Their descriptions of provinces are thorough statements of information about country and people, such as many a country of

Europe cannot show; and their guide-books and tourist maps are practical. In China, since the Jesuits introduced European cartography in the seventeenth century, maps of some original value have appeared.

In the system of weights and measures used by Eastern Asiatics, we have one of the most remarkable creations of the pre-scientific period of the human mind. Measures of length and capacity, and weights, are, as with us, based on the same unit; the decimal system is carried out almost without a flaw. The unit is, however, *musical*, being the length of a bamboo pipe giving a certain note. This length is measured by 81 grains of corn laid lengthwise, or 100 of the same breadthwise; whence the two systems, nonal and decimal. The same grain is likewise the unit of weight. Japan has adopted it with slight alterations, 180 *momme* making one pound, instead of 160 as in China. The measurement of time by means of falling sand or water, or by burning pastilles, was early developed, while every rag-shop, every wandering pedlar, has a counting machine.

Eastern Asiatic art gives evidence of profound apprehension and fine observation of nature. The artists were always workmen, but there were great masters among them. In many works the most wonderful thing is the fidelity to nature. In drawings on rice-paper, in Japanese bronzes and wood-carvings, a close observation is shown, which often produces a startling effect in the rendering of instantaneous movement. In fidelity and fineness their best work rivals the productions of the lesser arts in past ages among ourselves. Who has not admired the sea-eagle in the South Kensington Museum with upstanding feathers, made of iron partly cast, partly wrought, with not a trace of unnatural conventionalism? This dates from the sixteenth century. In the same place is a tortoise in pottery; it is coming up out of the water, and is represented with the ripple floating away behind it, imitated so as almost to deceive the eye. The water-lilies, tortoises, cranes, frogs, lizards, employed by preference in decoration, are always represented in their general appearance with amazing truth to life and clever combination of themes. For the Eastern Asiatic it all has a deep symbolic sense; the tortoise denotes long life, the unicorn perfect purity, the stag—which becomes white at 500 years and blue at 1000—happy old age, the Japanese nightingale with the plum in flower, the spring, while the charming pot covered with shells and seaweed, in which the tea is always finest, grew at the bottom of the sea.

In their art, their literature, their horticulture, the East Asiatics preserve a warm feeling for natural beauty. The universal admiration of the plum-blossom in spring, of the iris and the peony, of the lotus and chrysanthemum, gives rise to a number of popular festivals from February to far into autumn. China, too, has a symbolical welcome of the spring. The temples stand in artless grooves of ancestral willows or shady trees with shrubs cut into figures and flower-beds laid out in pictures. Western countries have not, whether in joke or earnest, turned their flora and fauna to account with so much spirit, fidelity, and delight in colour as the people of the Far East. The Japanese is born with a keen sense of beauty; the rustic has more of it than our peasant, and the system of spade-husbandry helps to develop it. When he can he builds his hut by a brook, and puts a big stone or two here and there to make a little cascade, for he loves the plash of water. He ties some branches of the young cedars together, and bends others with a little board over his waterfall to give it shade. At the flowering season he and his family are in raptures. Indoors the feeling for nature is shown

not only in landscapes on the walls and screens, fitted into the structure with an appearance of nature. Pots, baskets, and stands for flowers, of bamboo especially, are more ingenious and prettier in Japan than with us. Pendent flowers are more common. Any curious bit of wooden bark or root is made into a receptacle for flowers. It is an old Japanese custom to lay flowers on graves. A striking cliff on the Yang-tse above Ichang is quite covered with inscriptions, poetical effusions on the beauties of nature—stream and sky are of the same colour, the hills gleam, the water is dark, and so forth. Eastern Asia had more feeling for nature 1000 years ago than the South of Europe has to-day.

The superior sense of colour in the Eastern Asiatic is recognised more and

A *Geisha* or Japanese harp-player. (After a Japanese drawing.)

more. It fails only in the imitation of European coloured engravings with which China once flooded the market of Further India; but it is alive and full of power in the old Japanese colour-prints, which are now the delight of our amateurs. Their painting seeks its effects, not in the lines, but in the masses of colour. They transfer to metals shades of colour known to no other industry in the world. They venture upon coloured representations, in relief, of peacocks which the art of the Old World was glad to let alone. Games with colours are popular in all circles. In a temple garden or a clear grove a merry party is assembled; a man enters and makes figures on the ground, true to nature, by sprinkling sand. The Japanese dress is rich in colour, every street-scene in Japan full of it, unlike what is seen in the sedater, more uniform China and Korea.

In the architecture of Eastern Asia again the picturesque element comes to the front in the dislike to straight lines and right angles, in the taste for grotesques and the search for beauty, in technical finish, creative fancy, and tenderest feeling for nature. Wood is the favourite material; strong effects are produced by the delight in colour and the flash of metal, by polishing, gilding, casing in porcelain. There is something magnificent in the temples of Japan with their heavy tiled

roofs, which yet show lines so lightly soaring, with rich beams and massive pillars. The Japanese feeling for nature has been active also in shaping the Buddhist places of worship. They have built temples to the goddess of the sea on artificial islands in broad lotus-covered ponds, over which lead slight bridges in lofty curves. They lay out the ground round the temples on the principles of landscape art, mitigating the melancholy contemplation of this transitory life with the enjoyment of a present of tranquil loveliness. Temple-gardens are spots of constant refreshment for every one. Temple-grounds, like those for which Nikko is famous—"do not speak of splendour till you have seen Nikko"—lies amid cedar groves, to which sacred bridges lead. Broad alleys run from one shrine to another. Pagodas, chapels, holy wells, oratories, treasuries in stone, wood, metal, are scattered about the sacred grove. In China also, in the mountain districts, one passes temples surrounded by cypresses and enclosed within white walls with projecting towers, sharply cut out against the bare rock. Japanese landscape painting is connected with religious motives. Fuji-yama, the goal of laborious pilgrimages, or the "man and woman" rocks off the coast of Furami, are endlessly depicted.

Chinese poetry, especially in its lyric pieces, contains much that is beautiful and deeply felt. The "stories without end" are not only continued for years, with long pauses, but written and read by generations.

To a European ear, Oriental music is a monotonous noise of shrill sounds. Its instruments, both wind and string, are numerous, among them such simple and well-known forms as the shell-trumpet, which forms part of the equipment of Buddhist mendicant monks; also the gong. We are reminded of Borneo, of some hill-tribes of Further India, of the sacred drums of Oceania, by a curious wind instrument of China and Korea, made from a bottle-gourd with bamboo pipes inserted, and by the simple Korean drums of hollowed tree-stems, while the Buddhist temple-drum with pictures of the drumming thunderer recall the Shaman drums. The theory of music has been developed out of all proportion to the practice. We find the scale of Pythagoras among the Chinese. It had not merely a religious but a political significance; again an echo of Pythagorean ideas. Every Japanese dance is the graceful pantomimic representation of some transaction, with the whole body, the play of feature, and above all, the fan. On the other hand the unnatural, broadly traced, slow movements of the actors, who play male parts with exaggerated pathos, female with fluty voices, and the shrill music breaking in at every instant, take away all artistic value from the Chinese stage, and that of Japan is essentially in agreement with it.

§ 22. THE CHINESE

Dress; ornament; deformed feet—Economic activity—Agriculture; land-tenure; cattle-breeding—Diet; rice; opium—Towns and villages—Traffic-routes; ancient prosperity and modern decay; the imperial canal; the system of roads; river and sea navigation—Industry: its position and falling-off; wages; labour-unions—Trade activity and colonisation.

THE outward appearance of the Chinese is uniform from the south to the north of the empire. Even differences of rank are not so sharply stamped as else-

[illegible] trousers and blouse, both of indigo-dyed cotton, on occasion an [illegible] of thick black material, are the clothes worn by the mass of the [illegible]. It is reckoned that an average man uses two suits in the year, both [illegible] at most 10s. Woollen clothing, the materials for which are imported in increasing quantity from Europe, and also now produced in large manufactories within the country, are worn only by well-to-do persons. The lower classes meet the winter cold by putting on several cotton garments one over another, and wadded coats; in the north, sheepskins are worn. Rich people wear the costliest furs of Siberia, for which China was a great market a hundred years ago. In the silk-growing provinces half the population of a town may be seen clad in silk on New Year's day. The exhortation uttered by the Emperor Kang-hi 200 years ago in his *Maxims*: "Let husbandry and the culture of the mulberry be thy care, that thou mayest have food and raiment enough," has lost some of its significance since the increase in the importation of foreign tissues. With rich people the place of the blue cotton blouse is taken by an upper garment like a dressing-gown, reaching to the ankles and fastened by a girdle, to which hang purse, tobacco pouch, and the like. The long sleeves cover the hands, and contain pockets; hence expressions like the "sleeve-payment" of Chinese classics, or "a sleeve full of snuff." Chinamen wore their hair loose till 1644, when the Manchus started the pigtail and shaven forehead as a symbol of loyalty to the new order in China. Since that "tailless" has been a term of disgrace, but to undo the pigtail is a sign of disaffection. Negotiations as to the compulsory wearing of the pigtail by subject races form a chapter in the history of new acquisitions. The beard, too, must not be grown until advanced manhood; hence the business of the barbers, who by the way shave without soap, is very common and lucrative in China. Even a workman sacrifices a few *chen* to have his forehead and face shaved smooth once a week. The Northern Chinese, like many Central Asian nomads, wear the pigtail short; those of the south, on the contrary, as long and thick as possible, plaited with horse-hair and wound round with ribbon. The women's hair is dressed with far more variety, with distinct fashions in

A Chinese mandarin of Canton.
(From a photograph.)

different provinces. In the south unmarried girls wear a fringe cut straight across the forehead. Married women shape it with adhesive materials, so as to lie close to the head, and curve out behind like a cup-handle; or else wing-like appendages stick out over the ears. *Pins*, beads, but above all, flowers, natural and artificial, are the ornaments of the feminine head. The ordinary Chinese of

Chinese woman with contracted feet, and child. (From a photograph.)

the south almost always leaves his head uncovered; at most, when the summer sun is too scorching, he winds up his pigtail and sticks a fan in it which, as he goes along, automatically affords a small degree of coolness. Mandarins never appear in public with uncovered head. This is not merely for the luxury of wearing in summer fine straw or bamboo hats covered with silk and tassels, in winter felt or cloth caps with turned-up brims, embroidered and furred; they also have on their hats the distinctive mark, introduced since the Manchu supremacy, of the button. This consists of the following materials, in ascending order: red coral, light blue glass, lapis lazuli, crystal, white chalcedony, gold (or gilt). The Chinese mandarin's dress has made its way among the officials in Tibet; and the luxurious sable clothing of Chinese privy-councillors may be seen even in Kiang-

tung. The impression of pomp which it ought to create is, alas, often unexpectedly destroyed by a dirty patch, and yet more often by the raggedness of the inevitable suite. In North China only old women and children are unpainted. For this purpose the face is whitened, and then oval pink patches are laid on over the entire cheek.

The custom of deforming the feet throws a harsh light on the unnatural refinement of Chinese over-civilization. Whether the object be the confining of women to the house, or the promotion of corpulence, the result is senseless and disgusting. From the child's fifth year her foot is compressed in such a way that the four last toes are bent under, and the heels at the same time forced upwards and backwards. In the higher classes this torture is continued till the person walks as if on stilts, and cannot leave the house unless carried in a chair or on a servant-maid's back. In the lower classes women continue to move with some freedom. The Manchus in the north and the Hakkas in the south have nothing of this custom, nor the races of the west, who are less touched by Chinese culture. The fact of Chinese heroes being represented as tattooed shows that this custom was once common. In the Loochoo Islands the women were, a few decades ago, tattooed variously according to districts.

Bodily cleanliness is not a strong point with the Chinese. Only an appearance of it is produced by the barber's art. The East Asiatics have no more desire for fresh air than some Central Europeans. The atmosphere is not always good in the lightly-built houses of Japan. Skin and eye diseases are of extraordinary frequency.

Chinese scholars and statesmen unanimously praise agriculture as the vital sinew of the state. It speaks yet more clearly for its importance that China finds almost unaided the food for its vast population, and besides that, provides tea and silk plentifully and regularly for the markets of the world. From this esteem for agriculture, in which a conscious contrasting of it with the surrounding nomadism naturally has a share, the erroneous conclusion has been drawn that in China a highly-developed cultivation of the soil is universal. No doubt the Chinese are more advanced in agriculture than the Indians. But throughout South China the soil of the hills is poor. On the Min river hills over 3000 feet high are cultivated to the top, but in many districts they are occupied merely with scrub. Even in Central China, with its dense population, by no means every patch of ground is tilled. In Kiang-su and Che-kiang, weed and grass-covered spots may be found in the immediate vicinity of habitation. Graves and chapels take up much room. Cultivation is, perhaps, closest in the north, where it ascends in the loess districts to the hill-tops, and has driven forest and heath far away. Nor does Chinese "high" farming take quite the direction which Europeans imagine. Plough and harrow are less in use in the small husbandry of China than hoe and rake. The plough, drawn by a buffalo or ox, makes no deep furrow, and the extensive employment of manures is necessary just because of the inadequate turning of the earth. Corn is trodden out by animals or threshed in the open. The buffalo being the most frequent draught-animal, it is easy to understand that work progresses slowly. In manuring, the Chinese are masters. In the south, particularly, human excrement is in demand, and waste of all kinds, down to old rocket-charges.

At this time land-holdings in China are much subdivided. A property of

150 acres on level ground is among the largest; and a man who owns 15 acres is looked on as a man of means. Near the larger towns a family can live on 2½ to 4 acres of land, if they own and work it themselves. Subdivision among heirs on the demise of an estate is not the sole cause of this parcelling; it is aided by the great productiveness of garden husbandry, and by those cultivations which, like tea and silk, pay best on a small scale. Great part of Chinese agriculture could not be carried on at a profit but for the abundance of labour in its cheapest form which the large families afford. This makes it possible for half of all the arable land in China to be tilled by tenants, and for the most part small tenants. The success of the Chinese farmer resides in his thrift, his industry, and the family connection between the greater part of his capital.

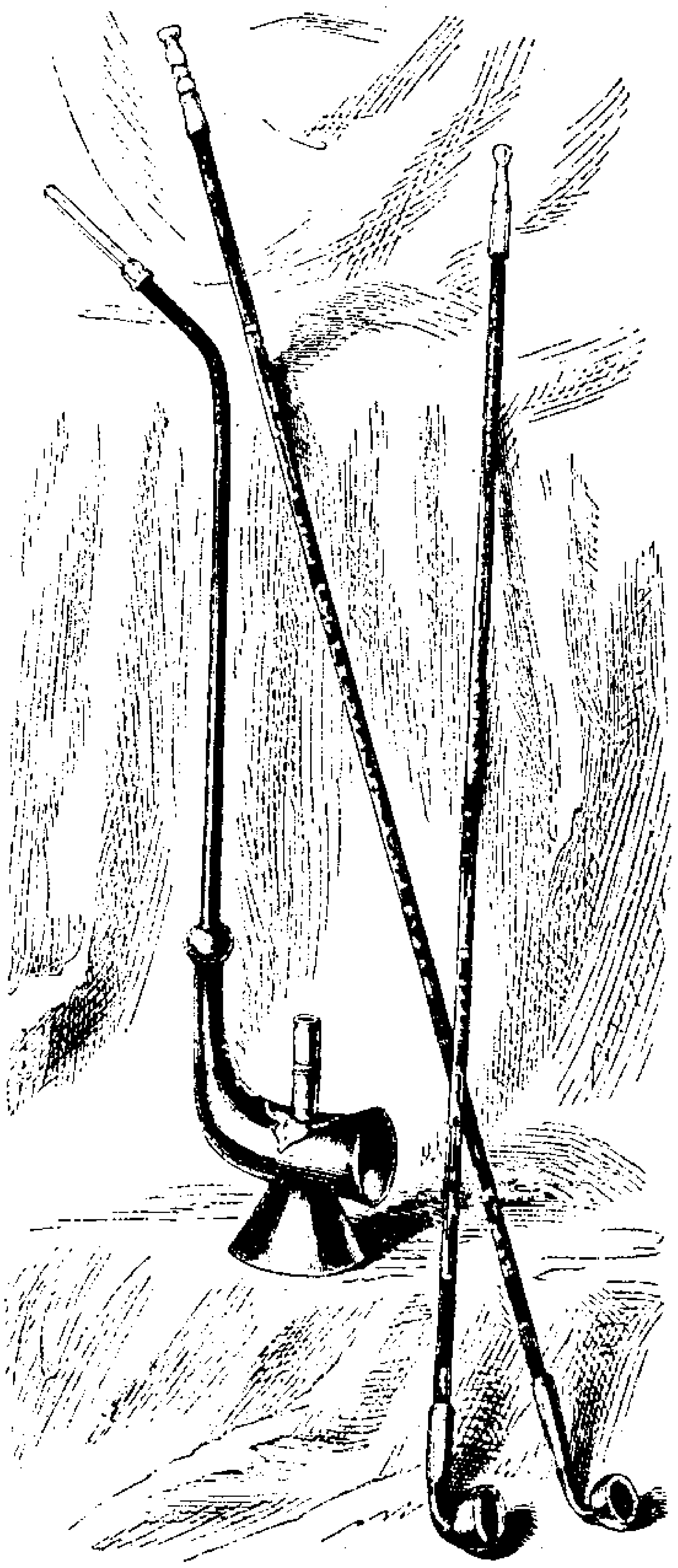
Rice is the chief crop of China. The fertility of the south and centre, with two crops a year on the average, is so great that this grain forms the Chinaman's most important vegetable food. Yet so great is the consumption that it becomes necessary to import rice from Formosa, Manilla, and Further India, even from North America. On the loess soil of the north, and in the rich prairie-lands of Manchuria, wheat, millet, and buckwheat appear to thrive, as well as rice in the Yang-tse lowlands. That maize and potatoes are distributed throughout the empire, and in the more mountainous parts even form important articles of diet, shows that the Chinese farmer is not rigidly exclusive towards good things from abroad. The culture of the poppy for the sake of opium is less laudable; it is found in every province, and in some plays a sadly important part. Sweet potatoes and other roots, also green vegetables of all kinds, especially pulse, are very common.

Fish being very plentiful in the irrigation-ditches of the rice-fields—the quantity being increased by the artificially-reared stock which is turned into the flooded fields after harvest—the same piece of ground in summer yields rice, in winter, fish. Nowhere else does fish play so great a part in the food of the people as in China, and thus sea and rivers are here fished with the greatest variety of appliances. We may recall the extensive use of cormorants for this purpose. On the bows of canal-boats are contrivances for hanging nets vertically, so that the contents can be easily hoisted on deck. The roots and seeds of many plants, grown in standing- or running-water, are partaken of in plenty. The bamboo, useful in many ways, the shoots of which are also eaten, specially enables full use to be made of the soil.

The Chinese have always had a great talent for domesticating animals. It is probable that they reared the house-cat independently of the Egyptians, just as they have trained weasels to catch mice. The only animal which they now breed in any quantity is the frugal and fertile pig. It is of an excellent breed, and its bacon and ham are articles of trade throughout East and South Asia. Buffaloes and oxen are used as beasts of burden, and to work the wheels of the draw-wells; the former also to tread the swampy soil of the rice-fields. In the north, sheep are bred on the arid hills of Pe-chi-li and Shan-si, and wool is a staple of importation from Mongolia. Fowls of all kinds are reared in institutions for breeding and fattening. In the silk-growing districts not only fields and gardens, but even the embankments between the rice-fields, are planted with mulberries, the leaves of which are sold to feed the worms. In the tea district of Ning-po, millet and maize cover the slopes and shade the tea-shrubs, which are also planted in

scattered tufts on the embankments of rice-fields and in mulberry-plantations. The tea and silk-growing provinces are among the most thickly peopled.

The great variety in the crops which the Chinese countryman sets himself to cultivate, above all renders it possible to use the soil to the utmost. More than a dozen oil-yielding plants, the bamboo, vegetable-wax, the lacquer-tree, ailanthus and oak for the silkworms that feed on those trees, may be mentioned among them. Szchuan, with its fruit and fig-trees, is one of the most beautiful, garden-like provinces of China. Vegetables, too, enjoy a zealous cultivation, green vegetables being rarely absent from the meal of the poorest day-labourer. Land fetches a high price; even in East Mongolia, a country only just cleared for cultivation, it is by no means very low, some 48s. an acre. Rent generally comes to 10 per cent of the selling price. The prices of farm produce, owing to the slowness of transport, are subject to great variation. The Government rice-granaries, intended to eke out the scarcity in lean years, apart from the cheating to which they, too, are liable, are not approximately equal to the requirements. According to Simon, the price of rice fluctuates as much as 300 per cent.


A Chinese hubble-bubble and Korean tobacco-pipes. (Munich Museum.)

Conditions of climate and soil assign to artificial irrigation an important part in Chinese tillage. The sunny south, and the north with its permeable soil of loess, are alike threatened with years of famine through drought. The wasting of forests shows that in forest economy China is anything but a civilized state. Only in the south and west are good forests still kept up. Japan looks far more carefully after its forests, richer and more varied as they are. The material most in use is bamboo. Owing to its lightness, suppleness, and great strength, it can be used for poles and masts quite as well as in its finer kinds for artistic work. The chief fuel is charcoal, burnt in earthenware vessels like the Italian *scaldini*. China possesses the largest coal-fields on the earth, but makes little use of them.

The Chinaman was long imagined by the European world as a person living only on rice, and able, nevertheless, to work hard and continuously. Now we know that his is no case of a purely rice-diet. On the whole, the Chinese labourer lives but little less well than his European colleague. In China itself, an exclusive diet of rice is regarded as incompatible with hard work, apart from

the fact that all over the west rice is dear, and has to be replaced by potatoes, cabbage, or dumplings. At ordinary prices a workman getting 4d. or 5d. a day can buy 2 lbs. of rice, 1 lb. of vegetables, and as much of fish, and have ½d. to 2d. left for tea, salt, tobacco, lodging, and clothing. The Chinese is very clever at dressing his food; out of simple materials he can concoct quite a luxurious breakfast or dinner. "Pea-cheese," a kind of extract of pea-flour, made by separating the caseine in the form of gelatine with a solution of gypsum, is the model of a cheap and nutritious food. Vegetable preserves are numerous. The Eastern Asiatics do not eat like other Orientals out of a common dish with their fingers, but each from his own lacquer saucer with "chopsticks" of wood, bone, or ivory held between the fingers of the right hand.

Tea is the national luxury, and is taken by all classes in every variety. Opium has, in the last two generations, become a necessary of life to the Chinese people; but, instead of strengthening, it eats the life out. It is calculated that fifteen millions, of which three-fourths leave the country, are spent yearly on opium in China. Poor people smoke over again opium that has been smoked, but many sacrifice the whole balance of their wages to get the intoxication. From the far west and north we are beginning to hear complaints of this vice, which grows more and more general. The English, who are responsible for the enormous importation, try, under a hypocritical pretence of science, to attribute a racial character to the practice. In 1876 Sir George Campbell propounded the ridiculous thesis that the Mongolian or Turanian races showed the most decided partiality for opium, while the Aryan Indian despised it almost entirely. Many persons have gone to Mongolia solely in order to grow poppies and smoke opium at their ease. The chief virtues of the Chinese—patience, frugality, industry, the bases of his economic prosperity—are undermined by opium, the effects of which on the constitution are far more ruinous than those of spirits. In spite of China's advance in the last decades, the fear that the opium-habit among the people will cripple the forces necessary to a new development of culture, makes it difficult to look to the future of the empire with confidence. This vice is in no small measure responsible for the impoverishment and confusion which strike the observer of to-day as forcibly as did prosperity and order those of 100 years ago. Richthofen thinks that the ever-increasing use of opium will even set a check upon the increase of population. Drinks distilled from millet or maize, before the introduction of opium the only intoxicants, are used with "exemplary moderation."[1]

China is the land of large cities and numerous villages, the land of crowded living. Less from lack of ground than from a natural tendency towards packing, a part of the population even invades the water and lives in boats. Thousands lodge in caves in the loess. The Chinaman is first and foremost a dweller in villages; and if the towns are numerous and populous, they are so owing to the prosperity of trade in China, and as the residences of officials.

The villages in China are in general more populous than those of Europe, some numbering 8000 inhabitants or more. The narrow streets, winding between mud walls, are very lively; shops of all kinds are frequent, also tea-houses and cookshops. Regular markets are frequently held. In Colonel Unterberger's sketches from North China we read; "On approaching the walls one hears the

[1] [This paragraph has been left as in the original, but it will of course be remembered that the best authorities are by no means agreed as to the generally mischievous effects of opium in China.]

[illegible] to a large town, which presently resolves itself into the talking and [illegible] of the mass of humanity swaying to and fro with the animals in the [illegible] Streets lead to the interior of the town, so narrow that two carts can with [illegible] pass each other; along them, close to the houses filled to bursting with [illegible] sale, run raised causeways for foot-passengers. The lacquered surface of the projecting woodwork of the houses, the heavy and richly-decorated cornices, the [illegible] painted in many colours with gilt wood-carvings, the variety of signs of most extraordinary shapes, tiled roofs bulging in the way peculiar to Chinese architecture, ornamented at the corners with every kind of figure, including dragons, all this together gives a most fantastic appearance to a trading-street of this kind." At the entrance of the villages stand gates of honour, recording the virtues of

Chinese articles of use and luxury. 1. Bamboo drinking-cup; 2, black lacquer cup, inlaid with mother-of-pearl; 3, porcelain dish with raised figures, 4, box of coco-nut, 5, lacquer plate; 6, bronze censer; 7, [illegible] tea-caddy, with carving in steatite; 8, lacquer cup; 9, wooden cup lined with zinc; 10, 11, porcelain cups in metal stands; 12, coco-nut teapot, metal fittings, 13, lacquer tray, 14, rhinoceros-horn cup; 15, knife and chopsticks of ivory and steel, with gold-embroidered sheath. (Munich Museum.)

distinguished inhabitants. The towns are, as a rule, square in plan, and walled. In the older ones the streets are full of bends and corners beyond conception. Where there are canals the roads are mostly no wider than footpaths, but paved; vehicles and beasts of burden are almost unknown. In hilly districts, on the other hand, we find both. This difference has also an effect on the towns, which in the south and centre have streets from 5 to 13 feet wide, while in the north they are wide enough for vehicles. The absence of external windows is made up for by courtyards within. Only inside do we find comfort, opulence, the lovely colours and fanciful forms of Chinese art. Outside blaze the tall boards indicating the calling of the inmate, staring in colour, gilt or silvered, 12 feet high by 1 or 2 broad, hung on either side of the doorway, a forest of colour and hieroglyphics. Beside them hangs inconspicuous the symbol of the open eye, of authority, the plate inscribed with the names of all the persons living in the

house. On the door of the dwelling-house are painted a tree of fortune, and a scroll with a moral adage. At the street-corners shine the names, mostly high-flown, of the streets. As a rule they contain something about prosperity, love, heaven, cleanliness, or the like. After the destruction of numerous towns in the south and centre of the empire by the Taiping rebellion, new towns arose from their ashes and ruins, which grew up with more freedom from the traditional plan; as, for example, Nan-chung, one of the most famous provincial capitals, and after Ching-too one of the finest and most regular, with wide, clean streets. Farms and hamlets are met with in any number only in the south and west. From Hoonan, Von Richthofen writes: "This is the first province in which I have seen any considerable number of charming country-seats belonging to rich people who have retired from business. They invest their money in land, which they then let. The landlord's house, a handsome building, rises isolated, and in some conspicuous spot, usually on the slope of a hill, with trees round it." Inns, marked by large tassels over the door, are common, standing isolated on the road.

Even abroad the Chinese have the tendency to crowd their dwellings; "China-town," in San Francisco, contains 15,000 in a space where formerly not a tenth of that number of Americans could find room. Their habit of living in low stuffy rooms, with a little table and benches, and a dirty close stove, seems to have its origin in a cold zone, just as the light airy style of Japanese building belongs to a warmer climate. Among both Chinese and Japanese are found neck-rests or neck-stools, sometimes consisting simply of a bit of bamboo with supports, sometimes more artistically worked, furnished with drawers inlaid in colours. The patriarchal strain, which runs through Chinese life far more powerfully in the less corrupt conditions of the country than in the towns, has kept up the practice of the nearest relations living together in one and the same house. From great-grandfather to great-grandson, five generations often dwell under one roof. This mode of life, which often by the remembrance of a common descent inspires whole communes, or even groups of communes, with a strong tribal feeling, is an essential element in the prosperity of the population. The Chinaman carries this sentiment abroad with him, depending much less on locality, and supporting his relations from far away. The rapidity with which the population of South China, after the storm of rebel raids, rebuilt their homes on the devastated land or refounded them on fresh sites, was the wonder of all Europeans.

In the matter of communications China formerly stood higher; its decline is especially shown in the state of the canals, once its vital arteries. The great canal-system of North China has in recent decades fallen into decay. Ritter called it the most magnificent canal-system of the Old World, linking the south and centre with the north of the empire in independence of the chances of sea and river-navigation. The Imperial Canal is "very different from all those of Europe. Its direction is adapted to the lie of the land, it often winds, it is of varying breadth, now 200 feet, now 1,000. Sometimes it goes through a deep cutting in the hills, sometimes enclosed in hewn granite, it crosses lakes and morasses of enormous extent on embankments 20 feet high." Since a breach in the embankment of the Hoang-ho drew off the whole river towards the sea, the proud Imperial Canal to the north of the new arm of the river has only been an unimportant tributary of that wild stream. The trade of Tien-tsin to the great

cities of the south and centre has already in a great measure taken the sea-route. When the dry reach between Lin-tsing and Tien-tsin fills in June, it is covered as of old with junks from the south which have waited for the rise of the water. The salt traffic is still important on the Imperial Canal. Other canals have suffered hardly less under the bad government of the last few decades. A few pools here and there and some ruined bridges are often all that tells of former splendour. Corn is grown to-day in dry canal beds. Only the canal-systems of the centre, the real "flower" of that section, which owing to their importance for irrigation and for the transport of crops attain almost a kind of personal interest for every peasant, seem still to be in the good old state. Here the meshes of the network of canals are often hardly 5 furlongs wide, while many farmers take private canals to their houses, and use barges for hay-waggons.

Serious attempts to improve the communications are rare. The streets of Pekin have turned to watercourses, and the gutters have been stripped of the marble slabs which once covered them. Williamson speaks of his delight at the single man whom he saw mending a road beyond the Great Wall; he had wandered far and wide in China without seeing anything like it. Many roads were once paved with stone flags, but the pavement has gone to ruin, and the Imperial Road is now an uneven track 12 to 20 yards wide, cut up by a number of ruts, and worn down by the traffic of centuries to a level often below that of the adjacent land. Many bridges, some of them once magnificent structures, are now impassable; and the traveller must either make a circuit or be ferried across under their arches. It seems to be of no great use for individuals to make offerings in the good old fashion to their fellow-citizens by building roads and bridges, or for judges to set those guilty of small misdemeanours to mend a bit of road at their own cost. In the centre and south, the region of canals, roads play a far less important part than in the north. Paved footpaths run alongside the canals. Only in the tea-districts are roads frequent from one river to another. Sometimes these present an animated scene, when porters are carrying tea, the finer sorts with great care on poles with double supports, so that the chest, even when set down, may not touch the ground, the commoner kinds on the usual transverse pole. One meets endless caravans of these men.

The guard-houses and watch-towers which stood at regular distances along the imperial roads are in ruins. The telegraph stations, whence in old times signals were given with the smoke of wolves' dung, lie waste. Williamson says that he was unable to use a ferry over the Liao-ho in Manchuria, because a mandarin's luggage had fallen off the boat, and the ferry was not running till the action he had brought was decided.

The river navigation provides occupation in towing alone for thousands of people. The boats on the Upper Yang-tse, of 120 tons burden, says Mr. Cooper, require from forty to sixty men to navigate them in ascending from Ichang. This town, situated where the mountains meet the plain, owes its large population to its boatmen. So-called "watermen," excellent swimmers and divers, undertake the duty of clearing the tow-rope from rocks, etc. These people pass their whole life on board, the boat containing their family, their house, and their goods, and manage their craft so skilfully that the clumsy junks get past the rapids. The timber-rafts from Hoonan, which fill the Yang-tse in January, are still more like great floating villages. On them may be seen pigs, dogs, fowls, often twenty

huts and numbers of women and children. They are said to take six months to reach Hankow, not quite 620 miles. There they are broken up again and go to Ching-kiang and other ports.

The extension of the Chinese canal-system, due in the first instance to political causes, has, perhaps intentionally, drawn the sea-traffic between south and north almost entirely to the river-ways and canals, and has certainly contributed in a great degree to the decline of sea-navigation even among the people on the coast. In any case, directly after the opening of the treaty-ports, the coast-trade became one of the most profitable industries for Europeans; and the navigation of the Chinese seas is still a good business for European shippers. The Chinese show great cleverness in building vessels for river and canal-navigation, while in respect to sea-going craft they are less advanced. Their junks are still clumsy, awkward to handle, high and square-built at both ends. The sails are of matting, and the mainsail is, like the rudder, of disproportionate size. They are acquainted with the compass; but otherwise do not make nautical observations. Thus little more than coast-navigation is possible; and the pilot's duty is either to set his course by the high ground near to the shore or to make for a fixed point in a straight line by compass. During the whole voyage the skipper is observing the shores and the hills, sitting on the landward side of the vessel. He watches at night, and perhaps goes to sleep upright in the daytime. Next to him is the boatswain, who looks after the sailing, then come perhaps some partners in trade, a steward, and lastly a priest, who burns incense and gold and silver paper every morning before the images. Some sailors are expert seamen, the others, who do the common work, are often not even trained mariners, but beggars, fugitives, and the like, all however yelling and giving orders. Mutineers are anything but rare in this motley crowd, while in danger they easily lose their courage and their wits. In spite of the typhoons of the China seas, to a single one of which 20,000 persons will sometimes fall victims on sea or rivers, no effort is made to organise the navigation any better. Chinese junks make the voyage from Amoy to Singapore in eighteen or twenty days, but occasionally take sixty. It is an extraordinary thing that the Chinese fleet has remained stationary since the days of Marco Polo. Almost half the 14,500 Chinese vessels which entered and left Chinese ports in 1892 were junks, with the small average measurement of 41 tons. Immense importance is attached to externals; the name of a vessel is a most weighty matter, masts and rudder bear texts of good omen. Two eyes in the bow, reminding us of those in the funeral bark of Osiris, are necessary; also the images of the goddess of navigation. The river-boats of the Chinese are very comfortably furnished. The junk is adorned externally with pretty carved wood, and in the luxuriously-fitted cabins may be seen women, painted and smart, occupied with their children or going to and fro smoking. In the evening, on a river like the Yang-tse or Si-kiang, lights and fireworks sparkle and dazzle all about the stream, and song or lute sounds from a junk having rooms for opium-smokers, with artists in hair, actresses, and luxuries of every kind.

The Chinese of the north makes long journeys, mostly in waggons drawn by a string of mules; covering 25 to 40 miles in a day. The waggon has two wheels, the axles of wood. There are no springs; the seat may be carved, with cotton cloth stretched over it. In this conveyance any other attitude than that of the Chinese, with the feet crossed under one, is highly uncomfortable. Barrows

with one high wheel and a seat on either side, in each of which a traveller sits, are in use especially in mountain districts. A roof serves as protection against sun and rain. As a rule they are propelled by two persons, one drawing, the other pushing. Their work is lightened in windy weather by a sail. In the south, especially in Shanghai, the two-wheeled Japanese jinrickshaw is coming in more and more. In winter the canals when covered with ice are utilised by *topais*, large low sledges. A guide stands at the back and pushes them along at a good pace with an iron-shod pole. Drivers throughout the north and far into the south are naturalised Mongols, who manage horses and mules better than the Chinese.

In spite of all the advantages enjoyed by European trades, by far the greater part of the *consumption* of the enormous population of China is still supplied by native productions. But how long will the Chinese workman, with all his sobriety, dexterity, and endurance, be in a position to compete with the manufactories now multiplying in the country itself? In Chinese industrial activity, just as in Chinese agriculture, the impulse to do things on a large scale is lacking. The Chinese have few machines to economise human forces. Their acuteness and inventiveness have been almost exclusively occupied with small improvements in the handles of tools, in crossing, and such-like things. This may partly be explained by the fact that their qualities of character and their usages make it easy for them to realise their powers of work at a cheap rate, and that time is for them as good as valueless. Probably also paternal regard for the weal of the people would, as formerly in Europe, have been opposed to the introduction of large machines. If in China industry pretty much expends itself on handicrafts, at the same time the great advantage has been preserved of a permanent living practice of art, and therewith a flourishing condition of art-industry able to have a stimulating action even on Europe.

The process of mining for metals is far less advanced than that of working them. The progress of China in this field bears no kind of relation to the antiquity of its culture. German mining in the Harz Mountains or elsewhere, when it first comes into the light of history, must have stood much higher than that of China to-day. In the production of metals also manual work everywhere predominates. The iron, however, is excellent, and at equal prices is preferred in the country to that of Europe. Where the Chinese appear as managers of mines on foreign soil, as in Banca, Malacca, Borneo, there too the business is carried out on a small scale. In California they have successfully worked over again with their hands stuff which Californian miners had thrown aside as not paying enough for their machinery. A country where original production does not go very deep in any branch, must in spite of the antiquity of its culture and the numbers of its population be regarded as anything but played out; must indeed be almost virgin soil for industry. Salt is obtained on a large scale on the east coast of Kiang-su, under the supervision of a mandarin of high rank.

In the East Asiatic countries there is no labouring class in the European sense. The family, strong in its patriarchal bond, supplemented by adoption, protected by law and custom, forms a labour-organism, tending to the suppression of hired labour, all the more that business on a large scale is rare in any department. In Japan we know how closely servants are linked with the families they serve, and how joys and sorrows are shared by both. Europeans have found in

the position of those servants a repetition of the ideal patriarchal relation, for the most part surviving among us only in tradition. In the case of China we may recall the law that female domestic slaves are to be married, and may not be wholly separated from their families against their will. It is generally agreed that labourers' wages are very low in China. Female labour is on the average paid at only half the rate of male; and in respect of cotton and tea they do pretty much half the total work.

Throughout Eastern Asia the universal employment of manual labour has favoured the artistic execution of industrial products. Artistic industry in the widest sense has never been so widespread in Europe as here, as the inimitable porcelain and lacquer show; and here it loves to work upon rare and different materials. The finest tortoiseshell used in China is imported chiefly from Celebes. A high price is paid for certain uncommon shades of colour, and methods are known of bending, joining, painting, and gilding it in a way that can be done nowhere in Europe. Another very popular material is nephrite or jade, found *in situ* on the north and south slopes of the Kuen-Lun, and in the Pamir on the Raskem-Darya, a southern tributary of the Yarkand-Darya. It was found for the first time in 1891 between Lake Koko-Nor and Nan-shan. In Soo-chow there are large workshops for working it. This hard stone, like carnelian and amethyst, is wrought with marvellous patience into miniature carvings. Statuettes carved from the brilliantly white material of which the valve of the *tridacna* shell is composed, are highly valued in our museums, and sometimes called chalcedony. Ivory and rhinoceros horn are much used. The *cloisonné* enamel of Eastern Asia remains hitherto unrivalled in Europe. Objects centuries old look perfectly new. Canton was formerly regarded as the chief place where these things were produced; but it is now known that better work is turned out by small places in Hainan; Hoi-hau alone possesses twenty silversmiths. In Amoy hundreds of carvers are working at minute carving on fruit-stones and such like.

Chinese industries do not stand to-day at their old level. There is no one as formerly to stimulate inventors and artists. Requirements increase without a corresponding accession of wealth, and the surplus which is the fertiliser of the arts is lacking. There is besides European competition, bringing with it the "cheap and nasty," and breaking up the once unanimous taste. Even in the important cotton industry of Shan-tung the cotton is spun and woven mostly by the families of the peasantry, and few devote their whole time to the business. They weave in winter and bring their goods to market in summer. The English cotton goods can be offered everywhere at a lower price than the native article, unless where the plantations are so near that the difference in price is made up by the cheapness with which the goods can be brought to market, or perhaps by the seller's own labour in planting. Even the porcelain manufacture no longer produces work of such excellence as under Kien-lung so late as 1700. In silk-weaving, as in cotton, domestic industry predominates, or a master works with a few apprentices. Unluckily, it is just this most important silk industry on which the Government, whenever the treasury is in low water, imposes an arbitrary tax by raising the transit dues on raw silk. Besides this, an incalculable amount can be squeezed out of a man who has grown wealthy by solid work on a large scale; so that the larger his profits the more sedulously must they be concealed.

In Eastern Asia, as elsewhere, industries tend to concentrate themselves in

particular spots or within limited areas. This is natural in the case of the metal, glass, and porcelain works, or the woollen and felt industry at present confined to the frontier districts towards Mongolia and Tibet; for they deal with raw materials of limited diffusion. The large basket-weaving business in the province of Shan-tung exports great quantities to North America; while probably half China is supplied with glue from Si-hiang on the Upper Hanc River. The glass manufacture of Shan-tung sends its productions all over China. When there were more Chinese in Manilla, before the days of persecution and oppression, their cheap shoes were an article of export to Mexico.

The capacity for trade is remarkable, arising doubtless from the flourishing condition of the interior traffic. Some provinces give birth to a breed of born traders, closely connected by ties of country and relationship, by similarity of disposition and aim, who stick together and prosper. In Manchuria the traders from Shen-si and Shan-si are distinguished, pedlars and bankers alike, above other Chinese for the facility with which they acquire foreign languages. Sian-tan, in the province of Hoonan, is the chief place in China for financial business, which again is mostly in the hands of the Shan-si people. The opium trade is mostly carried on by Cantonese, also the tea trade, though Canton is no longer the tea market of China. Some banking-houses in Tai-ku-hien have branches distributed all over the empire. So in Hankow, the great emporium of the Yang-tse-kiang, we find the tobacco trade in the hands of people come from Fuh-kien, and the trade in carved goods run by people from Cheh-kiang. To the readiness with which those traders, who mostly have no family or land, move about, is ascribed some part of their success in competing with Europeans. It is no trouble to a Chinese to turn from any other branch of human activity to trade; for the trading spirit is in their blood. Travellers are astonished at the host of small retail shops which ornament every wretched resort in China. A great number of regularly recurring markets ensure that there shall be no stoppage in trade. Many towns indeed preserve the appearance of vast markets, and in all these are streets containing nothing but shops. The pedlars are a large and influential community. In all countries the Chinaman shows the same tendency. The wild Battak collects camphor, Dyaks and Alfurs dig for gold and diamonds, the Sooloo dives for pearls, the Malay searches his rocky coasts for edible swallows' nests, gathers nutmegs and cloves, fishes for *trepang* and *agar*, the Bugis—a trader and seaman—carries these goods from port to port, the Sumatran grows pepper for half the world, the Javanese makes elegant articles; but to all this business activity the Chinaman, by his great intelligence, his large requirements, and his capital, gives impulse and "go." In how many parts of East, South, and Central Asia is the Chinese trader the pioneer of culture, and at the same time the active promoter of the common interests of his countrymen? Their great number in Siam imparts to life a bustle quite alien to the apathetic Siamese. "They had," says Bastian, "the further advantage that many an article of luxury could be got in their shops which the native dealer never thought of." In a report of the governor of Cochin-China towards the end of the 'sixties we read: "The Chinese have been and are of great use to us; they are temperate, powerful, intelligent, and hard-working."

In the course of history much has grown up which fosters the tendency to trade. Children's games begin with coins, numbers, figures; and their premature knowledge of shopkeeping is wonderful. The magnificent, refined

rogueries of Chinese traders are a daily matter of conversation in every street. The density of the population promotes the contact of individuals, and makes necessary thousands of by-businesses, to which a small trade most easily adapts itself. Further, the very small subdivision of the coinage, as well as the high rate of interest, encourages minute trading. "Thanks to the 'cash,' trade in China deals with the infinitely small." There is paper-money in China, but otherwise no currency save the small coinage of cast bronze. The silver ingots which circulate as "taels" are weighed and marked with the stamps of firms. Banks without number promote trade and credit. Words and "ideographs" lead to the conclusion that in China and Japan, as elsewhere, shells were once used as money.

§ 23. THE JAPANESE AND KOREANS.

Dress and weapons—Houses and towns—Japanese wooden architecture—Economic life—Farming—Art in bloom and in decay—Intercourse—Society.

THE Japanese dress in all classes and all ages is in principle the same; and in the lower classes the men are often distinguished from the women only by the arrangement of their hair. Provincial departures from the type hardly amount to more than what is demanded by varieties of climate. The main materials are silk, cotton, hemp; the fundamental shape the long gown open in front, worn longer by women than by men, and in their case often running to a train, stiffened by wadding. Similarly in the male dress the simple girdle has turned into a broad artistically woven sash, knotted behind into the form of a butterfly's wings. The uniform, alike of soldiers and prisoners, is (or was till the introduction of European equipment) marked by stamped silver badges. In Korea courtiers of higher and lower rank are distinguished by double or single cranes' feathers, embroidered on. The simple costume is completed in the case of men by a warm under-garment in place of waistcoat, and a narrow loin-cloth, in women by a wider cloth, falling to the knees, in place of a petticoat, or, in men again, by tight breeches and stockings in the cold season, or as protection against insects and leeches. The dress looks better on men than on women, since in the case of the latter the universal garment, the *kimono*, has to be so tightly tied in front as to allow only of a laborious, slightly stooping gait. Their appearance is not improved by the awkward high sandals, or rather clogs of elmwood; and the projecting bow of the broad sash which masks the narrow hips, covering as it does the whole back, is rather grotesque than pretty. In dry weather, instead of the wooden clogs, walking upon which is as laborious as upon stilts, straw sandals are worn, fastened to the foot by a string passing between the great and second toes; for which reason stockings have a detached great toe. Korean men resemble the Chinese in jackets, short pantaloons, long cloaks, stockings, shoes; but the colour of the clothing varies according to the rank. Common people wear white or dirty yellow, great people violet silk, the king red. In Korea and North Japan snow-boots are also worn.

Men of the lower classes go bare-headed; though a labourer, *ninsoku*, will wrap a band of blue cotton several times round his head. The Koreans, too, wear

a headband, often of costly work, both alone and under the hat, to which it is made fast with a ring; and in winter fur caps. The broad-brimmed Korean hats, plaited from bamboo and lacquered black, are handsome; and are at the same time the most peculiar feature of Korean dress, which in other respects follows the ancient Chinese pattern. The Korean greeting of respect is not raising the

Japanese girl. (From a photograph.)

hat, but putting it straight with both hands. The Japanese when traveling use broad hats of sallow or bamboo, curving downwards all round and looking like round-bottomed baskets upside down, in place of the umbrella of oiled paper to protect themselves from the sun and rain. Waterproof cloaks of the same paper are perhaps a more recent invention, but those of straw or reeds with long hanging strips of reed, have been in use for ages. Japanese women paint their necks and faces with a paste of white lead and starch, shave their eyebrows, colour their lips red and their teeth black, to European eyes an unpleasant disfigurement.

Mrs. Bishop speaks of the repellent effect of the ladies' [illegible] exposed in laughing, and of the disfigurement wrought by [illegible] even gilding, on faces naturally pretty in spite of noses too [illegible] too chubby for perfect beauty.

The precious metals play a small part in the ornament of [illegible] pearls, however, a large one [illegible] *coiffures* with pins and combs [illegible] or with entwined ribbons of [illegible] crape, are rather quaint [illegible] When they express greeting [illegible] a low obeisance with the [illegible] Japanese ideal of beauty, the [illegible] figure, is effectively expressed [illegible] reminded of the exaggeratedly [illegible] in the Japanese pictures of [illegible] or ladies in antique dress. [illegible] a peculiar grace in it, and yet [illegible] the crouching posture; but one [illegible] the agreeable effect of tranquillity [illegible] finish. In Korea women and children wear the pigtail in Chinese fashion, while the men do up their hair in a bunch with a pin, consisting, according to their rank, of wood, copper, silver, gold, coral. When a boy's loosely-hanging hair is fastened up, it shows that he is becoming a man. The fan, said to be due to observation of bats, has attained a remarkable development. Priests carry it in the form of half-opened flowers; officials, made of pinewood; dancing-girls have it large; girls, small and painted. The Korean wears at his belt a tobacco-box, and a case for mirror, tweezers, and comb.

A tattooed Japanese. (From a drawing in the *Report of the U.S. ship "Corwin."*)

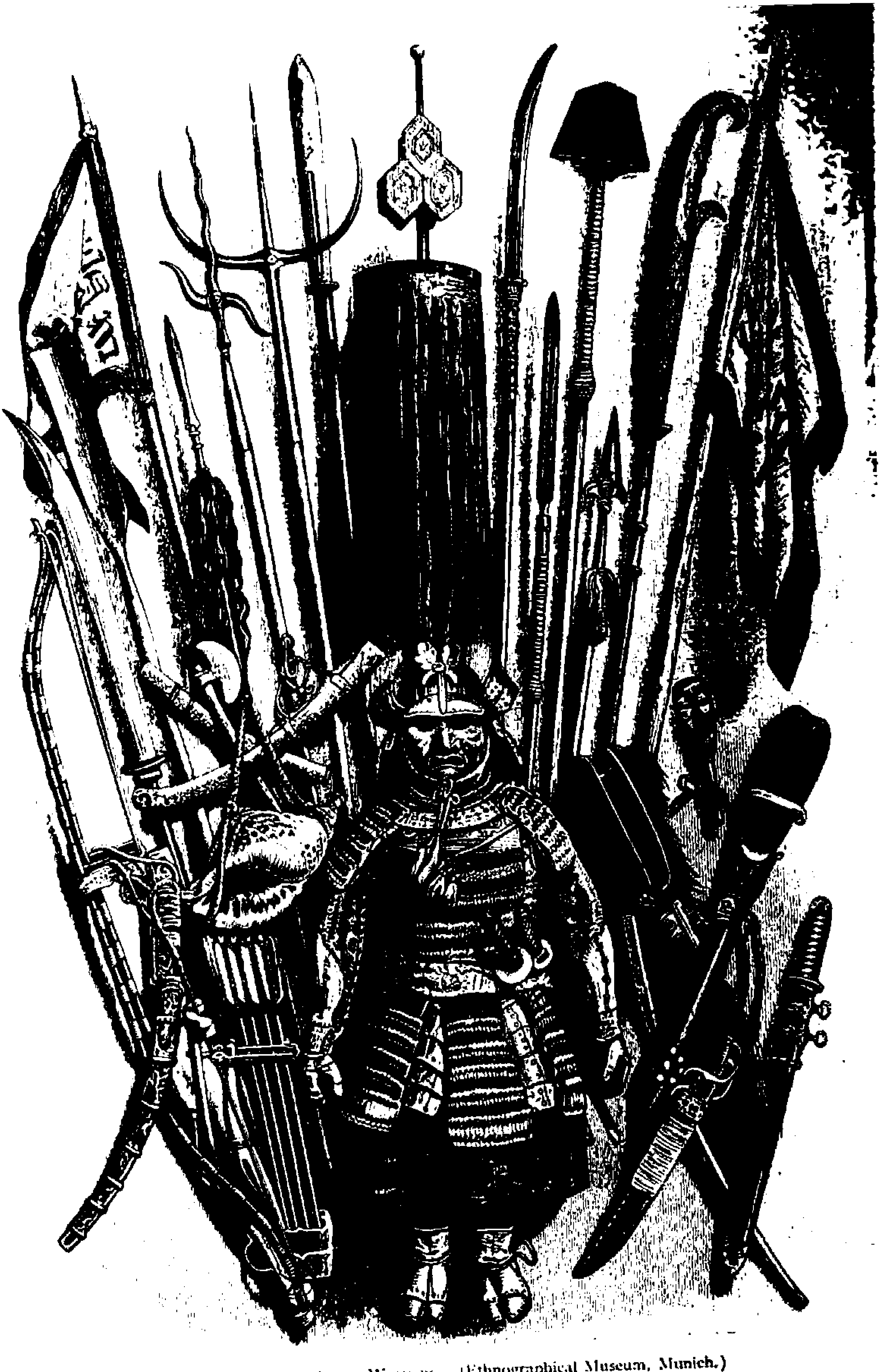
Tattooing, though first introduced under the Tokugawa dynasty, less than three hundred years ago, was once very common in Japan; now it is as a rule found only in men of the lower class, and that, as the illustration shows, on parts of the body that are usually covered. Before the period of European influence it had so degenerated that steps were taken on the part of the Government to check by prohibition the increase of the custom, with its frequent tendency to the frivolous; feminine charms were a favourite subject of representation. Other deformations for the sake of ornament have been overcome; only Japanese idols all have to this day long drawn ears. Japanese are more cleanly than Chinese and Koreans. Japan, with its innumerable hot springs, offers naturally so many opportunities for a bath, that

in this cool climate the custom of taking a dip is almost as common as in Polynesia. Japanese use pocket-handkerchiefs of paper, which they carry in their sleeves—a refinement in which Koreans do not indulge.

A view of the weapons used by Japanese warriors of the old school is given in our plate of "Chinese and Japanese weapons." They were formerly armed with long bows, now preserved in temples as antiquities, but which once earned for the Japanese the name in China of "long-bows." These were sometimes simple, sometimes they had a double curve. They also had long spears with heads of various shape, especially three-pronged; and very good slightly-curved swords, of which every *samurai* bore two in his belt. The sword was once the greatest treasure of the chivalrous Japanese, which never left him. Sword-polishing, an art practised even by emperors, was in the highest esteem. Of the artistically decorated swords there are numerous varieties, especially in point of ornament. The sword, with the mirror and jewel, once formed part of the regalia. In Korea the bow of Asiatic shape is still in use, and archery the favourite exercise. Part of the full equipment was a helmet of iron or wood, with vizor in form of a mask, and distinctive crest worn in front. Shields were less used, but suits of armour were common. Japanese armour was composed on the principle of fastening square plates of wood, less often of metal, together by silk cords. Originally this seems always to have been carried out; and the cuirasses which we see in collections have all retained the form of square plates, small and large, fitted together; but the small ones are now either sewn on to cloth, or fastened together by wire gauze, or even no longer existent as separate pieces, but merely indicated by grooves, studs, and angles, on one solid piece. The mask-vizor was by no means universally worn, but the piece to guard the back of the neck is never absent. This is made up of overlapping semicircular scales of lacquered wood, and fits close to the helmet. It often spreads out like a guard at the bottom, and is attached to the helmet by pegs and strings. These suits of armour resemble the cuirasses worn by the western Hyperboreans, as in the cut, vol. ii. p. 93. The clever armourers of Japan, who have long made sword-blades good enough to compete with those of Solingen, quickly mastered the secret of firearms. Their matchlocks, still used in hunting, are beautifully wrought; and of late they have successfully imitated the best European weapons of war.

Aino hunting-knives. (After von Siebold.)

In Japan, with its wealth of wood, wooden architecture prevails, and hence the Japanese house acquires its picturesque appearance. Travellers describe with



Japanese and Chinese Weapons. (Ethnographical Museum, Munich.)

[illegible] at times rapture, the impression made by the elegant style of [illegible] houses with the steep gable-ends towards the road, or the large [illegible] houses gray with age, with their high roofs picturesquely peeping [illegible] green of the orchards. In the mountains, groups of houses close together, [illegible] stone-weighted shingle roofs, recall the villages of the Alps. Only the street-front of the Japanese house is inconspicuous, in the tints of the wood or slate; the home side, gaily coloured, lies towards the garden or the court. The Japanese likes to keep his house or his hut to himself. It is possible that the danger of earthquakes, so general in the country, may have led to the flimsy and low style of building in vogue; but in exchange for this they are so exposed to

Japanese utensils: 1, wash-hand basin, and 2, water-pot, of black lacquer; 3, kettle, [the lid of chased silver?]; 4, woman's head-rest, of red lacquer. (Munich Ethnographical Museum.)

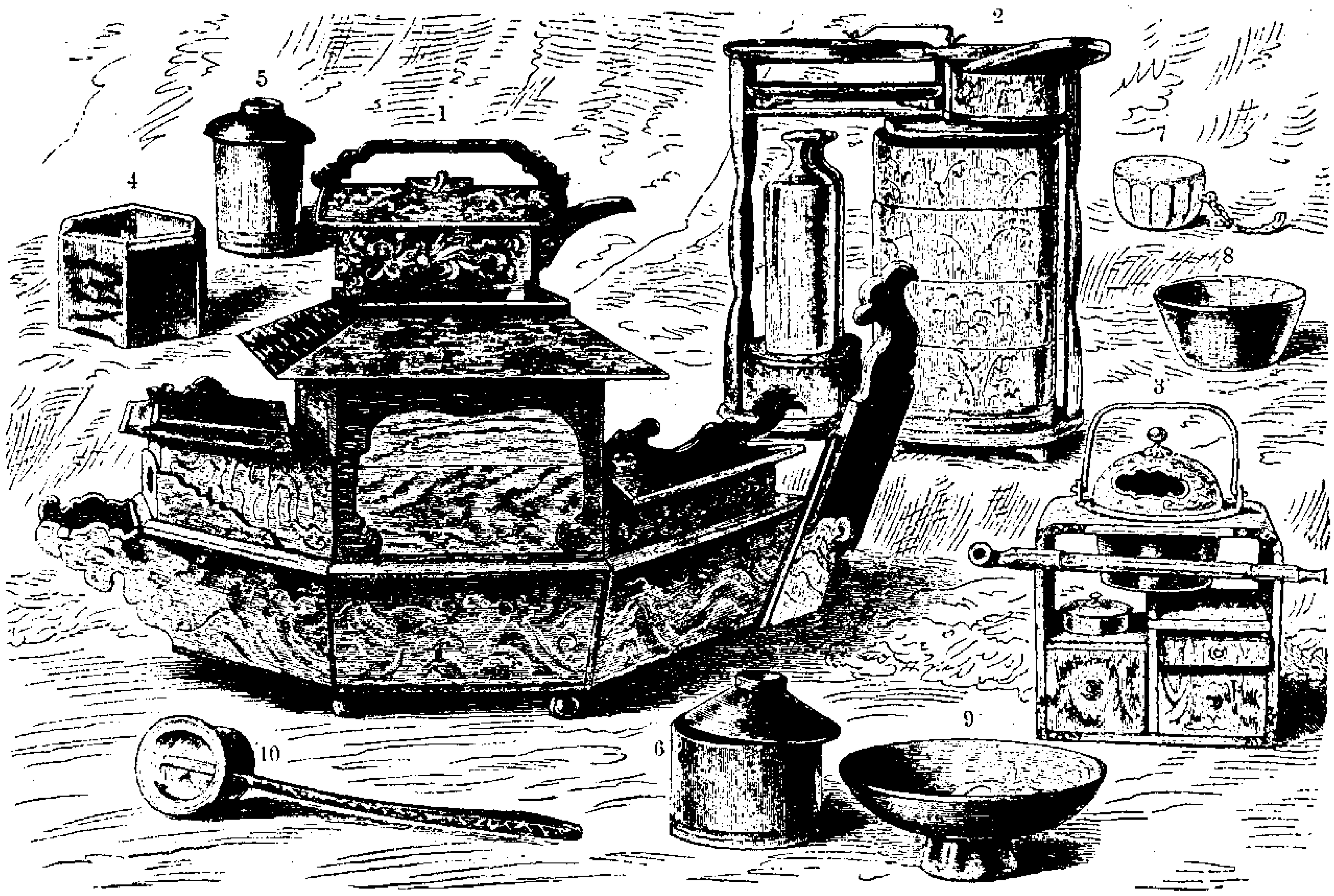
the danger of fire that destructive conflagrations are extraordinarily frequent. "Fire is the flower of Tokio," says a cruel jest. Japan has long had an organised fire-brigade and fire-watchmen. Water-butts stand in readiness by the house, and cunning tradesmen keep their valuable goods at a distance from the house in stone strong-rooms of their own. The posts of the roof, which is heavy and in handsome buildings concave after the Chinese fashion, rest upon unhewn stones; these projecting so far out of the ground that the house stands clear, as if on piles. A striking amount of care is expended on the roof, whether it be thatched—as is usual in rural districts,—shingled, or tiled. The Japanese house is chiefly roof, and this, large and heavy, and coming low down, is carried by comparatively weak pillars. Earthquakes show how easily houses of this kind fall in or take fire, while the European stone houses are only damaged. The roof projects far, leaving an open veranda between the outer and the inner supports, from which the inner apartments are separated by sliding wooden panels. The rooms too, not over 10 feet high, are divided by sliding panels, which do not reach the ceiling, but leave a space clear for some display of art, fretwork ornamentation, and the like. The panels are often hung with paper, coloured or gilt. In rich houses folding

screens take their place and rush-mats cover the floor. The best rooms lie at the back, looking towards the rarely-absent garden. The house is everywhere airy, more like a summerhouse. The Japanese domestic arrangements, the clothing, the headache-breeding mode of warming with pans of charcoal, are not adapted to the severe winters of North Japan, and give the impression of having grown up in the south. The bed, consisting of head-stool, or billet for the neck—used also by the Koreans,—mattress, and woollen quilt, is in the daytime kept in a cupboard, and only got ready at night. For heating, a square hole in the floor, made fire-proof by a clay covering, round which, as hearth, the sleeping-places were laid, was formerly more common than it is now, when brazen charcoal pans have become common. The Korean heating apparatus, by which the hollow floors are warmed from below, is peculiar. A ledge running along the fixed wall often carries ornaments such as vases, weapons, and the like. Part of the outfit has long been a dish holding tobacco, with a pot of charcoal beside it to light at, the girls' painting or embroidery frame, and a spittoon. The rooms are lighted, though inadequately, in the evening with lamps or candles of vegetable tallow. With the recollection of a Japanese home, or "indoors" as a Japanese likes to call it, is connected the image of dull candles with paper wicks, burning with a greenish light, flickering up from time to time, together with the vapour of charcoal, and the smell of the tobacco moistened with a tincture of opium. In old Japan but few differences in the mode of building were known; material, plan, style, are with inconsiderable exceptions the same in all parts of the country, in village and town, among poor and rich. It is rare for poverty or indolence to lead to scenes such as have been described in Northern Nippon, about Aomori, where the villages along the road consist of mud-huts of the most wretched kind, and low houses roughly put together of beams, bark, and bundles of straw, their decayed roofs pitifully covered with the dense foliage of climbing water-melons. On the Loochoo Islands, Japanese architecture prevails, with some Chinese features.

In the great number of lofty, plain stone houses which, especially in Tokio, have as it were shot up from the ground, it is once more shown that, in the imitation of foreign models, the fine feeling and correct intelligence which in their own art has made the Japanese almost always hit upon the right and appropriate thing, is deserting them. In this case, too, they have not found exactly the best teachers, especially among Americans. Timber-building predominates even in the temples, the walls of which are covered externally with strong planks, lacquered or carved and gilded; breaking out inside into handsome mosaic panelling, or again into carved and gilt woodwork. Ecclesiastical building likes to rely upon nature, withdrawing into ravines or the shade of trees, or on to heights. The temple gardens are more impressive than the temples themselves. In those of the Shinto-cult the red portals of the *tori*, in those of the Buddhists numerous stone lanterns, produce a peculiar impression. But there is no lack of magnificent staircases, supporting-walls, and defensive works, which testify to a great capacity for working and making use of stone, even granite. The buildings of Korea are far behind those of China and Japan. Mud-walls and thatch predominate. Much in the internal arrangements, as the wooden shutters and sliding panels, recalls Japan.

Till a few years ago glazed windows were quite unknown. In the newer palaces and temples a slavish imitation of the Chinese pattern may be recognised.

The Japanese villages as a rule rise abruptly out of the surrounding paddy-fields, or whatever it may be; often merely traces of fortifications or entrance-gates have been preserved. The plan of Japanese towns is like the Chinese; but they are less thoroughly walled, and for that reason they are here and there dominated by strong citadels. The gradation of the towns as centres of administration has also been brought from China. When large towns have been laid out on a plan the streets are straight, drawn towards the principal points of the

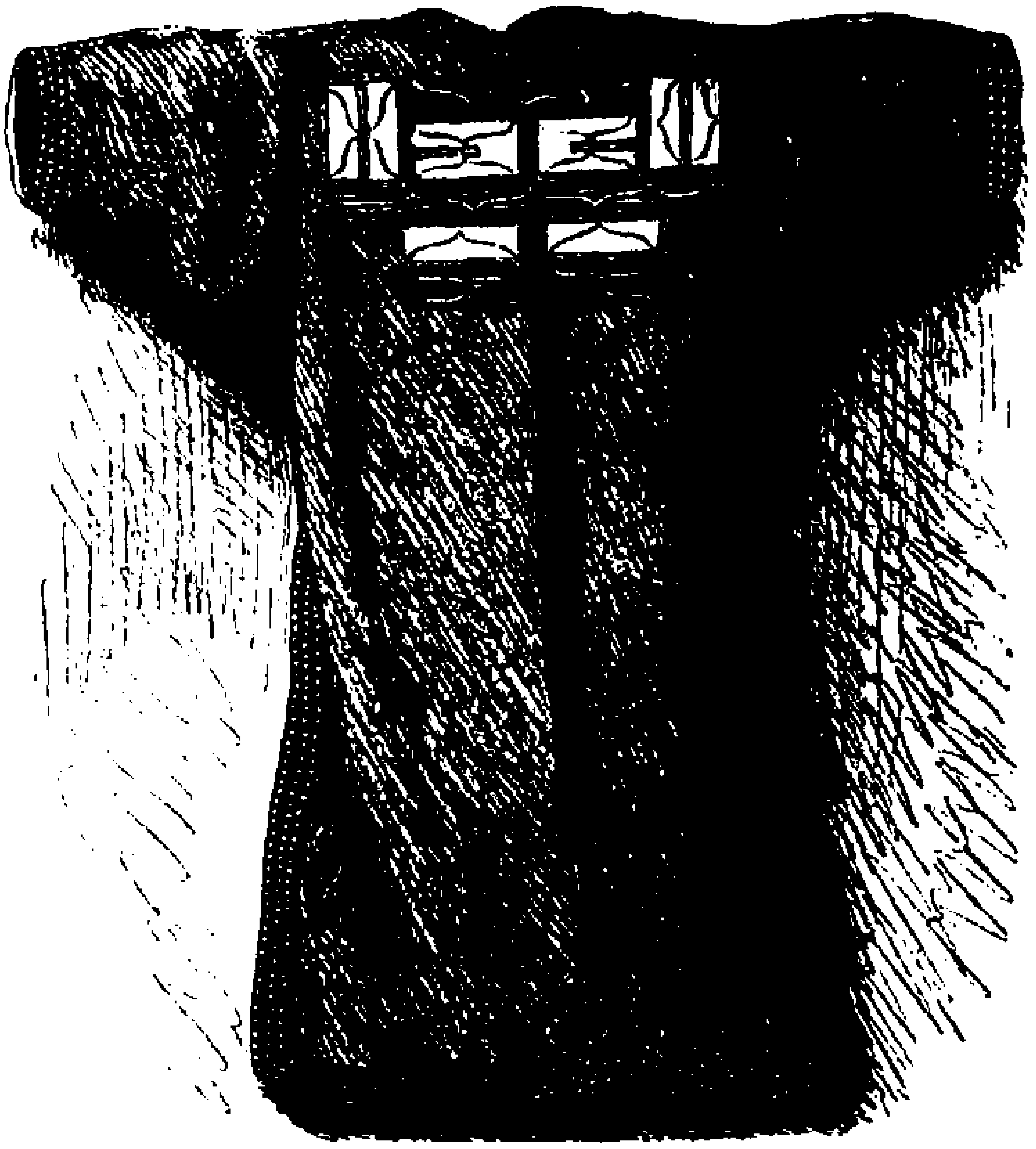


Japanese table furniture: 1, *saké* bowl, a service capable of being taken to pieces, of gilt lacquer; 2, portable stand for food and drink on a journey, of yellow lacquer; 3, smoking-stand, in brown wood and white metal; 4, biscuit-box; 5, cup for soup, of red lacquer; 6, rice-pot of red-brown lacquer; 7, cup of lacquer two shades of brown and gilt; 8, 9, *saké* cups in red lacquer with gold ornament; 10, ladle of black lacquer with gold ornament. (Munich Museum.)

compass, and denoted by numbers, whereas the narrow side-alleys have names. In old Kioto there are main streets from 2 to 5 miles long, but only between 12 and 20 feet wide. When cities have concreted gradually out of smaller elements, as Tokio is said to have taken 125 villages into itself, the several parts are separated from one another by extensive gardens, parks, cemeteries, and temple-groves, even by fields. The prevailing impression in the old Japanese towns is produced by the low gray houses, flung together apparently without any rule, amid great intervals filled with courtyards and gardens. There are whole quarters of the towns consisting only of shops and fire-proof stores in masonry. Above, black eaves project into the street; over them a small attic serves as a store, and carries the low dark roof of the house. Such a quarter appears to the eye as a gigantic black block, pierced through and through by a network of

streets, the prevailing colours being black and gray. The bu[illegible] Tokio recall the most bustling parts of great cities in Europe; [illegible] lacking is the rumble of carriages and all the night-life. In the J[illegible] towns, as in some of our seaports, regular streets have broad [illegible] through them, on which is a brisk traffic of boats and *sampans*. [illegible] bridges cross the arms of the Yodogawa.

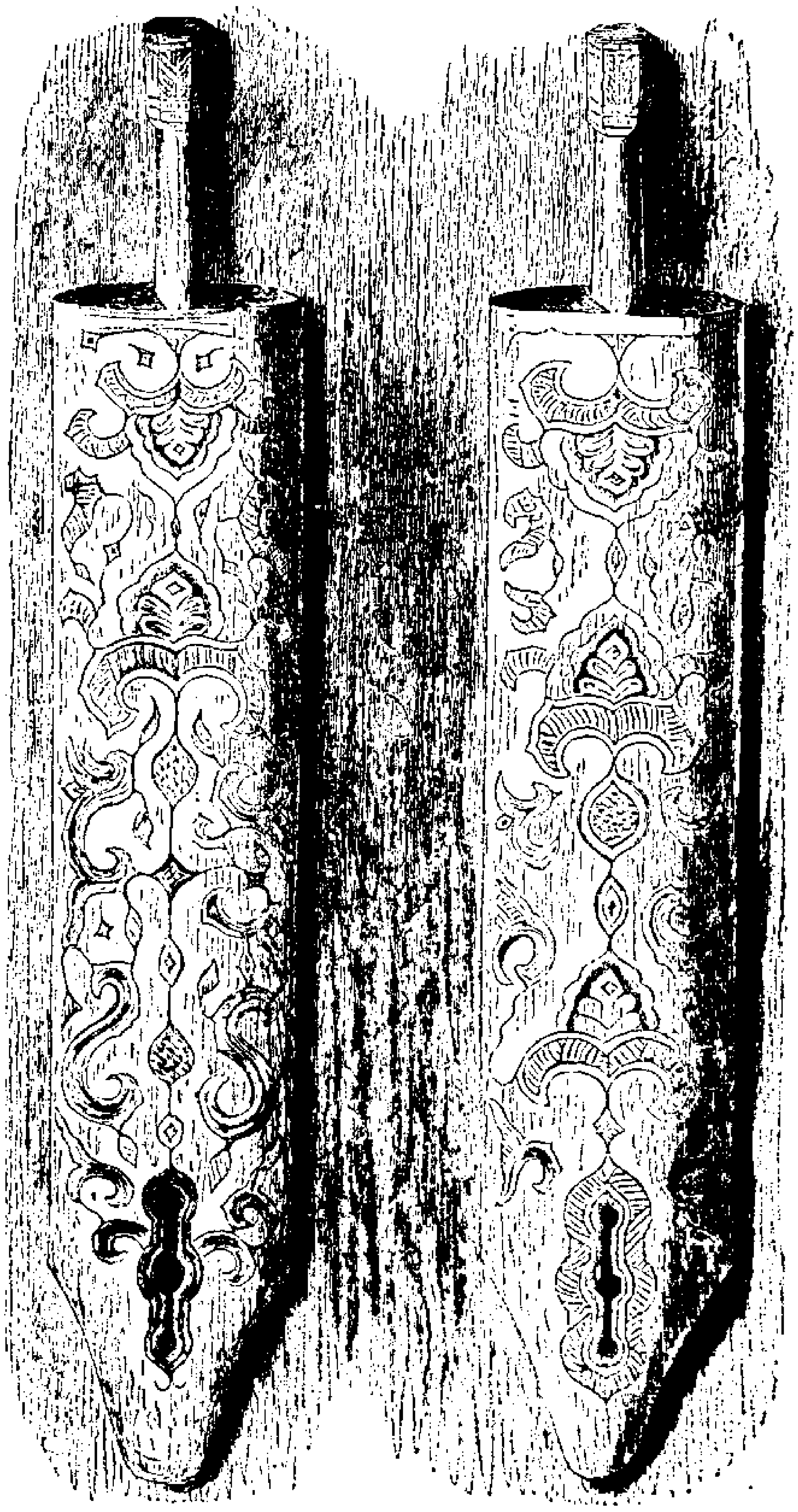
The crowding of the population in the more fertile parts of J[illegible] much less than in the most populous provinces of China. Between [illegible] Kioto house[illegible] uninterruptedly along the winding road, which is full of life and movement. "You have left Fujimi, you have reached Kioto, but you do not notice it." In Korea traffic is far more scanty. There is only one carriage-road, and no important centre of traffic outside the eight provincial capitals. In the picture of Korean towns one is struck by the poverty in temples. This is referred to the conflicts between Confucians and Buddhists, resulting in the banishment of the latter and the destruction of their temples in the cities. Even Korea is not exactly sparsely populated in comparison with its area, but as densely perhaps as Denmark or Portugal; its inhabitants, however, are distributed about the country in numerous villages.



Aino upper garment of bast. (After Von Siebold.)

Rice sets the tone so completely in the diet of the Japanese, that the three chief meals are called morning, noon, and evening rice. Poor people in the mountains who have to feed on buckwheat, wheat, and barley, at least use rice as food for children, the old, and the sick. In Korea the poorer people eat a good deal of buckwheat, also various beans and pease, roots—among these the *taro* of the Polynesians, here called *imo*, also yams, and since the intercourse with Europeans, potatoes. But many Japanese hold rice for the best form of nourishment, and next to it a white radish, or the fruit of the egg-plant as seasoning to every meal. Of native fruits may be mentioned *kaki* (*Diospyrus kaki*) and *biwa* (*Eriobotrya japonica*), as well as most kinds known in Europe. Animal food is supplied by the sea in all kinds of fishes, crustaceans, molluscs. Eggs are never lacking at the table of the well-to-do. The art of cooking stands

at a high level in Japan; their fish-dishes are by epicures preferred to those of Europe. Tea, rice-spirit or *saké*, too often in excess, and tobacco, are favourite luxuries in Japan. Every meal ends with tea, and it is offered to visitors. Even in the first class on the railways tea is ready to order. Innumerable precepts, far more refined and sensible than those of German drinking-bouts, regulate the social enjoyment of the cheering cup. It is usual to pledge the guest in *saké*. "The price of a glass of beer" is here that of a cup of tea. In place of tea the Koreans drink infusions of ginseng and ginger, also flower-tea; as well as wine and spirits from rice and maize. The Japanese pipe has a metal bowl with a small orifice, in which there is room only for a sort of pill of the fragrant weed. Pipe and tobacco pouch are almost articles of dress. This form of pipe and mode of sucking has spread throughout Northern Asia, from China or Japan. In Korea the cultivation of tobacco has long been known. Almost every Korean carries a pipe 12 or 13 inches long in his stocking at the knee, while grandees have the pipe of state, a yard and a half long, carried after them.



Aino shuttles, *hera*. (After Von Siebold.)

In spite of the attempt to introduce European economic methods, especially to give a wider development to the breeding of cattle, Japanese farming is of the character of spade husbandry. In Yezo, where wide districts still await cultivation, grass-farming, cattle-breeding, and the growth of European grain and root crops would be possible; but on the other islands the extent of the natural meadow-land is far too little, and the natural growth of grass not favourable. As in China, the list of plants in cultivation is very large, as indeed the varied hues of the landscape everywhere show. Wheat, barley, millet, rice, hemp, beans, pease, water-melons, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, egg-plants, tiger-lilies, a variety of *coleus*, the leaves of which are eaten like spinach, lettuce, a small yellow chrysanthemum, the stamens [*sic*] of which are a famous delicacy, Chinese jinseng, *Panax repens*, the *ninjin* of the Japanese, and lastly, indigo, stand close side by side in the fields. The *godoku*, however, one of the bases of the prosperity of the people, embrace rice, wheat, barley, millet, and beans. Where rice thrives the people are fortunate; North Japan passes for poor because it has to buy its rice. Tea, which Japan formerly supplied less adulterated than China, is grown

especially in the south and centre. On the banks of the Tsugawa, vineyards may be seen here and there with vertical espaliers. The plain of Yonezawa, noted for the abundance of its silkworms, is also proverbially rich in fruit. The espalier of split bamboo for training fruit-trees has long been known in Japan. Korea is like North China in the extent to which it grows various beans, which, with hides, represent the sole produce of farming to be exported in any quantity worth mentioning. The husbandry is more slovenly, the manuring inadequate; but, on the other hand, cattle-breeding is more extensively carried on than in Japan,

Antique Japanese bronze vases—one-fourth real size. (Munich Museum.)

where, under Buddhist influence, less meat is eaten. A gourd with a wooden pipe, forming a kind of funnel, is used for sowing in Korea.

A few plants, which afford the raw material of Japanese industries, are cultivated in considerable quantity. In the broad and fertile plain of Wakamatsu an admirable manufacture of paper and lacquer goes on in numerous villages and towns. *Broussonetia papyrifera*, the paper mulberry, and *Rhus vernicifera*, the lacquer tree, are much cultivated there, as well as *Rhus succedanea*, which furnishes vegetable wax. The good condition of the tidy and well-kept fields makes all the pleasanter impression that they are not divided from each other by walls, hedges, or ditches.

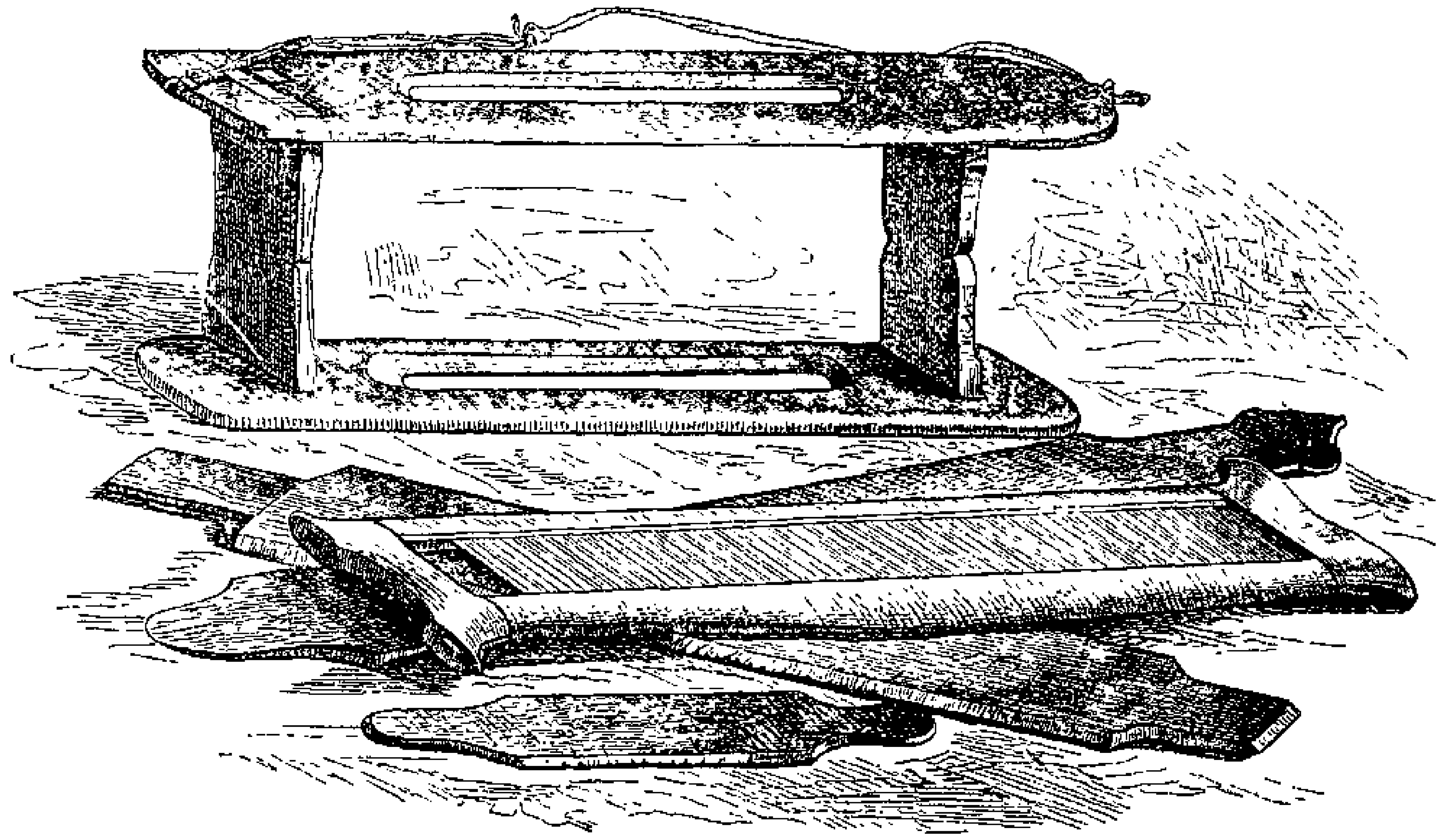
The inhabitants are said formerly to have worn bast and bark clothing, such as is still found among the Ainos. Silk has now long been one of the most prominent articles of export. The culture of the silkworm, it is stated, was introduced into Japan towards the end of the third century, some say by Korean,

others by Chinese immigrants. At the present day it is confined to the main island, where it represents the most general farming and domestic industry. That it has contributed materially to the welfare of the people is shown above all by the aspects of the districts where it flourishes. It has even succeeded in transforming the style, so rigidly adhered to, of the one-storied Japanese farm-houses. Merely for the purposes of the silk-culture a second smaller story was added. To the manifold employment of silk in the country itself must be added, since the opening of the country to European and American trade, the enormous exportation of silk, which in the last good years brought on the average £3,750,000 into the country. One-fifth as much is further obtained for silk-worms' eggs; for when the ravages of the *pebrine* spread from France to China, Japan was the only country that could furnish healthy eggs for restocking the silk-growing districts of Southern Europe, which the plague had devastated. Other kinds of silkworm beside that of the mulberry, *Bombyx mori*, are bred in Japan, especially the *Antherea yamamai*, which lives on evergreen oaks. The European silk-industry has not yet attained the fineness and cheapness of the Japanese. Japan also imports special kinds of silk from China.

Cattle-breeding in Japan, owing to the limited amount of meadow-land together with the small horticultural form of husbandry, is insignificant. The breeds are like those of China; pigs indeed were certainly introduced by the Chinese, and are kept mostly in the neighbourhood of the larger places. The small horse, the like of which is also found in Korea, is chiefly employed as a pack-animal, not much for riding, hardly at all for draught. The same was formerly true of cattle, except that they were not ridden at all; neither were they used for milk or meat. The Koreans shoe them. The climate appears to agree but little with sheep and goats. Among domestic animals may be counted dogs, cats, fowls, and ducks; but geese have not been known. Vegetable wax makes beeswax superfluous. Rabbits, white rats, and white mice are kept as playthings. In former times it was practically only the chase—which extended to monkeys and ravens—and the fishery, which seasoned with meat the prevailing vegetable diet. Neither by Buddhism nor by the fact that sacred horses were tended and revered in the Shinto temples, has the ordinary Japanese been made less cruel to beasts of burden.

As in China, Japanese industry in the pre-European time rested entirely on manual labour; machines and industry on a large scale being unknown. Its strength lay in native talent, which shows itself even amid the poverty in which the Ainos live, in patience, and in the practice gained by individual workmen, who did not, after the western fashion, carry division of labour to the point where the parts are meaningless, but made a whole in constant repetition. In this sense, however, division of labour goes very far, especially in the great porcelain and lacquer trades. Hence an artistic inspiration runs throughout Japanese industry. Besides this it, like the Chinese, develops small refinements which fall in with the realisation and use of their productions. Japanese toys, for instance, are of wonderful variety and fancy, and have gained a large sale in Europe and America. Lastly, their productions were once distinguished by solidity, durability, and cheapness. Japanese industry, like their art, has retrograded owing to the break-up of the old social order, especially through the impoverishment of the aristocracy, who loved splendour, and loaded the best

artists with orders. But the decided preference of the Japanese for what is old and certified has kept many an ancient branch of industry green. The oldest earthenware cups, of Korean origin it is said, are in use at festival tea-parties. From them, probably, are imitated the unglazed vessels of slightly-baked earthenware, out of which *saké* punch is drunk at the New Year. Offerings to the dead are made out of similar cups. In tools Japan can show much that is peculiar; Korea, being more dependent on China, has less. The axe with curved handle recalls the Polynesian stone axes. But the Japanese show most peculiarity in woodwork. Even their packing-cases, fastened together by little wooden pegs, are extraordinarily neat. Japanese paper, wonderfully strong and at the same time soft, is far more extensively employed than paper in Europe.



Aino loom, with implements—about one-sixth real size. (Frankfort Museum.)

Clothes, umbrellas, tents, even cords are made of it. Japanese history puts the introduction of pottery, with the potters, from Korea, about 200 A.D., but the prehistoric earthenware of Japan is not inferior to the old Korean, which only excels in its glazing. Painters and embroideresses also came over from Korea and taught the Japanese. Among the works of Korean artists are found admirable paintings in the old Chinese style. The Japanese, however, soon made themselves independent, and developed a far freer and more spirited art. Their lacquer ware, made with the thickened juice of the *Rhus vernicifera*, has long been known. We hear of lacquer, incrusted with mother-of-pearl, by the fifth century of our era, and at Nara lacquer caskets from the third century are said to be preserved. Chinese porcelain was long superior to the Japanese, till in 1211 a Japanese manufacturer, accompanied by a bonze, went to China and thoroughly learnt the secrets of the art, then 1400 years old. Since then Japanese porcelain in some kinds has surpassed the Chinese. Quite recently Japanese craftsmen have flung themselves emulously into the imitation of western goods. Instead of buying steamers, the Japanese import metal and build them at home. Instead of boots and shoes, leather is imported. In clothes, hats, carpets, beer, matches, petroleum, soap, umbrellas, refined sugar, glass, weapons,

portmanteaus, leatherwork, and furniture, imports have to contend with native industry. Even in 1881, when the second Japanese National Exhibition was opened at Tokio, Europeans admired the punctuality of the opening, the good and to some extent pretty execution of the building, the magnificence of the grounds, the rapidity with which the catalogue of 400 pages appeared. Beside the good tradition still operative in many branches of industry, it was astonishing how cleverly new dexterities had been picked up. Korean industry, once the teacher of Japan, has sunk far below its level. "In the whole country," says Gottsche, "not a piece of porcelain worth the name is baked. Painting and sculpture are extinct." Japanese industry is like Chinese in the great variety of its raw materials. Of native metals that chiefly worked is copper (which is also exported in great quantity), chiefly in making bronze; then iron, silver, and gold. Among the treasures of the soil may also be mentioned coal, china-clay, petroleum, and sulphur. In North Nippon and Yezo a peculiar kind of amber is found, called retinite, from which valuable figures are carved.

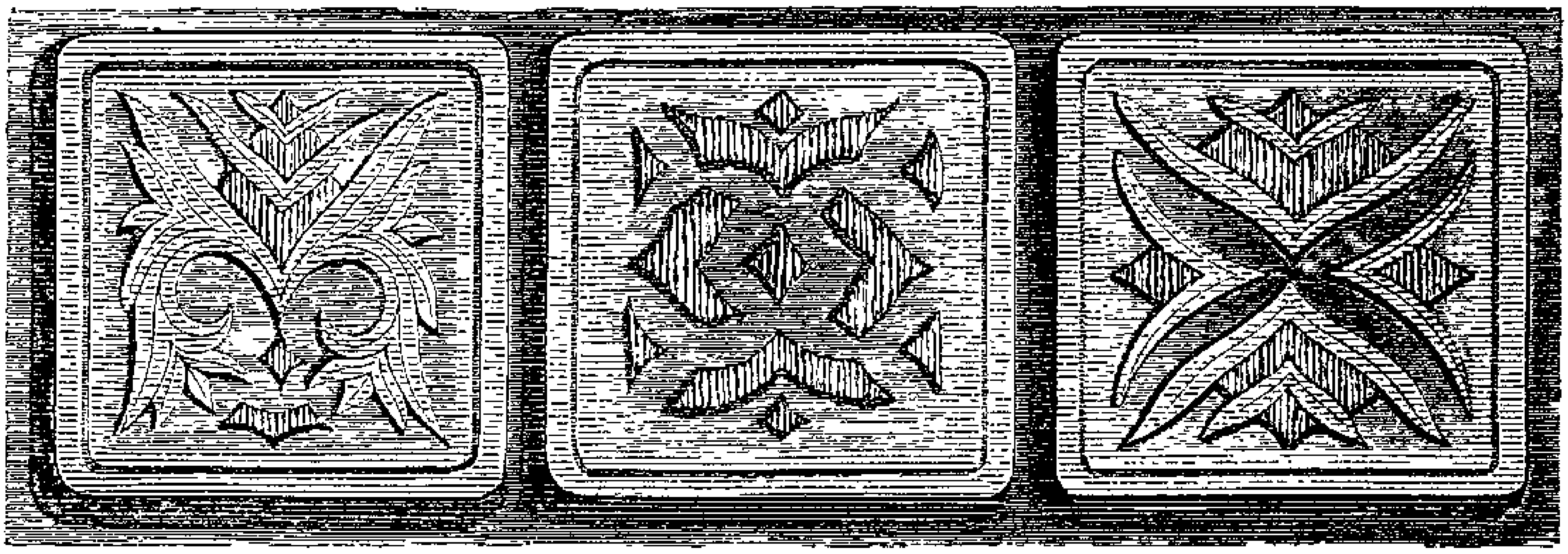
In Japan the communications were on a similar system to those of China, but in the profound peace enjoyed by the island-kingdom they have remained in a better state. The roads, strengthened by traverse stones at short intervals, were often paved for leagues together; similar roads often occur in the Loochoos. They run in straight lines from Kioto to all parts of the kingdom, and Europeans were astonished at being able to cover 30 miles and more in a day without jolting in carriages drawn by men; while imperial messengers sped over the same distance in half the time. In 1893 the country possessed over 1800 miles of railway. The canal from Kioto to the largest lake in the country, 7 miles long, with a rise of 140 feet, is described as a notable work. Means of conveyance of other kinds, more runners, more beasts of burden, with the lack of riders, and lastly the gayer dresses, give the traffic a different look from that of China; but in Japan as in China heavy loads are carried on bamboo poles resting on the shoulders of two porters walking in file. Europeans have always been amazed at the strange unpractical Japanese custom of putting straw sandals on their horses, quickly worn out and making the hoof tender. Japanese heroes are by choice painted on horseback, but the Japanese are not first-class horsemen.

The *kuruma*, or, as the Chinese call it, *jinrikisha*, is a small high two-wheeled carriage, drawn by men. Invented some decades ago, this characteristic vehicle soon came into general use. In Tokio alone there are to-day over 20,000 of them, and the profession of *kuruma*-runner is said to be so lucrative that thousands of young people come yearly from the country to the large towns to hire themselves out as draught-animals, in spite of the fact that the strongest cannot stand more than five years of the work. The small price set upon human labour-power is also demonstrated by the conveyance of all possible loads on small, heavy, two-wheeled carts, which similarly are drawn by men. Building materials are carried for miles in this way; two men draw the heavily-laden car, two others shove behind, pushing upon two projecting poles with their shoulders, or, when going up hill, with their clean-shaven heads, and accompanying their work with monotonous songs of melancholy cadence.

The Japanese currency, before the change to dollars and cents (*yen* and *sen*), was like that of the Chinese. The oldest copper and bronze pieces, without legend, go back to the eighth century, A.D. Thin pieces of sheet-silver, or rather

silver spangles strung on thread, served quite recently for money in the Loochoo Islands. Formerly gold-dust in bamboo tubes, gold and silver coins not perforated, also rectangular pieces, struck by individual *daimios*, were in circulation. Here, as elsewhere, paper money is not lacking.

In old Japan the social organisation was far more aristocratic than in China. The classes into which the population was formerly divided by law were originally *daimios* or hereditary nobility, priests warriors, upper and lower middle class, small shopkeepers and artizans, peasants, and day-labourers. The four first classes were regarded as the pillars of the empire, and had the privilege of wearing two swords. The *daimios* were often real independent feudal chiefs, in times when the cohesion of the empire was loose, very like the autonomous members of the old Germanic empire. The high officials of the Government and the court were chosen from among the hereditary nobility. The court nobility were called



Aino carved wooden plaques. (After Von Siebold.)

kugé; the nobility of the sword, *buké* or *samurai*. The upper middle class comprised physicians and officials; the lower, wholesale merchants. Shopkeepers, artists, artizans, belonged to the smaller people. The last class, depressed almost to serfage, was composed of boatmen, fishermen, peasants, and day-labourers. At present only the three classes of *kapoku* (nobles), *sizoku* (*samurai* or warriors), and *heimin* (all the rest) are practically recognised. Japan has not been able wholly to slough off her old social arrangements, in spite of the fall of the Tycoon, who might be designated as the very powerful head of the military caste, but hardly as the temporal ruler, beside the Mikado, the spiritual. The *daimios* kept, or received, the most influential posts, and their retainers, the *samurai*, stepped into the official places. The hierarchy remained, only the head had fallen. Great part of the difficulties of modern Japan, especially the often senseless way posts are filled, may be traced to the strength of the *daimios'* obligations to the *samurai*.

In the policy of both Japan and Korea we are everywhere met by Chinese models; among the Koreans they are quite slavishly copied. In slavery, till its recent abolition, the copy went beyond its model, as it still does in the low position of women. In Japan, before the European time, many public institutions bore the Chinese stamp. The deepest difference lies in the continuity of the Japanese dynasty, extending back, according to some believers, to 667 B.C. Critics carry it to A.D. 585. In its contrast to the series of invaders in China it

shows the peace of insular existence. Here the persistence of the indigenous is the rule, there the inroads of strangers. But the life of the Mikado in his palace-temple at Kioto in the last decades before the incoming of western influence, gave in its seclusion—even the highest in the realm at an audience saw only the hem of his garment—all the more the impression of unworldly, purely spiritual sovereignty, owing to the development of the eastern capital Yeddo (Tokio) under the shelter of the *Bakufu*, the Tycoon's government, and by favour of the business due to the extravagant courts of the feudal chiefs, into the most populous city in the land. The opening of Japan by the treaty of Kanagawa in 1854 was the work of the Tycoon against the will of the Mikado.

§ 24. FAMILY, SOCIETY, AND STATE, CHIEFLY IN CHINA.

Marriage; position of women—Birth and education; intimacy of family life; infanticide—Over-population; coolie-trade and emigration—Subdivision of property: beggars; slaves; socialism—General character of the political position; stationariness and retrogression; magnitude of the population and the empire; the emperor; the superior officials; the viceroys—The bureaucracy; corruption; censors; Chinese statesmen—Administration of justice—Local self-government—Tribes and societies.

To the Eastern Asiatic the most valuable point in the family seems to be the guarantee of coherent lineage from one generation to another. Marriage is esteemed substantially for that reason, but is also dreaded by many on account of the duties of ancestor-worship connected with it. We cannot recognise an echo of marriage by capture in the custom which forbids the bridegroom from taking his bride save in the twilight to his own house, where the wedding-feast then takes place; but the prohibition of wedlock between persons of the same name certainly recalls a clan system, once much stricter. Young men and maidens do not as a rule see each other before marriage, and if by any lucky chance they have come in contact, consent to the marriage may only be received through a proxy. If the youth sends a present to the girl, the parents come together, and have the horoscope of both parties cast, on the basis of the statements of witnesses to the birth, in order, if the prognostics are fortunate, to proceed to an engagement; but it can still be cancelled if anything of ill-omen occurs, like the breaking of a piece of china or the loss of any article. If, however, no impediment intervenes, the bridegroom's father sends presents to the bride's, including a goose and a gander to symbolise conjugal fidelity. Then two sheets of paper, bound round with red silk, on which the bridegroom has noted all the details of the engagement, are exchanged; he sends the last presents to the bride, the day is fixed with the help of the astrologers, and the bride is led with music to the bridegroom's house, across the threshold of which she is carried over a fire. She finds the bridegroom within, sitting on a stool, and sinks at his feet. He raises her, unveils her, sets her beside him, and both make offerings before the domestic altar. Vows are exchanged at a joint meal, at which the bride takes nothing. In many districts the guests of the evening do not depart until she has solved a riddle for all of them. Or else she appears in the porch of the house for the last time without her husband, a sign that henceforth the inner rooms of the house will be almost exclusively her home. In Japan and Korea similar customs seem to occur, though

in a simpler form. A religious character is altogether absent from the ceremony. In Japan there is much less constraint than in China in the intercourse between the sexes. In the practice of common bathing, without distinction of age or sex, natural decency prevails, and Europeans were the first to introduce a false modesty.

Only the rich and persons of quality allow themselves the luxury of polygamy; but apart from this the proportion of the sexes is so affected by infanticide that marriage is impossible for a great part of the male population. One may say, however, that the Chinese would endure any form of inequality sooner than one that should deprive him of the consolation of a family of his own in order to fill the harem of some rich man. Polygamy takes in China the form of legalised concubinage, the concubines being as a rule slaves, and their children the property of the lawful wife. In Japan, where the marriage-laws are more loosely kept, and adoption is rife, this institution might have grown to be destructive of the family. But here it was further clad in the sanctity of the law which allotted to the Mikado the right to have twelve by-wives, eight to a *daimio* or *hatamoto*, two to a *samurai*. In view of the other law forbidding a man to marry outside his own rank, in this sanction of polygamy lay a breach of the rigid barriers between *heimin*, *eta*, and *samurai*; but in the peaceful circumstances of Japan the numerical proportions of the sexes have long been so normal that in the nature of the case the tendency was back to monogamy; and this even in the pre-European time was in vogue almost universally, at least among the *samurai*. Only in the lower classes do parents sell their daughters to brothels; but neither in China nor in Japan does entry into them forbid a return to the bounds of stricter morals. In Japanese poetry, girls who have sold their virtue for some years to support a parent or a lover with their earnings hold a high place; only the heroic sacrifice is seen in such conduct.

The position of women is firmly based on tradition and the sacred books. Having escaped infanticide, girls take only a secondary position beside their brothers. That it was not always so is witnessed by the female sovereigns of Japan and the copious female literature of China, which has acted on Japan. But their three great duties—obedience to father, to husband, to eldest son—may be traced back to Confucius. Among the Ainos their freedom and independence seem to have been greater, and it is still so in Japan, where, indeed, on the strength of it, a wife may be seen drawing the plough beside her husband. As a rule, sons inherit in equal shares. The daughters must be provided for by marriage, in which they too often play the part of an article that is given away with no will of its own. Moralists have sought grounds for the lower position of the women; Confucius takes a contemptuous pleasure in speaking of the difficulty of managing her; and they enjoin her to obey her husband blindly, and only in extreme cases even to admonish him gently, but never to find fault with him. Lawgivers have given these views their sanction, when they permitted concubines to men, and on the other hand threatened the wife with divorce for disobedience to the husband's parents, for barrenness, unchastity, jealousy, leprosy, garrulity, theft. It was by no means rare for widows voluntarily to follow their husbands to the grave; monuments exist put up by admirers to martyrs of this kind. Even before the days of Confucius widows were highly reverenced in China, while second marriages are not thought well of. But not a few girls who dislike marriage go into

Buddhist or Taoist convents. Gray relates how in 1873 eight Canton girls, being engaged, tied each other up and jumped into the river to escape marriage. In Japan the superiority with which Christian culture is invested by the higher position of women alone, was early recognised. Formerly marriage was permitted to *daimios* and *kugé* only with the permission of the Government; but after 1870 the barriers of class as regarded marriage were broken down, the right to sue for a separation was granted to women, and they were seen, after their empress's example, appearing in public. Women have done most to further the advance of Christianity.

The number of births must be great where, in spite of mortality, infanticide, and emigration, such an increase of population can be shown as in China; but we have no trustworthy figures. In Japan, indeed, the proverb is often heard, "Good people have many children," and in good families abortion is regarded as disgraceful; but the number of children cannot be very large, considering the postponement of weaning as a rule till the second, sometimes even till the fifth year, and the lack of intelligent rearing. The Chinaman, with his love of children, is taken up most thoroughly with the posterity which he hopes for or expects. Starting from the view that to every woman there corresponds a tree or a flower in the next world, he regards adoption, like grafting, as a means of promoting fertility. The same aim is attained by dedicating a shoe in the temple of the children's goddess. Women with child try to prognosticate the sex of the expected infant, by adding to their age the numbers of the month, day, and hour of their birth. In this way they arrive at a number which denotes one of the thirty-six attendants of the goddess, and the sex of the child will follow that of the infant she holds in her arms. Another way is for the young wife to go at early dawn, dressed in her husband's clothes, to the well, and walk round it thrice from left to right. If she gets home without being seen, it will be a boy. The hour of birth must be accurately noted, for each has its significance, from the most fortunate to the most gloomy. Many an infanticide is due to the fact that children born at certain hours will die on the scaffold, or murder their parents, or either do or undergo some other dreadful thing. Every cry, every movement of the newborn infant has its meaning. It does not undergo washing till the third day, and is then wrapped in clouts, which, being cut from the clothing of very aged people, guarantee the baby a long life. The first washing is an occasion of festivity; friends and kindred offering onions and gold, emblems of acute vision and wealth. On the Bonin Islands, as formerly in Japan, there are special lying-in huts. Before a boy, on the day after his birth, are laid a quantity of symbols of the occupations to which he may some day devote himself; and great is the joy of the parents when he clutches at pencil and paper or scales, for he will be a scholar or a merchant. Education, according to ancient precept, is conducted kindly. A European has called Japan the children's Paradise. This is verified in the enjoyment with which old and young people, not parents and children only, participate in childish games, and in the repudiation of all outbreaks of anger towards children. Girls' education is, in the better classes, not confined to cooking and women's work, which in Japan includes a good deal of artistic work, even the art, treated of in Japanese books, of arranging flowers in vases, but reading and writing are learnt, with some amount of ciphering, and, at least in Japan, playing upon the simplest

musical instruments, like the three-stringed guitar, in many cases also upon the *Koto* or thirteen-stringed zither. In all the better Japanese families there is singing. The impulse to do everything by rule runs not merely through buildings, windows, clothing; even deportment and the art of making tea are learnt at school in a way to gratify Mr. Spencer. Meanwhile the chief aim of female education is to inculcate acquaintance with the ceremonies of ancestor-worship, and an obedient, ever-cheerful, and amiable demeanour, which may one day guarantee a happy marriage, the goal of a woman's life; in short, the art of living.

In the sixth year of the child's life the astrologer fixes a day, which must not be that of the death of Confucius, or of Tsang-Hieh, the inventor of writing. After candles and costly paper have been burnt before the altar of Confucius, the scholar at once begins his reading-lessons in an elementary book; next to which the Four Books—selections from Confucius, the Great Study, the Golden Mean, the sayings of Meng-tse, and the Five Classics—Yih-king, Shoo-king, Chantsin, She-king, and Li-ki; that is, the Book of Changes, the Book of History, the Calendars of Spring and Autumn, the Book of Songs, and the Book of Customs—have to be studied. Sequence and treatment are alike throughout China; and beyond this, great as is the kingdom and many as are the scholars, no study goes. Thus this basis of Chinese "classical training" has remained unaltered for centuries. The Chinese look upon it with as much pride as we on our public school training, and it is an honour to a province to have more "degrees" allotted to it than others. In the case of insecure territories, such as Formosa was, it is sought to bring them more quickly within the domain of Chinese culture by conferring more degrees. If, after learning as much as possible of these works by heart, discussing them in essays, and hymning them in verse, the scholar wishes to enter an official career, he goes in for the previous examination, which is held yearly at a fixed date in one of the provincial capitals, its aim being to test the literary training of the candidates, who sometimes reach 2000, by means of theses and verse composition. A second examination follows, in which, besides classics, a knowledge is required of the edicts of Kang-hi, with the commentaries of Yung-ching. This, if passed, confers a degree corresponding somewhat to the German doctorate of philosophy. In the final schools, at which even high officials from Pekin make their appearance in the provincial capital, 6000 to 8000 candidates take part. These have to undergo two days' seclusion, each by himself, with food, books, and writing materials. Those who have completed their task depart at the beginning of the third day, to the thunder of cannon and the strains of music. This examination gives the title of *Ku-jin*, besides a new suit of clothes and a pair of shoes. In the spring of the following year some 6000 Ku-jins assemble at Pekin, from whom 350 *Tsin-tse* are selected by a fourth examination, presided over by a minister; and the most eminent of these receive special titles and gratuities. Japan, before adopting the present system of instruction, imitated from western countries, which to-day is striving to educate 3,000,000 of young people, from the boys' and girls' national schools up to the University of Tokio, followed a strictly national system similar to the Chinese.

The high importance assigned to family cohesion led to the wide spread of adoption, especially in Japan, where the organisation of the *samurai* rendered the possession of male heirs a condition of the enjoyment of class-rights. Ancestor worship, too common throughout Eastern Asia, caused the lack of sons to appear

a misfortune to ageing persons, seeing that without them you could not reckon on the sacrifices which provide food for the departed in the nether world. But if by adoption, to which indeed in Japan many ancient families owe their antiquity, you could prevent the extinction of families, this custom, which in course of time became extraordinarily widespread, had a destructive effect on the family. This, on adoption becoming customary, sank to a corporation; and, with the admission of fresh strangers, the repudiation of natural kindred grew to be an abuse.

The suppression of infanticide and exposure of children formed even in old days an object of care to the Government, just as now it stands foremost among the tasks of Christian missionaries. Even to our own days infanticide was so much the custom in Fu-kian and Kiang-si, that, as Professor Douglas avers, on one public canal there is a stone with the inscription, "No girls to be drowned here." Precept and injunction seem to have been of little avail. There appear to have long been foundling institutions in China. One in Canton receives 5000 female children yearly, and as not more than 1000 can be taken care of in the place, the rest, when not taken by rich people to serve as maids—or eventually as concubines—are given out to bring up.

The intimate cohesion of the family is praised by Chinese sages as the most precious boon alike to the individual and to the state. This is no empty phrase. Nowhere is the founding of a family so universal, so much a matter of course, as here. The rulers see in marriage, early and often, a means to the more rapid increase of the people, and therefore wish to diminish the host of the unwedded. Among the grounds of the great rate of increase in the Chinese population, those who know the country mention the importance attached by parents to the marriage of their children, the disgrace of dying without offspring, adoptions, the impossibility of a mesalliance, and, finally, the habit, universal even among soldiers and sailors, of marrying. Hoei-ti is said to have laid a tax on old maids, and in 85 A.D. it was ordered that every lying-in woman should be granted three sacks of millet, and her husband a year's freedom from taxes. Even the dislike to marrying in the same family seems to have been turned to account by the political desire of securing the begetting of numerous and strong offspring. The cohesion of the family exercises a powerful influence over the economic life of the people. Wherever it is possible, parents and children form a single economic organism, with all property in common. The Chinese family may be described as a house-community owning inalienable landed property. The persevering way in which sons who have emigrated support their relations at home, is a trait which even in America has touched and almost reconciled many an opponent of the "yellow immigration." Fortune once talked to a contented old gentleman in the southern tea-district, who gave the following picture of the material basis of his existence: "I own a bit of land like a garden, which my wife tills; my two sons hire themselves out as labourers, and I try to earn a little money by light jobs. We all three bring our earnings to the mother, and live together on them."

The value of love towards parents is a favourite theme of philosophers, but their well-meant precepts as to piety often pass into the trivial and insipid. The child should arise at cockcrow, wash and dress with care, then go in to his parents and enquire their wishes for the day. No son enters the room till invited

by his father; he does not retire without permission, and does not speak without being spoken to. The consequence of all these precepts and rules, which have entered deeply into the life, is the absolute obedience of children to their parents. The law is so decidedly on the father's side that imprisonment, even for a long term, may be the lot of the disobedient son. Another law, indeed, condemns a father, convicted of beating his son to death, to a hundred strokes of the bamboo. The father is master of the son's property; and even in his most mature manhood the son may not remove, save to some accessible spot.

Nothing but entrance into the public service dissolves the father's relation of unlimited sovereignty over his son; then in the view of the Chinese the emperor takes the father's place. Yet any official, on the death of his father, may be twenty-seven months absent from his duties. The fundamental idea of property in land is with Chinese and Japanese alike based upon the theocratic character of their conception of the state. The emperor, or the Mikado, is the lord of the whole country, the only possessor of the land at large, which he has received from heaven; in Japan, indeed, it was even created by his ancestors. Thus private property is all feudal, and there have been instances in which the emperor has resumed and distributed a fresh property that seemed to him not to have been suitably allotted. In old times the state is said to have recognised no property in land, but to have made a fresh distribution every year. Every nine families received a parcel subject to the obligation of tilling the ninth part for the state, besides rendering service, military and otherwise. In China every invasion and conquest must have upset this system, since the victors took the land into their own possession, and made serfs of the inhabitants. But no Chinese historian doubts that the division was once as even as might be. Political conditions must have exercised a profound effect upon the distribution of property. Insurgents and criminals, in troublous times those also who were out of favour or under suspicion, lost their lands for ever, and they were assigned to adherents of those who were for the time in power. In the western provinces especially, a class of great landowners arose, from which, it is said, many mandarins spring.

In Japan private property has developed more peaceably with the like object. Feudal lords had made themselves independent of the emperor, by appropriating his rights over forest and waste land, and, to some extent, even entered into the position of landlords towards their hereditary tenant-farmers. Such a holder could improve, increase, let or sell his holding, but he was bound to the former owner-in-chief by two duties; all dues must be paid on pain of forfeiting the right to the land, and the land must be kept in good cultivation. Among the difficulties of New Japan was the overthrow of the simple system whereby the farmer paid the taxes to his *daimio*, who paid tribute to the Tycoon or the Mikado; traders and artisans being free. Half the state revenue for the first year had to go to compensating the nobility.

Not only are beggars numerous, but their existence is thoroughly recognised. The alms may, as a rule, amount only to the sixth or tenth part of a penny, but the collecting of them is regarded as a legitimate hereditary business, which every one has not the right to follow. Beggars may often be known by their characteristic dress, which need not be tattered. Among them are those who are poor not only in property but in wits, idiots and imbeciles, lepers, cripples, and sick persons of all kinds. In Japan may be seen modest beggars with

wicker masks on their faces. It is not an exaggeration to say that the beggars form a community with laws and a president; in the north, at any rate, such institutions are known. But nowhere do they stand quite outside of the economic organisation. Thus in Pekin they have the right to carry the dead, on which occasions they receive clothes to wear over their rags. Since not only gambling and profligacy, but also the carelessness of the Government, tend to promote pauperism, it has no right to take steps against mendicancy. Men out of work often assert their right to it by violence and insurrection. One of the greatest difficulties that travellers meet with in the interior of China lies in the number of coolies who offer themselves as bearers for a small fee at the stopping-places. As it is, the bearers are so badly paid that they are hardly in a position to save anything for their families over and above their own wants. In China, as elsewhere, social revolutions have from of old lain at the root of political movements. Temporary garrisons, intended to keep the restless elements of the labouring population in check, may be met with in the industrial districts, from Szchuan far into the west. Injury to business is always injury to the life-strings, and has a direct influence on the fortunes of the empire. The huge importation from Europe and America, and the simultaneous suppression of a natural reaction against it, the stronger development of native intelligence and labour-power, may in time be more disastrous to China than all the opium trade.

Slaves, especially for domestic work, are preferred to all other forms of labour. Outside the house they do not count as slaves, and their children can attain any rank in the service of the state. They are protected by law, at least in so far as parents are prohibited from selling their children against their will; they must be married, and marriage terminates the servitude of female slaves. Beside the domestic slaves there are in China also public slaves, or at least of public origin. Unfortunates who cannot maintain themselves sell their freedom, or that of their children, for bread and shelter. Punishments were inflicted, especially after civil war, on vagrancy and self-sale, and redemption-prices were fixed. But to the present day the history of the coolie-trade clearly shows similar cases. There was also a time when many families were in serfage, having been deprived of their freedom by victorious parties or strangers. Even after the change of dynasty which brought the Manchus to the throne, many inhabitants were enslaved who tried by insurrection to restore a purely Chinese monarchy. At the same time kidnapping was systematically and officially practised with the object of repeopling devastated districts. So late as the 'sixties cargoes of coolies, intended to start from the south-west for foreign parts, were compulsorily settled in Formosa by mandarins. In Japan the Chinese have long had the name of man-stealers; and in 1879 the chief-justice of Hong-Kong exclaimed, "We are now at the flood-tide of women- and children-stealing. Nearly one-fifteenth of the Chinese population of Hong-Kong is in some sort of slavery."

The export of coolies to America, Southern Asia, and Australia, was at first quite an ordinary slave-trade. Those who know, divide the coolies into three classes: prisoners taken in the clan-feuds so frequent in Kwang-tung; dwellers on the coast violently carried off by men-stealers; and such as have lost their freedom at games of hazard. Lord Elgin wrote from Swatow in 1860, before it was opened to Europeans: "The settlement here is against treaty. It consists mainly of agents of the two great opium-houses with their hangers-on. This,

with a considerable business in the coolie-trade, which consists in kidnapping wretched coolies, putting them on board ships, where all the horrors of the slave-trade are reproduced, and sending them on specious promises to such places as Cuba, is the chief business of the foreign merchants here." The frequent risings on board coolie-ships, with the murder of captains and crews, and the burning of the vessels, throw light enough upon the treatment of those on board. In 1871 the coolies burnt the Peruvian ship, *Don Juan*, on the high seas, whereby 600 of them perished; and in the following year a Peruvian coolie-ship was compelled by her cargo to put them ashore at Yokohama. A well-to-do person will seldom leave China; though it occurs among traders, who in any case throughout China form a semi-nomad class. The ordinary labourer who wishes to emigrate has almost, without exception, to borrow the capital first from a company, which attends to superintending and providing for emigrants. By this he is taken to the ship and has his destination pointed out. On reaching it he is received by the branch-depot of the company and assigned to some employer. Finally, these companies attend to the conveyance back of the dead, since Chinese religion never dispenses with burial in native soil. All Chinese sent out by the same company form a union for mutual aid and support; aims which they promote by money-contributions, and sometimes by acts of violence against backsliding members, or competition. The company agrees, on condition of the members' mutual liability, to give security for their individual relatives. It is worth mentioning that this security is no empty word, and that Chinamen abroad seldom become a burden to any one other than their respective companies.

The wish some day to return home is undoubtedly common to all Chinese emigrants. Most would not emigrate at all if the emigration company did not pledge itself to bring them back dead or alive. But the mortality on the emigrant ships and in the unhealthy regions to which the emigration is diverted, is great; and then the prosperity which often awaits the Chinaman abroad, and his great talent for installing himself anywhere in full Chinese domesticity, is not without effect. Bowring thinks that hardly one in ten succeeds in returning home. Where they are not oppressed they have settled firmly, as in all parts of Further India and of the Indian Archipelago. The filial piety and care for the graves of ancestors which impel them back, fall away in the second generation, which naturally feels itself bound by the same piety rather to the new home. The Chinese are neither so stubbornly conservative nor so unteachable as they are often represented. How easily, especially when business prospects are good, they bow to the force of circumstances, is nowhere better shown than in their increase in the Philippines, where they are most unfairly taxed, and cannot found a family without becoming compulsorily Christians. The care of the Chinese Government for its emigrated subjects has declared itself in a most gratifying fashion by official enquiries upon the position of the coolies in several parts of Asia and America. They have brought about limitations in the coolie-trade and improvement in the emigrant's position, which was energetically exposed, in Cuba for instance, by the Chinese officials.

The frequency of great political revulsions, changes of dynasty, interregnums, would hardly have been expected, considering the political rigidity and the conservative feeling of these people; and all the less so, that the East Asiatic states have, on the whole, been governed more carefully, and in the truest sense of the

word, in more enlightened fashion than any others of that quarter of the globe. Yet the fact remains, in spite of the excellent sovereigns who have arisen not only as single individuals, but often in whole series from many dynasties. We need recall only those of Han, of Than, of Ming, and the Manchu dynasty at present reigning, who kept the empire strong and peaceful for 200 years. What then explains the frequent changes? No doubt by their very magnitude the empire and its population lay a heavy task on the sovereign. The former is somewhat larger than Russia in Europe, but the latter, with all its faults, is from its timidity and patience easy to rule. The system of government, however, suffers from the same radical faults that permeate all Chinese civilization. As in all productions of the Chinese mind, depth is lacking, to go exhaustively into problems; just as Chinese logic never pushes to the ultimate conclusion, as Chinese learning never attains to science, so their whole method of government is no doubt in parts well conceived, but, as a whole, inadequate and ill-adapted to its purpose. Their material resources are scarcely sufficient for the attainment of the aims of the state. Finances, army, means of communication, are in a bad condition. The position of their country has for thousands of years so facilitated the development of the Chinese in independence and exclusiveness, that from an early period it has been impossible for them to sharpen their wits by competition, either within their own borders, or with foreign nations. Paternal guidance from above, and the fulfilment of certain prescribed tasks, as shown above all by the wonderful delicately elaborated system of state-examinations, which those who know regard as the principal implement in producing the intellectual monotony and uniformity of the Chinese, here take the place of the fiery trials through which among us nations and individuals alike have been led by the struggle for existence. In the economic domain, indeed, the exclusiveness favoured by their position has in no way hindered the Chinese from appropriating without reluctance what is good from all quarters; but politically the country has remained internally and externally at the same level. Here the indolence of the people backed up the self-sufficiency of the system.

The population of China represents a force, great, but difficult to maintain. The figures given were long held for improbable; but criticism must not venture too far. The census of 1842 gave the number at 415 millions; to-day there are, perhaps owing to the havoc wrought among the people by the Tai-ping and Nin-sei rebellions, and by the subsequent years of dearth, not more than 350 millions. The population of China must long have grown too large for this vast country, had there not been serious and long-lasting interruptions to its growth. The best authorities estimate the loss of human lives due to the two rebellions above-mentioned at not less than 13 millions. Up to 1644 Manchu invasions had reduced the population to 37 millions [*sic*]; but during a long period of peace and under good government it has increased with incredible rapidity.

The progress of the Chinese state to secure dominion over its present territory has proceeded essentially by the way of culture, and, in consequence, gradually. When a district was subdued it was protected by military colonies, who at once set to work to cultivate it. As time went on, these became purely agricultural colonies; and the Government often furthered the acquisition of the district by a complete exchange of population. The Chinese are a race of colonists so effective that as the political frontier has been pushed to and fro their culture has

constantly overstepped it in all directions, and taken root to some distance round the whole circumference of the empire, which accordingly has stood permanently in uncertain relations to the neighbouring peoples and kingdoms. Korea and the Loochoo Islands paid tribute simultaneously to China and to Japan. Even to-day we are in doubt how much of Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet—states in any case more or less dependent on China—is at present to be regarded, so far as its population goes, as Chinese. Large tracts beyond She-kiang, Shen-si, and Shan-si are now densely enough populated to reckon as "genuine China."

In the attempts made from time to time by the Chinese to extend their rule as far as the countries on the Tarim and the Ili, to the Irrawaddy, and into the valleys of the Himalaya in Nepaul, their aim was to embrace everything that could be reached from the centre of their power; but, as may be supposed, "everything" could never hold together. Now here, now there, a piece crumbled away; now a new territory was acquired or an old one regained. But amid all these changes another kind of conquest went uninterruptedly forward, wrought not by generals and armies, but by industry, intelligence, and superior culture; and the territories earned for China by these forces were not lost. The same kind of colonising conquest which created China by the annexation of the manifold races who even in historical times held the greater part of the modern China, but of which fragmentary remains only are now preserved in the mountains of the extreme south and west, the same kind of slow conquest has in the last two centuries gained for China Southern and Central Manchuria, all the cultivable parts of Mongolia as well as Formosa (now lost again), and other lesser islands in the China Seas. This again it is that has filled Tonking and Siam with a Chinese population; and but for the intrusion of Europeans would have made the incorporation of those countries in China only a question of time. In East Turkestan, distant as it is from China Proper, Yakoub Beg slaughtered 50,000 Chinese without being able to suppress Chinese culture. The remainder continued to produce and trade, and ultimately China won back the territory.

The magnitude of the empire is opposed to the notion that China is a patriarchal despotism. Behind the fiction of patriarchal government stands the fact of a not very compact oligarchy of learned bureaucrats under influential governors and viceroys. "China," says Sosnowski somewhere, "appears to us as the embodiment of the centralising idea"; but presently, contradicting himself, he adds: "Everything depends here upon personal relations and connections, and the absence of form reminds us strongly of the Central Asiatic khanates." The centralisation which sees in the emperor, as the sole head of the people, the centre that binds together and governs all the interests of the people, exists as a wish, a goal, or an ideal, only attainable when a man of high intelligence, firm will, and restless activity—the pattern autocrat—stands at the head of the state. Among his first tasks is the preservation of old customs, in which is seen, as it were, a symbol of the preservation of the state. The great merits of Wu, one of the noblest monarchs of the older history, were the revival of the family bond, which had grown weak, and care for the better nourishment of the people, with the accurate observance of funeral ceremonies and sacrificial usages. How much, under favourable circumstances, the emperor could continue to carry the consciousness of being a leading spirit into the small duties incumbent on his office, is proved by the history which Kang-hi himself has preserved of the Manchu empire.

That monarch relates in his memoirs how once in the sixth month he passed a rice-field, the harvest of which was not due till the ninth month. He noticed one head taller than the rest, asked for it, and made experiments with the seed from it. These he found always ripened early; and that is the rice which now is planted everywhere north of the Great Wall. Under other emperors improvements were carried out, in agriculture and silk-growing. Undoubtedly many emperors have clearly recognised the duties imposed by their position at the head of a civilized power, mindful of Yu's injunction in the Ta-yu-mo: "Remember that virtue consists in good government, and this is shown in feeding the people." The Chinese emperor is, however, fully conscious of the significance of the theocratic element in his rank. When Kien-lung forbade the propagation of Christianity in his realm, the Jesuits at the court of Pekin begged him to withdraw the prohibition. His reply showed that he dreaded Christianity only because it might undermine his authority; for he said with emphasis that at the moment he saw no harm in their operations, but "those who become Christians look to you only, and in disturbed times will listen only to your counsel." The persecution of Christians in Annam is said to have been incited mainly from China.

For the business of government the emperor has a state council, five members of which daily transact business in his presence. One of his most important duties is the decision as to the execution or otherwise of prisoners in gaol. Their names are from time to time sent in from all parts of the empire, and marked with a red pencil by the emperor as a sign of condemnation. He seldom appears in public; but among the few occasions of his doing so is the annual reception of candidates for the mandarinate. The central departments are the Foreign Office or *Tsungli-Yamen;* the Home Office, *Li-pu;* the Treasury, *Hu-pu;* the War Office, *Ping-pu;* the Offices of Justice, *Hing-pu;* of Labour, *Kung-pu;* and of Ceremonies. Besides these there are some central agencies for certain tributary countries, like Mongolia and Turkestan, and some small offices.

The viceroys hold a conspicuous position. Fifteen provinces are grouped in eight viceroyalties, while governors are set over the remaining three. Shen-si, Kan-su, and Kuku-koto in Mongolia, together with the Mongol countries lying to the west of them, form one viceroyalty, as large as many kingdoms, and of the first importance for China. The viceroy of such a district is practically independent, so long as he does not fall under suspicion of practising against the Pekin Government; and he is seconded by the traditional autonomy of the provinces, which laws in some measure quite peculiar have preserved. He levies taxes, pays his army and navy with them, and, save in a few cases, is the court of final appeal. In return he bears the entire responsibility of his position; for the Pekin Government gives him no assistance, but regards its duty as consisting essentially in seeing that the ordinances regulating the conduct of these the highest officials are followed out. He must, however, send reports of his subordinates to Pekin, where they appear in the Government Gazette together with the decisions on them, which often pronounce compulsory removal from office. The omnipotence of the viceroy, which, with all its limitations involves a far more real power than that of the distant emperor, is repeated through all stages. Not only the governor, but every *chi-hien* or president of a district court, feels himself a power, as European travellers, treated by all mandarins with suspicion, have had occasion to experience.

A chief care of the Government is to keep the highest officials of the provinces and viceroyalties apart from each other, that they may not make any joint declaration against Pekin. The Chinese tower is always tottering a little. In extreme cases, no doubt, a man like Tso-Tsung-Tang has had to be given half the empire, but naturally that is no part of the system of the central government, whose effort is rather to keep always at hand for the emperor means of interfering independently of his highest officials. In the important province of Szchuan, Chen-tu is no doubt the residence of the viceroy and the seat of the provincial government, but Chung-ching is politically of more importance, for the imperial treasure is there, and also the paymaster of the forces on the western frontier, which, before the time of the insurrections and defections in the western provinces, took their orders direct from Pekin. Recent Chinese history teaches that viceroys, when left to themselves, often exaggerate their independence to the detriment of the empire. It is well known that when the Amoor district was surrendered by its governor it was some time before the Tsungli-Yamen gave an unwilling sanction to the accomplished and most mischievous fact.

The preponderance of literary training and education is a burden on the Chinese officials, who, like some others, look upon the writing of the greatest possible number of minutes as the sign of useful activity. In view of this literary and sedentary character in the Chinese officials, the censors, who as a consequence of the extent of the empire are a necessity, seem doubly called-for. They represent the immediate oversight of the provinces by the central government. Indulgent to small errors, they are openly strict, to the point of pitilessness, in regard to great derelictions. Their reports in the state Gazette tear the veil unsparingly from the wounds of the body politic. Not only idleness, procrastination or ignorance, opium-smoking, but the gravest transgressions of official duty are imparted to the whole country with full publicity. The practical basis of the Chinese nature, however, is of avail in Chinese officialism; elements are adopted on grounds of utility which bid defiance to the regular sifting process of examinations and censors' opinions. Even the recent history of China can show an instance in which a notorious pirate was promoted to commander-in-chief of the imperial fleet. The law only orders that sons of prostitutes, actors, executioners, ushers of the courts, and turnkeys, shall not be admitted to the service, on account, the first two classes of their degradation, the others of their innate cruelty; but there is nothing against the elevation of criminals who are of good family, insurgents of high rank, and the like.

China has never lacked capable diplomatists. Statesmen in the higher sense are naturally less frequent; but in times of difficulty China has always seen men appear who have exercised a healthy influence on their fellow-countrymen. Of the viceroy of the western provinces Sosnowski said: "I have met few Chinese so enlightened as Tso-Tsung-Tang. He astonished me by his reasonable ideas, as well as by his correct and thorough knowledge of Russia. As administrator and organiser he is capable in the highest degree, straightforward, frank, and honourable. He has appointed good officials, purged the body of officers, founded manufactories of weapons, provision-stores, arsenals, and has been active, showing himself everywhere, and thereby mastering the insurrection, and inspiring new life into the heaps of ruins entrusted to his charge." Shortly after this was written Tso-Tsung-Tang performed the task of suppressing the rising in Southern

Mongolia and reconquering East Turkestan brilliantly, even if by means of severity.

Corruption is rooted in the nature of the Chinese and their polity. Bribery and embezzlement ruin, alas, many a good intention of old lawgivers and modern rulers. The granaries in every province especially suffer. In them part of the rice paid as land-tax is deposited, in order that it may be given to the poor, used for salaries, or sold cheap before harvest, being renewed every year. Non-existent armies, tens of thousands in number, are paid. Stingy salaries offer all the more inducement to dishonesty, that the civil officials have to find the pay for their subordinates. The rule that no official may employ a relation in his department is so strictly carried out that cases of officials who have been dismissed on this ground are still always reported in the Pekin Government Gazette; but it cannot check the tacit conspiracies of greedy officials any more than can the decision, enforced by severe penalties, even to the point of capital punishment, that no official is to be employed in his native province. There have always been provinces and viceroyalties, at the head of which were men who worked with unclean hands, and enriched themselves out of the unlawful gains of their inferiors. The people themselves contribute to these illegalities by allowing themselves to be squeezed without murmuring. The greater is their delight when they are governed by righteous officials, as is testified by the honours that fall to the lot of honest, meritorious officials on resigning their posts. Gray says, however, that in twenty-five years' residence at Canton, he never saw but one mandarin in whose case the people showed cordial regret and sincere marks of gratitude. His leave-taking was genuinely Chinese. The silken umbrellas of honour, which were to be presented to the object of the homage, were carried in a long procession, together with three hundred red boards, on which were to be read in letters of shining gold the titles of honour—"Friend of the people," "Father of the people," "Benefactor of the age," "Star of the province." At intervals were deputations posted near the temples presenting addresses and refreshments. When the prefect left Tien-tsin in 1861, the people accompanied him in a crowd, begging for his shoes, which were brought back in triumph, and hung up in the temple of the town god. On such occasions there is none of the anxious or grumbling silence which elsewhere usually attends the public appearances of a mandarin.

Confucius and Mencius both taught that the obedience of subjects should be matched by loyalty to duty on the part of the sovereign and his instruments. These sages, who are also authorities in questions of civic life, even teach us well that it is not merely the right but the duty of the people to resist the emperor when he departs from the path of virtue and justice. Docile and patient as the Chinese people is, it has in many cases acted on this principle. In every decade there has been a rising in some province or another. Obstinate neglect of duty on the part of the governors has provoked great revolutions. Neither in politics nor in religion are the Chinese passionate. Only when political abuses lead to material discomfort, when their consequences are injustice, dishonesty on the part of officials, slackness in care for the people's welfare, do complaints and warnings arise; and while in the interior discontent finds vent in insurrection, on the borders the people escape oppression by emigrating. It is not the most thickly-peopled regions, where the individual has to labour his hardest to gain a living, that are the most unquiet politically: a sign how contentedly these folk live as their fate

decrees. The toughness of the Chinese character, however, makes it evident *a priori* that germs of contradiction or disaffection towards the ruling system are not easy to extirpate. It is not much more than twenty-five years since the first Chinese newspaper, the *Shun-po*, appeared at Shanghai; now there are many in the Chinese language. Among much that is false and exaggerated, they contain much that is correct, and are already beginning to influence the written language.

In the administration of justice there is a strain of inhumanity which is one of the darkest spots in China. The art of giving pain is extraordinarily cultivated. Strokes with the bamboo on the heels, the ankles, or between the shoulders, blows with thick straps on the jaws, are inflicted not on criminals only, but on witnesses. There is also torture with implements most ingeniously calculated to cause terror and distress. We must, in this connection, not forget the opinion of European surgeons that the Chinese and their Mongol kinsfolk are far less sensible to knife and forceps than are Europeans. The way in which endless representations of tortures are among the favourite subjects of Chinese artists, or in which great emperors like Kien-lung enjoyed being present at tortures and executions, illustrates the strain of cruelty in the Chinese character, and the fact, important to the understanding of Chinese character, that the Chinaman sets less store than we on life, whether his own or his neighbour's. So, too, there are the most various kinds of capital punishment. Murderers of father or mother undergo a lingering death. The criminal is nailed to a cross, his body is slashed in from 8 to 120 places, then his heart is pierced, finally he is quartered. In 1877 the Pekin Gazette reported ten performances of this kind; in one the culprit was a lunatic. The most usual penalty is beheading with a sword. Practice gives the operator great dexterity, and he can execute some dozens in a few minutes. The superstitious horror of mutilation makes strangling pass for a more lenient penalty. Its easiest form is when a silken cord is sent, indicating that the receiver is to operate upon himself. The unhappy man is allowed one meal, of which, when possible, a narcotic forms part. He is then carried to the place of execution by two men, in a basket hung to a bamboo pole. The state of Chinese prisons is melancholy, owing to the gloom of the cells, the damp, the overcrowding, and the vermin. When the principal prison at Canton was opened after the capture of the city in 1859, the British soldiers could not endure the pestilential atmosphere wherein corpses, still chained, lay beside living men with bleeding wounds and raws, produced by their heavy chains and iron fetters. Punishments of over-cruel or negligent gaolers are often published in the Pekin Gazette. Chinese law makes a sharp difference between crimes with and without violence. Contrary to European practice, the latter are incomparably the less severely punished, most frequently by flogging or the pillory. A favourite variation is to stick arrows through the ears, with paper tickets stating the nature of the crime.

The family-stock or clan holds the nation together, just as it has always been the one firm unit in the lax structure of every Mongol or Tartar power. Chinese books speak of a hundred original families, which in the storms of their later history did not disappear, but maintained themselves as the nucleus of the nation. Naturally what was least able to endure was the strictly equal division of land which lay at the base of this organisation. In the thirteenth century what most contributed to disturb the country were the revolts of the poor who had been excluded from the soil. Lawgivers made an effort, if only formal, at least to

sustain the old tribal organisation by keeping the tribes in cohesion, at the same time that they forbade marriage within the tribe in order to introduce fresh blood and stay degeneration. Thus to this day there are several cases in which village populations bearing one name, sprung from one stock, forming one clan, hold together. This institution strengthens the attachment to the home, and has enabled the nation to find its way through many bad times. Historical philosophers who have spoken of the gregarious life and behaviour of this race have overlooked the broad base of self-administration and self-help on which the central government is thus built up. Without these it, and with it the magnitude and duration of the empire, would be inconceivable, looking to the inadequacy of the administrative machine. The village community rules itself easily and patriarchally through its notables, the seniors of whom are held in equal respect by both subjects and officials, and are selected mostly by lot from among the most respected, or by real patriarchs. Also the villages make alliances together, leagues defensive and offensive alike, something like the old leagues between cities in Germany, and often directed against other similar alliances. The secret societies which unite Chinese who have gone abroad with inconceivable closeness and permanence have their origin to a great extent in old tribal connections. Like these, they respect the limits of Government authority, but fill up gaps therein by their own operation. Of the secret societies in Canton and the neighbourhood, Gutzlaff writes: "With the exception of the Whug-Whug, or Triad Society, which some years ago incited an unsuccessful rising, they are absolutely obedient. Nay, the Government officials often make use of them in tracking criminals and the like. Often indeed they undertake this duty themselves." A secret tribunal for thieves and robbers, like the society of the "Old Ox," which appeared amid the disorder of the 'fifties, seems to be by no means rare in China. The custom of living in voluntary associations causes the Chinese abroad to be sooner at home among foreign conditions; and for this reason they work better under foremen chosen by themselves than under strangers. The social impulse gives rise to most curious associations. Several unite to pay a certain sum at the beginning of each month; at the end of the month the whole is raffled for. Gambling societies—"Peaceful Gain," "Propitious Success," and the like—are numerous. The two spheres, the autonomous and the bureaucratic, being left so strictly apart that there is no notion of self-government based on independence of judgment and will, the system may be called a twofold government. The officials stand autocratically above the mass of the people; and these will long suffer ill-treatment patiently before they rise, without warning, and defend themselves with a force drawn just from these ancient ties.

One chief fault of China, in the European sense, is the trifling importance of its military power. The fact that the Chinese "were as helpless before our attack as Australian blacks" has caused Chinese culture in general to seem of little value in this warlike century. Lord Elgin was quite right when he said words to the effect that if the Chinese had beaten the troops of England and France in open fight, the shallow chatter about the inadequate civilization of China would soon have been silenced. The Chinaman is not behind other Asiatics in courage, and he esteems courage, being on that account even to this day a bit of a cannibal. The seat of courage is, he thinks, in the gall, and he eats the gall of murderers who have been executed, in order to acquire their courage. For similar reasons,

tigers' flesh is in demand. The audacity of Chinese pirates, the cruelty of Chinese, their power of bearing pain, the low value they set on human life, are all qualities that can be turned to military account. Gordon, who knew how to lead the demoralised Chinese during the Tai-ping rebellion, in a memorandum of 1880, lays down as a supreme axiom: "China possesses a military organisation of long standing; this must remain untouched, for it suits the character of the people. China's power lies in her numbers, in the quick moving of her troops, in the little baggage they require, and in their few wants. It is known that men armed with sword and spear can overcome the best regular troops equipped with breech-loading rifles, if the country is at all difficult and if the men with spears and swords outnumber their foe ten to one. This will be much truer when those men are themselves armed with breech-loaders. China should never engage in pitched battles. Her strength is in quick movements, in cutting off trains of baggage, and in night attacks *not pushed home*—in a continuous worrying of her enemies. The Chinese ought never to attack fortified posts, but starve out the enemy and worry him night and day. China can have no army if the generals muster 2000 men and draw pay for 5000. These generals ought to have been beheaded." Advantages and defects are here clearly stated. Gordon does not regard the Chinese as good soldiers in the European sense, but he points out sources of military power in the numbers, capacity for drill, and frugality of the Chinese; all things which Europe ought not to undervalue.

§ 25. ASIATIC FORMS OF BELIEF AND SYSTEMS OF RELIGION.

Common soil of Asiatic forms of belief—Ancestor worship; cult of sun, stars, and fire; the bear among the Amoor races—Iron and smithies—Central Asiatic cosmogony—Religion of the ancient Aryans—Brahminism—Iranian cult of light and fire; Zoroaster—Buddhism: its fraternisation with popular conceptions; temples and monasteries; Lhassa; the priesthood; Buddhism among the peoples of East and Central Asia; Chinese policy at Lhassa.

ALL the Asiatic races share in the religious ideas common to mankind. No more in Asia than elsewhere on the earth can we find a race without religion. The great forms of faith called after Brahma and Buddha have their roots in a subsoil of widely-diffused notions in which even now leaves, flowers, and seeds, fallen from these lofty trees of religion, are reposing, dying, decaying, germinating. In their nature and in their operation, Brahmanism and Buddhism are profoundly connected with this soil; and if they ever perish, they will enrich it with whatever in them is imperishable. But the relations of plant and soil are so distinctly reciprocal that the greatest care is needed in interpreting them. Of each of the apparently quite isolated forms of belief in Asia may be said what has been said of the Todas: "So far as one can judge, the Todas' religion consists solely of superstitions and extraordinary usages; but perhaps we are unable to comprehend the deeper sense, and, it may be, the degenerate survival of a once higher cult." Schiefner sees Iranian influence in the name of the Altaic deity Kyoormass, which, like the Mongolian Khurmuzd, he traces back to Ormuzd. "Maitere" and "Mandyshire" recall the Buddhist divinities Maitieya and Manjueri. The serpent Erlik, who gives counsel to men, the fruits on the western side of the tree

with seven branches, may have reached the Kirghises from Islam. Where fire is worshipped, rays may have fallen from Zoroastrian fire-temples. Kämpfer was so strongly reminded of the old Egyptian rites by the Buddhism of Ayuthia, that he looked upon Buddha as a fugitive from the bondage of Egyptian priests. But there are always two possibilities—one that of two similar developments; the other, that what we regard as a survival from a higher form of development may really be the germ whence what we recognise in it has sprung.

In all the Asiatic forms of religion, higher and lower, ancestor-worship meets us in like strength and efficiency. Uninterrupted intercourse with departed forefathers, reinforced by sacrifices—when possible of clean things, like honey, always held as specially precious—animates the religion of poor hill-tribes in India, as in China, unweakened by Buddhism or philosophic enlightenment, from the groundwork of moral instruction. In Japan it is recognised as the nucleus of the old state-religion, the Shinto, and is said to hold the field with no rival in the Loochoo Islands. The gleaming white sepulchres are the first objects seen when approaching these islands from the sea. Upon it principally rests, among all Central Asiatic nations, the power of the Shamans to call up ancestors with the sound of the drum, with songs and dances, or leaving their own bodies in the place of worship to convey their souls to the world of light or to the gloomy realm of Erlik. No lot is so unhappy as that of parents who have no children to sacrifice and pray for them. Never, so long as he lived, was Tuduc, the Emperor of Annam, free from the melancholy caused by his childless old age. Adoption furnishes a substitute at a pinch. The distaste for emigration, with the accompanying dread of death far from the next of kin, is connected with the desire of a share in the worship of ancestors. Ancestors live along with the living; rejoice and suffer with them. If the son rises in the ladder of rank, he begs for the promotion of past members of his family. The eighteen golden tables of ancestors in the Hall of Forefathers at Hué remind us how ancestor-worship makes the cult of the souls of great sovereigns a sacred affair for the whole people. Finlayson's remark about the Cochin-Chinese, though erroneous, is intelligible: "Like the Chinese," he says, "this nation is addicted to worship of ancestors, and reveres the memory of relations. This may in fact be considered as the only fruit of religion that exists amongst them." Among the Koreans, too, the most outwardly conspicuous feature is the reverence paid to the *miriok* or stone images, 25 feet high, of ancestors.

Wherever ancestral religion is not shrouded in the garb of newer forms, it approaches idolatry. It may then be said, as of the Pulayas of Travancore, that they deem themselves too low to venture to approach the Supreme Being. A rough image of an ancestor in the niche of a rough stone altar or at the foot of a great tree in the fields is revered as a fetish. We are told of the Khas of Further India that they place the ashes of their forefathers in an elegantly-woven basket on the altar, where they also deposit as sacrifices all kinds of curious things, such as skeins of cotton and curly bamboo shavings. On the Gnia-Heun altars Harmand found a number of objects in the form of miniature models hanging on a shaft of bamboo. There were a little bag, a little cross-bow with a quiver full of tiny arrows, a rice-mortar as big as a thimble, a boat with oars, a wicker fish-trap, a carrier's basket; the whole being crowned with an egg or a bunch of feathers. Grains of rice, tufts of cotton, and the like, were fastened on with resin

or wax; votive gifts intended to bring the blessing of the ancestors upon all the occupations with which they were connected. The three Advocates with God, worshipped in Kafiristan under the form of two unhewn stones and a roughly-carved human figure with silver eyes, look like ancestral images. They are sprinkled with the blood of a sacrificial goat. The part of ancestors as intercessors in the next world comes out more clearly in Central Asia than elsewhere. The people of the Altai think all gods so remote from man that he needs the mediation of his ancestors in Paradise. "But," says Radloff, "not all men know how to apply to their ancestors; only certain families, especially those of the Shamans, know this."

With ancestor-worship are connected customs extending even to cannibalism. Skull-worship is very common. Skulls of ancestors with a string attached to either zygomatic arch, for wearing round the neck, were found among the Andamanese. In the Tibetan monasteries are cups for libation, made of skulls, richly gilt, hand-drums or tambourines of children's skulls covered with snake skin, trumpets of thigh-bones. Among the primitive races of India it is often hard to distinguish between the traces of ancestor-worship and the veneration of certain natural objects and forces. Serpent-worship, which recurs with such unusual frequency, is also ascribed to Indian peoples; to the yellow aborigines, spirits, helping them in the struggle against Aryan invaders, appear in the form of serpents. Perhaps the serpent-roof, under which Buddha sits, goes back as far as this. Among the Jats the moon is alleged to be the supreme god, but it is also said that they take about with them idols in human shape, with the heads of eagles or oxen. The Gonds are said to sacrifice to fever and to the tiger, and to set up blocks of stone, which they smear with blood, round the foot of a giant tree. These people, said to be at a very low stage, retain their traditions by means of sacred bards, as well as their magicians. At festivals these recite the old hymns. The Varalis are also credited with tiger-worship, but they also from time to time strew the graves, where the urns of their ancestors lie, with flowers, and burn lights on them.

Among the Kirghises a young bride on the day after her marriage used to be taken out into the sun, to greet it by deep prostration under a blanket. Mongol women will not sell milk when the weather is cloudy. At Ise, the centre of the Shinto cult in Japan, was kept the metal mirror emblematic of the sun-goddess, and on the domestic altar of Shintoists is seen, instead of the innumerable pictures, large and small, of the Buddhists, only an oval mirror adorned with a wisp of paper. In close connection with this appears fire as a means against evil spirits. The nurses who among the Kirghises assist women in child-birth take great care that the fire does not go out; if it does, the devil comes, and a mishap results. There, before a bride enters her *yaourt*, she bows to the fire, throws a piece of meat and a bit of butter into it as an offering, and pours a little spirit on it. The Ainos call the sun their best god, fire their second best. In Japan, on New Year's morning, fire is fetched before dawn from the temple, where the primitive fire-drill is reverently kept; this fire, if kept alight the whole year, protects the house from fire-risks. The Tungooses draw omens from the wood as it crackles in the fire; nor indeed are prognostics from the behaviour of the fire wholly unknown in this country. If the man of Badakshan never lights fire without necessity, we may here see a reminiscence of Iranian fire-worship. There are legends, again, with a

Prometheus ring about them, like the Mongol tale of a peak of the Arbuz Ola, which is the anvil of the great smith who was in the service of Jenghis Khan. At the foot of this anvil he sat on the ground and forged mighty weapons for the great conqueror, and gigantic shoes for his horse.

Gods in the form of beasts make their appearance especially among the races about the Lower Amoor, in Saghalien, Yezo, and Kamchatka. The bear-god of the Gilyaks, who is a bear in summer and a Gilyak in winter, is not solitary; among the Ainos he is honoured with feast and dance. At their greatest festival they kill a young bear that has been suckled by an Aino woman, uttering his praises the while, and afterwards venerate his skull. Evidence of a more extensive animal-worship may be found in the fact that in the Aino language certain animals still bear the name *kamoi*, "god." Thus the wolf is the "howling god," the owl the "bird of the gods," and so on. Traces of wolf-worship still survive. The bear's skull on a tall post in the middle of Aino villages, the significance attached by the Aryans and their Indian posterity to the sacrifice of a horse, so that in the decline of Brahmanism the belief could arise that the sacrifice of a horse freed from all sins, are reflections of animal-worship. To this day in Persia the stable is a secure asylum for criminals. In Indra's bull and Vishnu's lion the same appears not merely as a poetical figure. The degeneration of Indian forms of belief is most deeply rooted in it; and at the same time it makes us recognise the whole depth of Indian reverence for nature. Even now in the neighbourhood of sacred spots Hindoos can be seen feeding the ant that crawls on the road. The tame stags in the temple gardens of Japan, who may not be killed, receive from pilgrims bread specially prepared for them, like sacred wafers. In Asia, and even in Europe, we meet with echoes of the worship of animals' skulls, which we come across among Malays, Melanesians, and redskins. On heights in the Taurida, and on the Ourals, may be seen sacrificial feasts like trophies, made of the skulls and jawbones of horses, erected by the Calmucks. Very curious, also, are the worship of the buffalo among the Todas, and the prayers which they address to the neck-bell of their finest animal. Where there is an objection to representation of the spiritual deity, these forms with oxen's and bulls' heads, these sacred monkeys, horses, and crocodiles, are the broken and reflected rays of the divine sun.

Sacred groves and trees existed in India as in China, or among Turks and Germans. In Korea almost every village has its sacred tree, and at the Buddhist pilgrimage-places the dried leaves of sacred trees form a great article of trade. Here pagan and higher creeds interpenetrate. In Tonking, indeed, the sacred fig-tree was called Buddha's tree, but at the foot of it little altars were built to keep the goblins quiet who live under its shade. The Mongol veneration for trees and forests has had a salutary effect as far as Eastern Europe. The superstition of the Calmucks of the Altai, who will cut no green wood, made the forests of the Upper Charysh even a hundred years ago look as if managed by a forester; giving Schangin cause to recommend this superstition by preference to the Russian peasants. This cult of the gods of nature has found its most beautiful development in Eastern Asia, where it leads to a nature-worship poetic in feeling and artistic in representation. There high mountains have their special guardian spirits to whom sacrifices are offered on the summits. The frequent appearance of striking mountain peaks in Japanese pictures has to do with the same idea. In and about Arado there are fourteen peaks to whose names *Amyé*, forefather,

is prefixed. These conceal treasures, and are revered alike by Chinese, Tibe and Mongols. Hills and mountains crowned by temples are (like the Roccia Melone, not far from Turin) the object of countless pilgrimages, some even in winter. If you would enjoy a fine view in Japan, climb up to a temple. In China, too, Taoist temples look down on the calm clear reaches of the Upper Yang-tse, with its many gorges. The sacred groves of the Shinto temples are the finest and most frequented parks in Japan. Any one going through a Japanese village on New Year's morning sees fir-trees and bamboos on either side of the doors; over them on a rope of straw hang a bundle of rice-straw, fern, an orange, seaweed, *kaki*, charcoal, and a red boiled crab—all lucky things—in a fine trophy. In the flower festivals, found in China, Korea, and Japan, especially the charming chrysanthemum or autumn festival, the religious thought is concealed under the really passionate veneration of such productions of nature. But at the chrysanthemum festival may still be seen wooden figures, life-sized, carved to the life, figures of myth and the history of heroes, all clad in living flowers.

Common among Asiatics is also the dread of the moon being swallowed up in an eclipse, for which reason the eclipse is scared away with noise and yells. We find universally the belief in lucky and unlucky days, in lucky numbers, most often nine, in the uncleanness of a lying-in woman, which, among Buddhists and Mussulmans, is done away by placing sacred books on her. We meet with the widespread legend of valleys which have been lakes, or are becoming lakes again, as related among others about the vale of Cashmere. By order of the emperor the *Amban* of Si-ning offers, in presence of the Mongol chiefs, shreds of paper to the spirits of Lake Koko-Nor, to give a quiet crossing. Similarly the Chinese sacrifice to the sea.

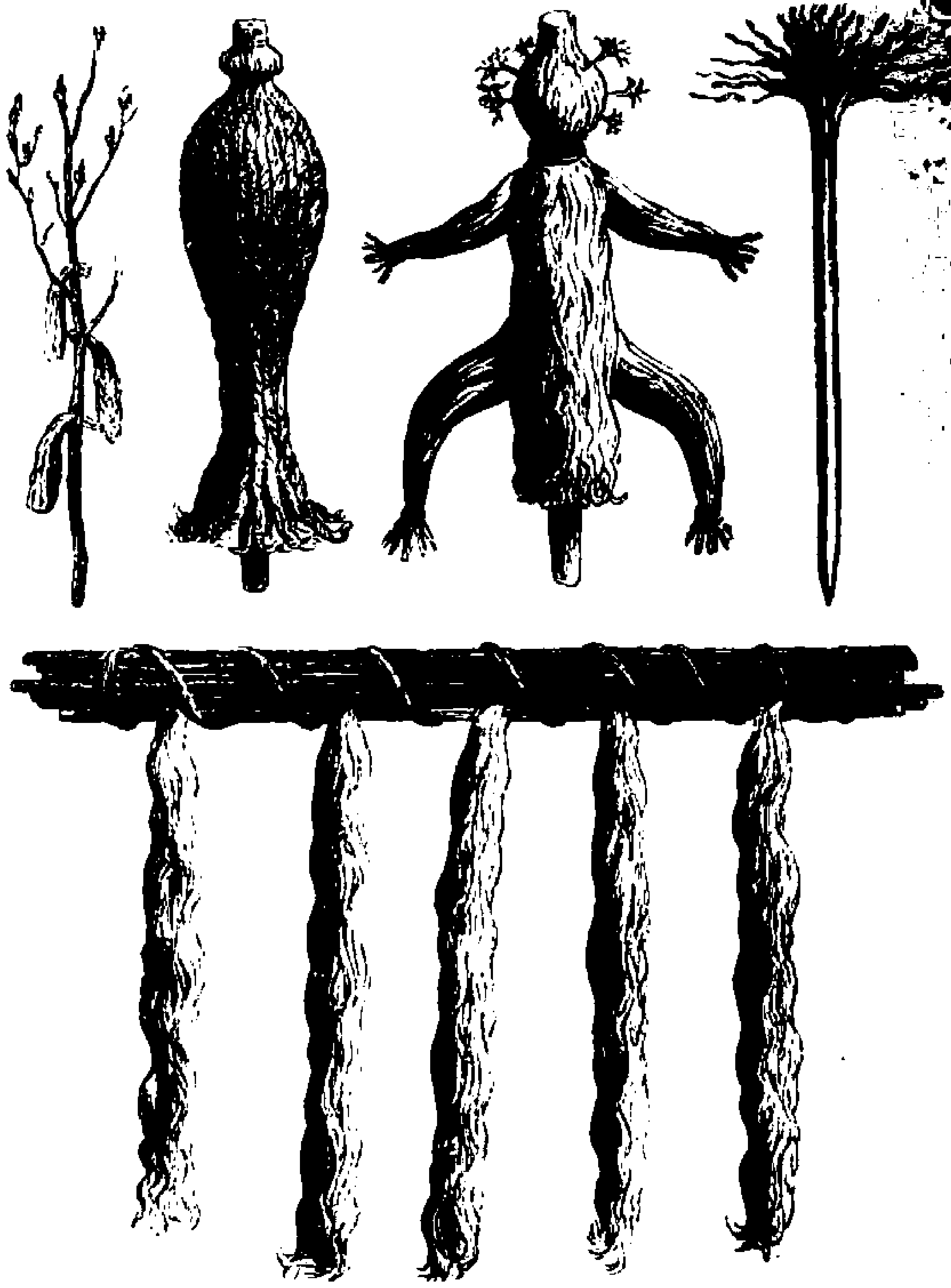
Iron holds a peculiar place in the superstition of many Asiatic peoples. In India some tribes hang spear-heads and ploughshares as offerings on sacred trees, and then sacrifice the fruits of the field to these. So do both the Bheels and the Gonds, the latter recruiting their magicians from the corporation of axe-smiths. These are those possessed magical practitioners whose business is to seek out persons who have been attacked by wild beasts, and prevent them from turning into tigers. Widely diffused, probably throughout Central Asia, is the belief in the healing powers and salutary knowledge of smiths. Meteoric stones are thought to be spat to earth by fiery dragons.

It is in cosmogony that the most closely corresponding features occur. The supreme, all-embracing deity, the creating bird, the formation of the earth from the sea-bottom, the tree of man, and the new creation by a deity nearer to mankind; all these we find repeated. Among the Japanese, heaven, earth, and water, which, before the existence of the male and female element lay together as in an egg, were separated by their gravity. First the islands swam like fish on the water; then a spirit, *Kami*, comes into existence out of a cane, and then six more spirits, having rule in water, in fire, in metals, and in earth, while the seventh, with his wife, falls into sin. In this pair, Itsanogi and Itsanami, the proselytes of the seventeenth century readily recognised Adam and Eve. For the heathen Turkomans of the Altai the universe consists of layers one over another, the lowest of which is the realm of darkness. The earth lies between them. Tengere Kairakan is the most powerful divinity; he is without end or beginning, the creator and sustainer. This god created man before the heavens

and the earth, and flew through the universe with him; but man rebelled, and fell into the sea. Even then Tengere Kairakan saved him, letting him climb up a rock. Then he ordered the man to fetch earth from the bottom of the sea, and this he did. But he again disobeyed by keeping earth in his mouth, which, when spat out, turned to swamps; the creator cursed him and inflicted on him the name of Erlik. Then the creator formed a tree with nine branches, from each of which sprang the patriarch of one of the nine peoples who inhabit the earth. But Erlik, who as the evil spirit had tried to lead men astray, was banished to the nether world, and the deity gave the good Maitere to mankind as their protector. From the ruins of a heaven which Erlik set up for himself, and which fell to earth, mountains and rocks arose. Next to mankind, however, is the earth, and the Lord Jo, who lives at the navel of the earth, near a tall tree, the top of which soars to the height of the Bai-Ulgian. Man seeks his salvation by adoring the earth and the seventeen nature-deities of the earth, on hills and at springs; also through the mediation of his forefathers. The wicked are cast, in the nether world, into a caldron of pitch, but the good live as the blessed in Paradise, *Ak*. We have already seen something like these conceptions when studying the religions of Oceania. Under this head falls the Ostiak idea of a universe in seven layers, the earth being the fifth from the bottom. The benefactor of mankind, who is also the fire-bringer, is specially illustrious. Among the Garos he appears as the son of the supreme deity Salgong. The earth, however, was created by Nustu, with the help of Hiraman, the god of the lower world, out of an egg produced by himself. The river sprang from Nustu's body.

Of historical religions the Shinto cult, which has its roots in the obscurity of the mythical period, stands nearest to the mixture of ancestor and nature-worship. When, after being elevated to a state-religion in Japan, it was allowed to sink again as long ago as 1877, it was treated with some contempt as a mere cult of pictures and ancestors, devoid of all ethical import; chiefly because, as was alleged, it attributed divine descent and equality with the gods to the sovereign of the island realm. Others, on the other hand, seeing it to be freer from accessories, have looked upon it, in contrast with Buddhism, as a kind of Oriental Protestantism. These are halting comparisons. Shintoism is the older, and is permeated with Buddhistic ideas. The Japanese proverb: "You can pray to a sardine's head if you like; it is all a matter of faith," is, however, not the expression of the most heartfelt religion. A curious formality is the offering of strips of white paper with gilt edges, called by the Japanese *gohei*, or "imperial present," and deposited in the Shinto temples; it is said, in order that the spirit of the god Kami may settle upon them. They also occur in Korea, where Shintoists are found. Of what the white paper is a symbol, remains obscure; probably there is here also some connection with the extensive veneration paid by the Chinese to written paper. Chinese philosophers, no doubt, sing the praises of writing in all manner of tones, but paper is of itself the object of a veneration that is bound up even with processions and sacrifices. Among the Ainos, echoes of Shintoism are still recognisable even in externals. They have only one temple, that of Yoshitsane, said to have been a hero who fled from Japan to Yezo. Ancestor and nature-worship are the basis of their faith. In the sacred north-east corner of every Aino hut may be seen *gohei*-sticks, like those in the cut, p. 514, stuck on the wall. There are sticks from one to four yards long of a particular wood, sometimes

willow, sometimes cornel, with their outer layers planed into nar[illegible]
ings, which are often arranged to suggest a human figure. They[illegible]
significance as the strips of paper in Shinto temples. Something [illegible]
these *inabos*, and sacrifices are made to it. The Ainos' only too fre[illegible]
of *saké* are always first intended for them. One gets the impression [illegible]



Aino sacred sticks, *inabos*. (From drawings by the late Herr von Siebold.)

worship has, with the Ainos, become merged in the cult of *inabos*. The Ainos are also acquainted with fire-worship, and see something sacred in stars, trees, mountains, rivers. They do not seem at all to venerate graves, but rather to have a dread of them—just as, when a person dies, they burn his house down. The mythology and cosmogony of the old religion of Japan, which seems to have been essentially that also of Korea, has taken refuge in folk-lore; formal sacrificial worship having disintegrated the cult. Before Confucius arose, the Chinese also revered a higher being, Chung-ti; the word has been rendered by "God" or "Heaven." They made him a more powerful counterpart to the earth, and recognised the fruitful union of the two in the relations of man and wife, day and night, king and people.

The religion of ancient Egypt, with its equally deep devotion to the cult of ancestors, shows another development. The group of gods given on the oldest monuments has even by that time travelled far from the primitive conceptions. Its many forms betray a systematic arrangement which the priests must have elaborated slowly. Phtha, at the head of all the gods whom he preceded, says Manetho, in a reign of nine thousand years, the god of the beginning, the creator and orderer, called Ammon in Upper Egypt; Ra, the power embodied in the sun, continuously creative and sustaining; Neith, personifying the plastic force of nature in female shape, also "Mother of the Sun"; Pasht or Bast, the daughter of Ra; Hathor, the goddess of amorous delights and of childbirth; and beside these many local variations of the veneration directed towards the forces of nature, peopled the Olympus of Egypt. There are indications that Phtha, Ra, and Shu are contrasted as older gods with a younger group, to which belonged especially Osiris and Typhon. These, specially Egyptian, embody the contrast between the fertile Nile valley and the desert, or the struggle between creation and destruction. They were the gods of the people. The elder ones, as though strangers, were understood by the priests only, who might have said to their own people what they did to Solon when he tried to penetrate their secrets: "Ye are but children."

At the period to which belong the oldest parts of the Vedic hymns, the religion of the Aryans was also a pure nature-worship. They revered the sky, the sun, the hurler of the thunderbolt, fire, rain; and dreaded night, drought, the darkness that precedes a storm. They called their good deities the Bright or Shining ones, their evil ones the Dark. A storm was the contest between these two; Indra, the god of the sky, who hurled the lightning, and stands very near the Greek Zeus, strives against Vritra, the Shrouder or Darkener. In the earliest beams that bring the rosy dawn they hailed the Açvins, the bright twin brothers who roll in their three-wheeled car through the world of light, the air, and the clouds. The dawn herself is a maiden, invoked under the form of a red-cow; the gods of light are Indra's brothers and companions-in-arms; among them the god of the sun is conspicuous, and a light-god, Aryaman. In Varuna (which may or may not be Ouranos) we have the all-embracing vault of heaven. But especially reverenced was Agni, the fire-god, the friend of man. As fire, consuming the sacrifice and bearing it in smoke to heaven, Agni is one of those most fervently worshipped; and in the same way he is the messenger between men and gods, the intermediary between heaven and earth. Varuna is at once the highest and most remote of this group of gods; and hence Indra, the demon-slayer, the hero of battle, the huge bull, the all-ruling, who has made fast the mountains, measured out the atmosphere, propped up the heavens, appears to man of almost equal importance. Burnt offerings are made to him, and for him the *soma*-draught is prepared from the narcotic *Asclepias acida*. These sacrifices not only give him pleasure, but strengthen him for his mighty tasks. Originally the offering was made by each head of a family. Mystic drink-offerings, like the *soma*, are still poured on the ground at the beginning of a meal or feast, at a dedication, on receiving guests, but they have mostly lost their deeper meaning. In Tibet, juniper branches are burnt on the altar, and wine, milk, or tea, poured on the glowing embers. There are a few races whose whole religion is so permeated with the idea of drink-offerings, as in the case of the Khevsurs of the Caucasus,

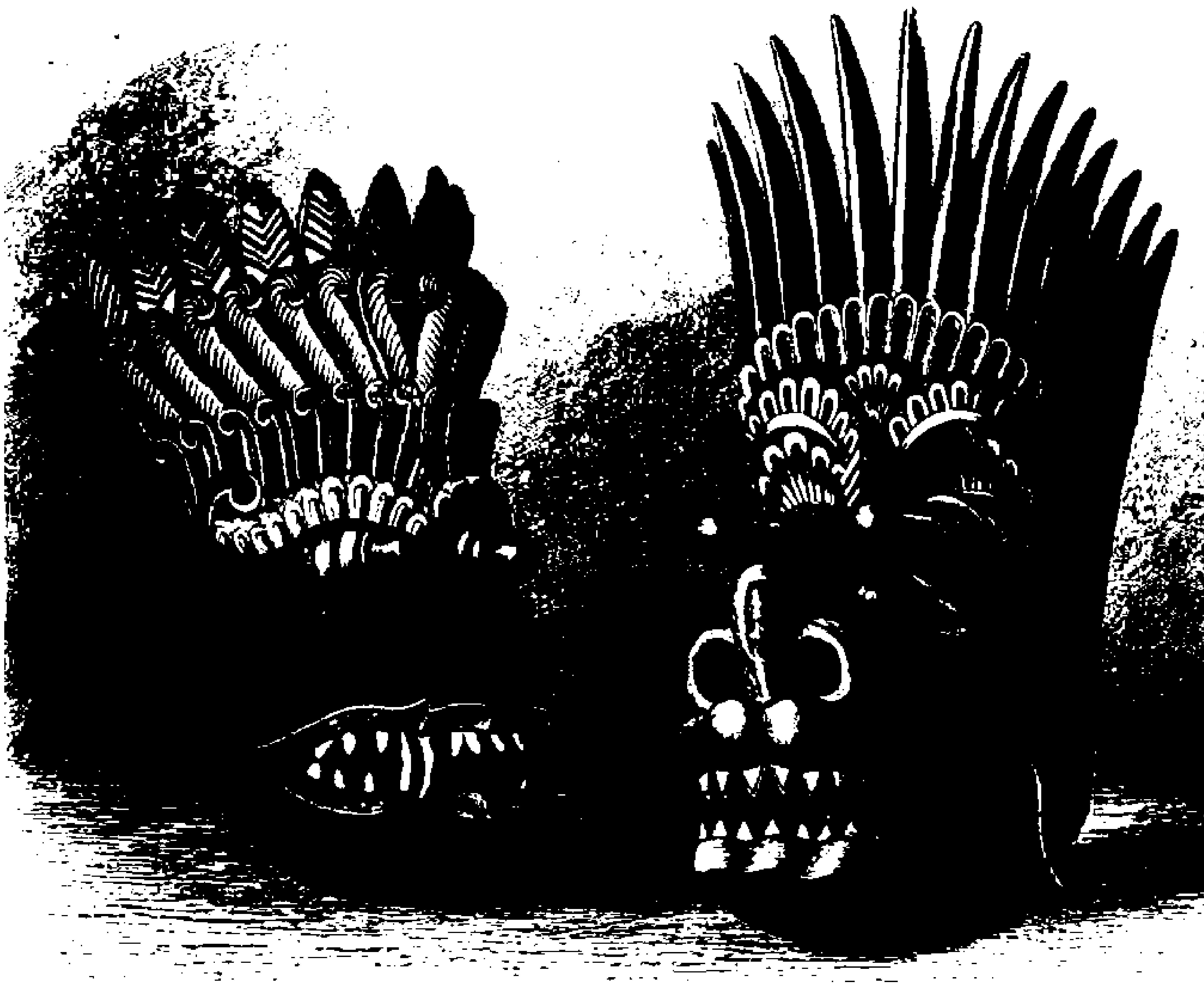
whose sacred beer brewed of malt and hops in lonely huts by Dastur[illegible] remain a whole year in their brewery, and see neither wife nor child, rep[illegible] the pagan side of a religion full of Christian and Mussulman elements. At [illegible] feasts the limewood bowls go round in honour of a spirit, to whom belo[illegible] exclusively the oats, the spherical copper caldrons, and the beer itself.

In the course of the Aryan expeditions of conquest in Northern India a[illegible] priestly caste grew up, which suppressed the mythologic strain in the old religion with its plastic humanising of the divine, by making the abstract lord of prayer

Instruments of Brahminic sacrifice and worship. (Munich Museum.)

"him who rules the gods and gives them strength," the true priests' god in the name of Brahmanaspati. This abstraction was further volatilised out of the mystery of the cult into Brahma, the spiritual over all, the soul of the world. Thus in their highest flights of thought the priests came very near monotheism, while the people sank ever lower in polytheism and idolatry, and were only brought nearer to Brahma by the system of transmigration of souls. But even the priests did not grasp the full depth of the one deity; he remained a mere ideal, and by their ultimate conception of the whole world as undisplayed Brahma they reached pantheism and lost the saving idea of monotheism. People have also been apt to make the tropical nature, to which the folk of the cold plateaus found themselves transplanted in the plains of India, responsible for the prevalence of polytheism, or to speak of the Indian's "multiplicative sense." But it surely received far more nutriment from the worship, whether of gods or idols, which it found existing in these countries. In the religions of India the lower ideas of

the pre-Aryan races run riot through the structures of the Aryan mind like brushwood over some noble ruin. The beast-shapes of the gods, in their multiform monstrosity, the whole tangle of the bloody Siva-worship with its human sacrifices, the whole religion of ancestors and ghosts, serpent-worship, perhaps even the notion of re-birth, have grown up rankly. There is much here to remind us of negro religions, or those of Oceania and America. We have a feeling as of a broad foundation, upon which, and from fragments of which, the individual religious systems have built themselves up. The crowds of amulets recall fetish-



Wooden masks used in worship by Cingalese—one-sixth real size. (Leipzig Museum.)

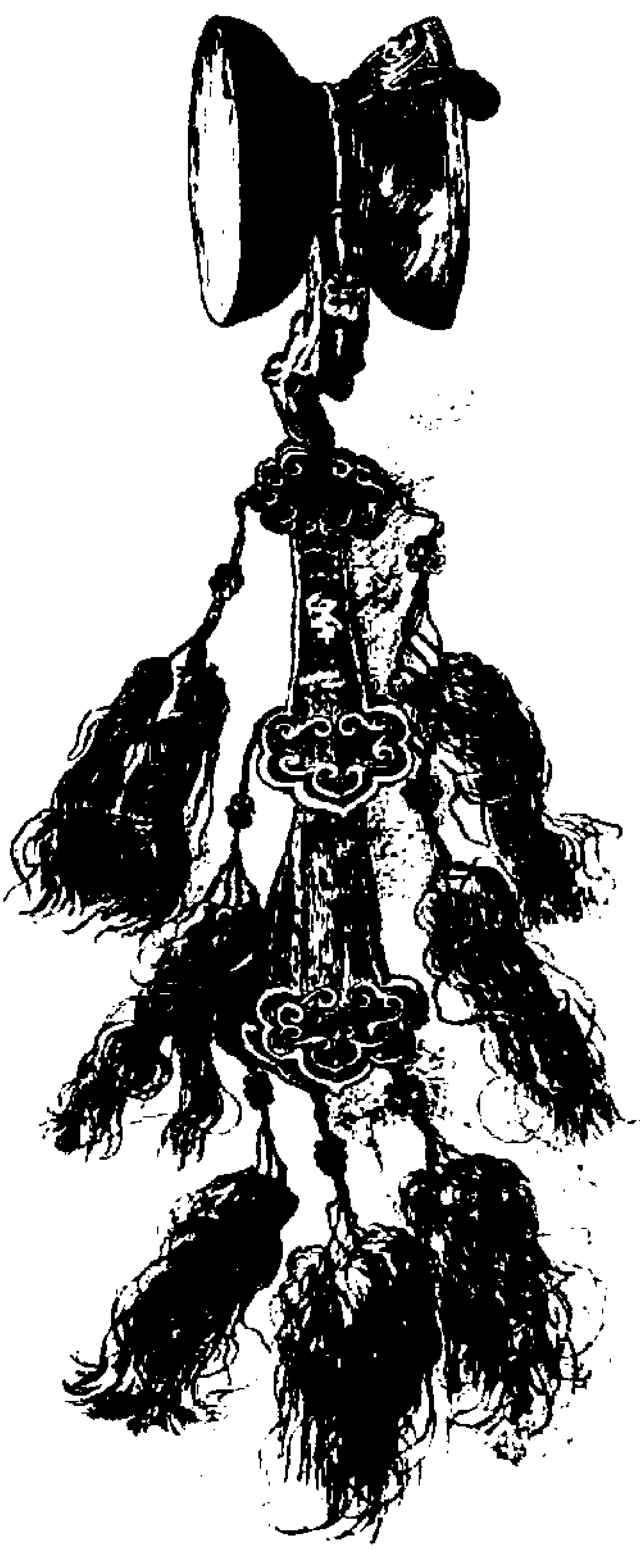
worship; in Tibet and Further India you see nobody without one. Dogs and crocodiles' teeth, stunted elephants' tusks, boars' tusks, are especially serviceable. With the rise of the dark cross-breed which we call the Hindoos, with the perfection of despotism and the caste-system over great kingdoms, the nature-gods of the Vedas came to be multiplied into 33,000 divinities. The division into clean and unclean drew at the same time a sharp line through the whole sensible world, and with injunctions as to food and the like came to the aid of worship in externals. A similar result was produced by a painfully elaborated ritual of sacrifice and prayers, which hardly left pious people a moment to themselves. In these external matters priests and people came together; but in deeper inward things the gap dividing them was all the wider. At the same time the Vedas were, and to this day are, handed down by oral tradition. Manuscripts, and in later times, printed books, exist only for security. In the Rigveda elaborate rules for learning by heart are laid down. When the scholar has learnt every day,

except festivals, for eight years, that is 2496 days in all, he knows 944,000 syllables by heart. In the popular consciousness, however, only a few divine figures have remained alive, at their head being Siva and Vishnu, fused together out of older figures of gods and heroes; the former, in the dry regions of the west, as rain-giver, the latter in the damp Ganges valley as god of sun and light. The popular Brahma-religion has always stood very near polytheism or idolatry. Buddhism, even in a corrupt form, knows no exhibitions such as are performed in Indian towns, though their only object may be to beg successfully of travellers. Drums, great iron chests on which people beat with metal rods, two monstrous trumpets, yells, howls, and screams of human voices, announce the approach of the god; an image, consisting perhaps only of several heads roughly carved in wood, on a palanquin hung with old shawls; a basket with flowers, and some wooden masks, are carried along therewith, and lamentable figures of professional penitents follow, dancing, singing, and praying.

Human sacrifices were not unknown to Aryan peoples; we find traces of them in Greece and Rome, among Celts and Germans. In the hot over-peopled lowlands of India hard and cruel features from the old theology made their mark upon the religion of Brahma, gentle only in appearance. Indigenous usages did not shrink from bloodshedding. Human sacrifices are even now attributed to the Khonds, and their existence among the Garos in 1866 rests on official evidence. The Schlagintweits brought back a sacrificial knife, which may be compared to an exaggerated cooper's knife, broad at the point, heavy, and very sharp forward; at the broad end of the blade, some 16 inches long, an eye is engraved and inlaid of a yellow colour. The horse-sacrifices of the old Rajputs, connected with human sacrifice, have only ceased since those warriors have embraced Jainism. To this day the Anglo-Indian authorities have to check some forms of human sacrifice. To appease the wrath of the gods the faithful offer their own heads in sacrifice. A whole Bannia family in Cattywar offered itself to Ganapati in 1883; the eldest son first cut off the heads of his parents, then of his four brothers, three-brothers-in-law and two sisters, finally jumping down a well himself. At that time the magazine of the Evangelical Mission spoke of such immolations, *Kamalpooja*, as by no means unheard-of; a similar custom, *munsamee*, was quite common a few years earlier in Rajpootana. If two men fought, and the weaker could defend himself no longer, he threatened *munsamee*; he went home and smashed the head of one of his children that the innocent blood shed might fall as a curse on the head of his opponent. There were Brahmins who defended this form of infanticide out of the Shastras. We need not here speak of the frequency of simple infanticide. But the immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral piles belongs to this class of usages.

The fire-worship of the Iranians, which a few scattered remains of the ancient Persian race have faithfully maintained, springs from one root with the ancestral Indian veneration of Indra and Agni. In the Zendavesta, however, the tradition is more colourless and conventional; reflection has passed upon it, and just as Judaic monotheism bears traces of another religion from another period "across the water and in Egypt," the apparently homogeneous revelation of Zoroaster is not free from survivals of older conceptions. But in the sacred writings of Iran fire is accurately classified according to its origin and its effects. Most sacred of all is the fire from the clouds, the lightning; but the strongest fire, that which kills all demons, is

composed of fifteen different fires. Sticks for rubbing fire are highly praised. Athravan, the priest's name in the Zendavesta, is derived from fire. Though we find, since the time of the ancient Greeks, fire described as the god of the Persians, we need not regard it as an incarnation (if the word may be so used). Fire is essentially venerable as a potent serviceable force. Yet no doubt it does appear as a living deity, when sacrifices are laid in it with the words: "Eat, Lord Fire"; when it is looked upon as a sin to poke the fire with damp wood, or when the priests approach it with a veil over their mouths. To this day no Parsee will blow out a light, and they object to the use of fire-engines. Fire-ritual was dear to the gods of the sun and the light, and to the goddess of the dawn. Mithra, the god of light, who has 10,000 eyes to behold all iniquity, is also the god of truth and righteousness. In his incessant fight with the evil powers of darkness, we have already the announcement of the contrast between Ahuramazda and Ahriman. Surrounded by the steppe, the Iranians do not stint their praise of water. They connect the rain with the stars, and above all others praise Sirius as the giver of fruitful showers; and they revere the goddess of the water, who presides alike over cleanliness and fertility. The Indian *soma*, in the form *haoma*, was offered by the Iranians as a drink-offering to the earth. Zoroaster, who, about the fourteenth century B.C. reformed the religion which was decayed and permeated with foreign elements, sprang from the royal race of Bactria, the country where the contrast is sharpest between fertile land and desert, salutary moisture and injurious drought, gentle and violent natural forces. In the religious imagery these contrasts appear in light and darkness, good and evil. The earlier light-religion appears optimistic beside the strictness with which the contrast and conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, is carried through everything. It is brought down to earth, in order as it were to consecrate the extension of cultivated land in opposition to the desert, the steady work of the husbandman in opposition to the hasty methods and robber-raids of the nomads.



Tambourine or *Dam...*, made of two children's skulls, from North Tibet. (After ...)

A priesthood, known to outsiders as Magians, claimed the sole right to offer sacrifices, and to address effective prayers to the Supreme Being. Much doubt it

recalls the Shamans of Central Asia; other points tend to connect it with the prophesying, astrologising, calendar-fixing priesthood of Babylon, the receptacle of all science. The priests had power and influence as mediators between God and man, but did not form a strictly hereditary caste. The tradition collected in the Zendavesta shows few traces of the genuine feeling found in the older Vedic hymns, but a good deal of abstraction and formula. The mythological element is suppressed. Fire as the son of Ahuramazda, earth as his daughter, and the like, alone still remains to indicate the lines of affinity with the old gods. Round Ahuramazda are spirits whose names are abstractions, pure truth, perfection, immortality, eternity. The air is full of ancestral spirits, *fravashis*, who guard all that is good, and even heaven, against the attacks of the *daevas* or evil spirits. While the former inhabit the bright heights and the warm south, evil comes from the north. Animals, too, fall into the classes of good and bad; at the head of the good stands the harbinger of light, the cock. Sacrifices are chiefly animal. It is hard to prove human sacrifices, though various evidence makes them at least probable. In highest reverence were held those enigmatic flames that burst forth from the earth, the most famous of which, the sacred fires of Baku, have of late been pressed into the service of an extremely modern industry; the soil having become so valuable all around that no settlement can spread any longer there. To the Greeks the most significant thing about Persian religion seemed to be that they had no temples or images of the gods, and that while the priest at the place of sacrifice invoked the good spirits, he never delineated them. Corpses are not allowed to defile either the fire or the earth—they have to be exposed to the wild beasts in a vault lined with stone, open toward the sun. This system, elaborated to the point of pedantry, has not been able to satisfy a race permanently. The spirits became spectres, and oppressed the simple mind, which, in seeking help, only ran up against abstractions. The fire-ritual of the Parsees, now confined to a few hundred thousands of professors, the most narrowly consistent development of the idea common to mankind of sun and light worship, is almost matter of history.

In India the Vedic religion has kept itself alive even after its heavy overthrow by Buddhism. Within the narrow circle of the priests, Brahminism has not wholly passed into the idolatrous ritual of Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma. Externally one gets, indeed, the impression that in the struggle with Buddhism, Brahminism has lost its most spiritual elements, and has dropped to the local, pre-Brahminic idolatries which have vegetated on far below. But just as the influence of Brahminism may be outwardly recognised in the strict obedience, even to the point of death, of laws relating to caste and to food, the preservation of the Vedas in their position as the supreme authority in conduct and belief, to which even the laws of Manu have to give way, gives a notion how deep the cult of the Veda sends yet living roots. A priesthood of some thousands of men living mostly in retirement, or in cloistral communities, despising Bengalee, and English still more, speaking and writing only Sanskrit, and regarding it as a first duty by tradition to learn the whole Rigveda by heart, is the upholder of the old faith. In 1891, 200 million persons were reckoned of the Brahmin religion, found almost exclusively in India.

The doctrine of Buddha, which arose out of Brahminism about the sixth century B.C., has become the religion claiming most followers of any upon the

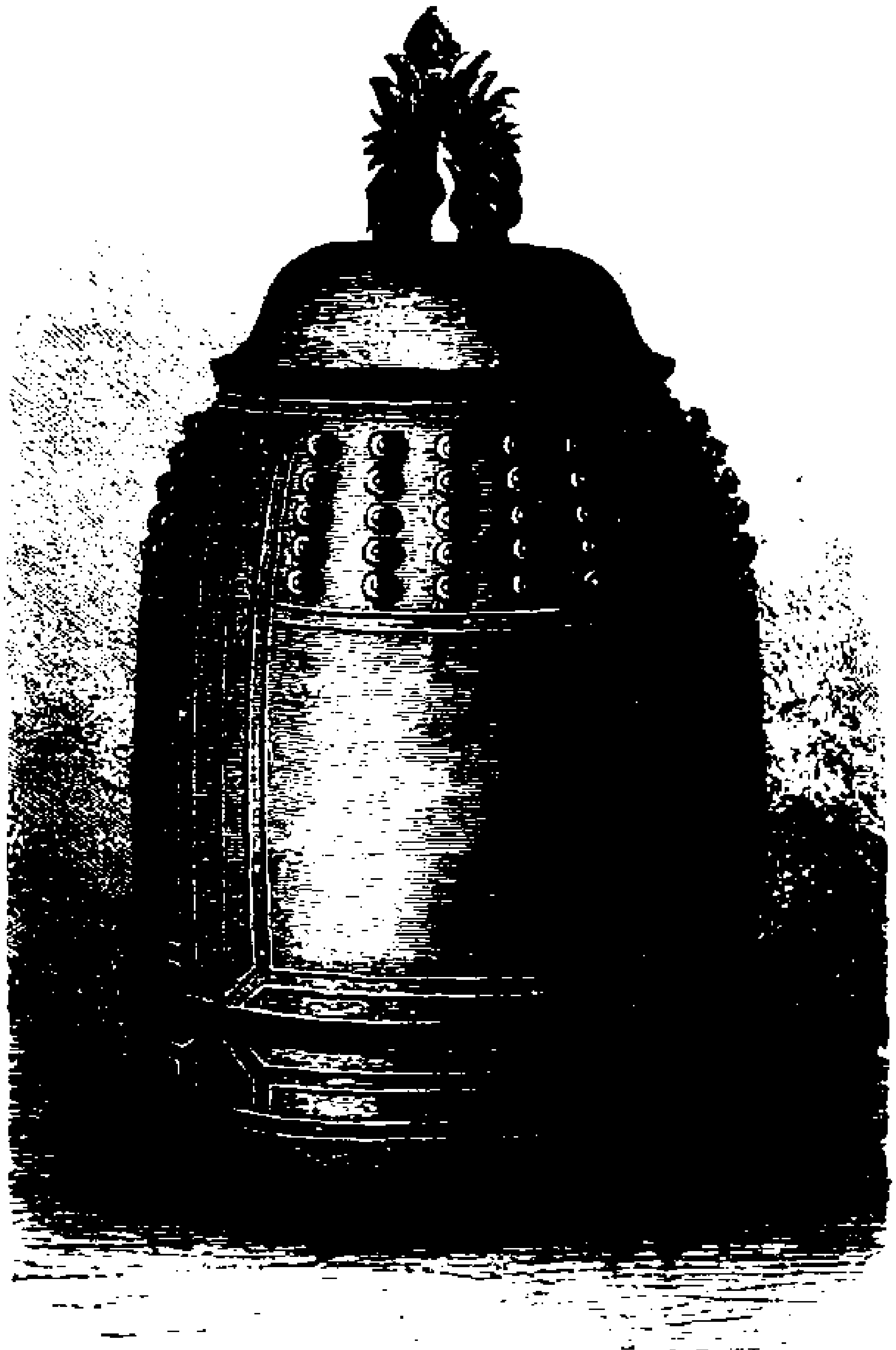
earth; all Eastern Asia belongs to it, and half the south and centre. Springing up in opposition to the Brahma-Vishnu-Siva system, which power and wealth had benumbed, Buddhism always laid most weight upon that which is within. The Brahmins had fettered the people's whole life with the ritual and the caste-system of their religion, and this had grown to be a burden. A prince of the little country of Kapilavastu, a scion of the old house of Sakya, born in 623 B.C., was in his twenty-ninth year so profoundly affected by the misery of men, which no one took thought to heal, that he secretly left his princely abode, and sent back horse, arms, and ornaments. After six years of hermit life, which taught him the value of poverty for mortifying the lusts and illuminating the spirit, he had become Sakyamouni Buddha, the enlightened. The Brahmins, many of whom had gone before him on the road of penitence, had preached to him doubtless as well as they knew: but he found there no explanation of evil or means to its alleviation. He travelled through the country preaching, with beggar's staff and pot in hand, the four great truths—evil, the origin of evil, the annihilation of evil, and the way to it. His doctrine was penetrated with the badness of the world, the instability of all being, the torment of the restless revolution of the wheel of the world; its highest aim was the deliverance of mankind from the evil. Pain lies in desire; one can overcome it by freeing the soul from the body. Redemption lies in passing into *Nirvana*, nothing. In definite words Buddha demanded of his disciples a life of renunciation, poverty, chastity: they were to roam about the country clad in rags, with heads shorn, the beggar's pot in their hands. All of course could not struggle after the most exalted models; for the people, the object of Sakyamouni's deliberate labours, there remained as the practicably available effective result the mortification of the passions through a not too severe discipline. And, since all mankind is but one fellowship of suffering, they must give each other mutual help, practise mercy and patience, not make a show of good works, but let all faults be publicly known. Contained in short formulas, like, "It is Buddha's teaching that we leave evil, do good, tame our thoughts," this was for the people a clear, simple, redeeming moral doctrine, and at the same time the promise of deliverance from the ban of caste, laws of purification, ritual. So precious was the gift that the old gods were willingly given up; in Buddha's *nirvana* there was no place for them.

A Japanese priest. (From a photograph.)

Even in his lifetime Buddha had gained a following among the people sufficient to make his doctrine triumph over all persecutions. He left a multitude of adherents, among them confidential disciples, whom before his death he bade collect his teachings and proclaim them to all the world. He died in 543 B.C., with the words, "Nothing lasts." His command to his disciples was the beginning of a mighty propaganda; but the fact that his ashes were laid in a gold vessel shows the rapid decline from the heights of voluntary poverty. Persecution by the servants of Brahma, and by the powers of the state, completed the work of making, out of the lofty doctrine of the individual, a religion accessible to hundreds of millions of men of the most various dispositions. Buddhism, too, with all its lofty intuitions, all its profound conceptions, has for the masses become a form of idolatry. When, after centuries of persecution, Brahminism and Buddhism learnt to come to terms upon foreign soil, it was clear how much the latter had taken from the former. By the eleventh century Buddhism had been swept from the soil of India, keeping a footing only in Ceylon, where it has remained at its purest, and whence it made its great conquests in South and East Asia.

Buddhism can only be understood as a development from Brahminism; nor is the contemporary development of the daughter-languages from Sanskrit an accidental phenomenon. The Vedas would easily be surrendered by a great part of the population, since the understanding of them had been cherished only in narrow circles. But the renovation of the inner and the outer life did not follow therefrom. It is said that the third century B.C. marks for India the boundary between new and old in language, religion, and culture. Under King Asoka of Patalipura was held the great Buddhistic council, which set the seal on the culmination of Buddhism. To this period belong the earliest inscriptions in the daughter-languages of Sanskrit. After its doctrine was fixed, Buddhism extended more widely, but Indian culture was too old for any fundamental transformation. For the individual Buddhism has depths; but it offered no stimulus to the mind, and did not regenerate persons accustomed to dumb obedience, dull brooding, patient repetition. Without doubt one of its best effects in history was the absence of exclusive fanaticism, which made it possible for statues of Buddha to stand in Brahmin temples, perhaps as early as the beginning of our era. How the Buddhist cult, gradually coming to love magnificence, tended and raised the arts, may clearly be recognised in Japan—the Buddhist temple of our illustration is an instance,—and perhaps the reason ot the decay of art in Korea may be sought in the alienation from it. There is evidence for the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon by Malabaric kings in company with the cult of Vishnu and Siva. In the temple at Chapiayu in Burmah, Buddha's image may be seen beside Brahmin images, and the people testify equal respect to them all. On the soil of the old Khmer country, where Brahminism and Buddhism have alike left noble monuments, the religion that is practically current among the people to-day, one may say the real religion that has remained is the belief in local tutelary deities corresponding to the Indian *pitris*. Outside of this, Buddhistic notions of the next world, altered and mostly coarsened, have attained wide currency. Apart from *nirvana*, as Paradise, many believe in a hell with seven gradations and penalties growing more and more painful. Brahma is also the guardian of Paradise. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls has

likewise established itself. But Buddha is revered both as actual Buddha and as Buddha-Prea-Mittay, the more important deity and also the expected Messiah. Kämpfer wrote at Ayuthia in 1690: "The Siamese religion is the doctrine of the Brahmins, which has indeed one and the same origin, but is allotted to various races in sects and interpretations, varying according to language, customs, or exposition. The Siamese set up the first teacher of their religion in their temples as a sitting, curly-haired black, gilt from motives of respect, and of monstrous size." To-day Siam is the seat of a form of Buddhism proud of its purity. *Lingam*-worship also was widely spread in Further India; and the pinnacle of a Siamese edifice is formed by the symbol of Siva, cylindrical and rounded at the upper end.



A Buddhist bell. (Leipzig Museum of Ethnology.)

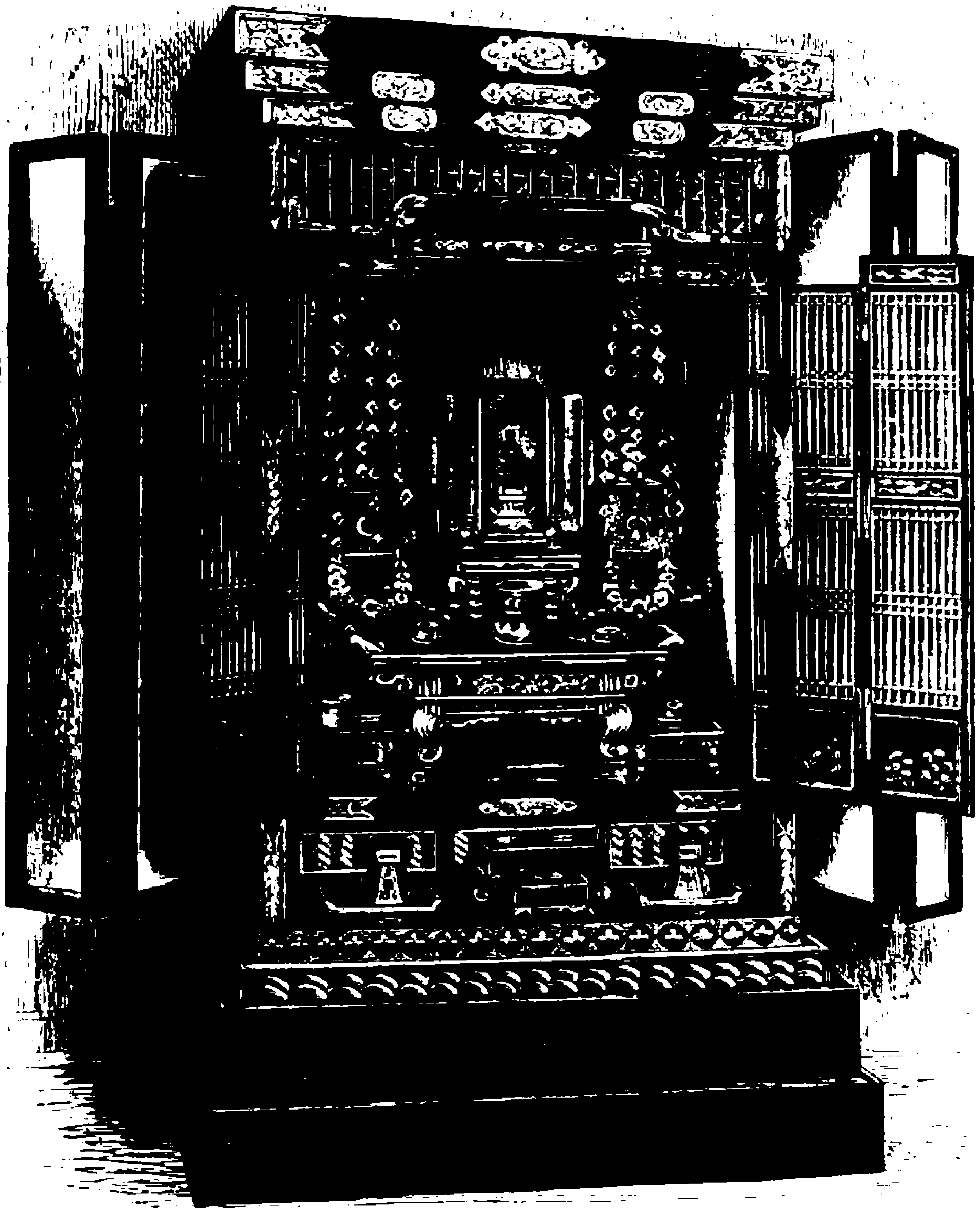
No country can show such examples of a mixture of religions as India. We know that the Vadeyas of Kattywar and Kooch were driven out by Scindia in the fifteenth century, and found protection among the Rajpoots on condition of giving up Islam, which cannot have been of very old standing among them. Now they have retained the cult of Vishnu and of the deified philosophers, which the old Jats cherished; but from the Rajpoots they have borrowed also the cult of the sun, of the horse, and of Siva under the emblem of the *lingam*, and besides that, they still go on reverencing the Koran. Traces of Brahminism are indeed most frequent in the religions of the smaller independent tribes of India. There are few who like the Khols, who even hold a place in the Sudra caste, are completely devoted in external points to that religion. Some tribes of the Gonds have addicted themselves to the service of Mahadeva, while the greater number see impurity in the Brahmin priests. The Mhairs share with the Bheels the cult of stones and trees, as well as a contempt for caste, and with the Jats a reverence for the Vishnu legends. The Akhas on the frontier of India and Tibet have got from the former their belief in a Supreme Being, and in the next world, with their priesthood; while Tibet supplies them with figures of Buddha which they put up as chief gods. The Shins of the Upper Indus Valley perhaps offer evidence of the development of modifications in religious notions out of caste prejudices. Surrounded by cattle, they despise milk and butter, and do not burn cow-dung like their neighbours. In certain districts they have an equal

horror of all kinds of fowl. The religion of the Jains, whose numbers in India far exceed a million, is a development from Brahminism resembling the old Buddhism, but tending more to the worship of saints. It is quite full of these saints or *Jeenas,* with their traditional attributes and colours.

Ceylon has, since the downfall of Buddhism on the mainland of India, assumed a prominent place in the history of Buddhism, and therewith of all South and East Asia. To this island came merchants from east and west, from China and Byzantium. Hence radiated the missionary activity of Buddhism; the Buddhism of Further India bears many traces of its descent from the island whose shrines to this day contest with those of Lhassa the precedence in relics and miracles. Buddha's footprint on Adam's Peak, his tooth kept in the innermost of a number of costly boxes, and other objects, attract every year thousands of pious pilgrims. Buddhist art has in the temples of Ceylon achieved some of the largest and most handsome edifices that India knows. In Further India, Buddhism found in Cambodia a second starting-point for its extension. Here even among the upper classes it has felt the influence of Confucius's teaching less than in the east of the peninsula. Fugitive Buddhism in the north of India was received by Tibet, but it was no longer the Buddhism of Gautama. Siva and his suite of demons were again introduced into the teaching, he as the Judge of Hell embodying the terrible side of the Supreme Being, and superstition and magic got the upper hand. It was with that power that the Buddhists in presence of the native Shamans, had to work upon the rough and savage people "of the terrible land of snow." The advantageous position which the visitors derived from a higher culture, and their concentration through contests with the native priests and chiefs, gradually developed the hierarchy which with its two grand Lamas, the Dalai Lama at Lhassa and the Panchen-rin-Potché at Tashilumpo ultimately won also the political sovereignty over Tibet. Buddhism originally brought with it much that had power to act from without; but here it received that organisation of attention to externals which made it capable of breaking up Shamanism in Central Asia. In China, beside ancestor-worship it certainly found Shaman-like priests, just as in Cambodia magicians retained power beside the priests. But to say with Plath that the old religion of the Chinese was Mongolian Shamanism, rests on a misunderstanding of the essence of religion. No doubt the superstitious people adhere to jugglers and magicians who in market-places and on the roads pierce their limbs with knives and otherwise torture themselves; but Shamanism is no religion.

All the cruder ways of approaching the Supreme employed by other religions are familiar to Buddhism, even in its highest developments. Celibacy, the tonsure, bells, rosaries, incense, long ago suggested to early observers comparisons with Christianity. In the Mongolic Buddhism of Tibet, Christian missionaries used to see a bastard church of Satan's own manufacture. The Buddhist goes on pilgrimage and does penance. Even in busy Japan there are Buddhist monks and nuns by thousands. Its numerous sects allow Buddhism to adapt itself to the most various requirements. In its temples images of the gods and votive offerings, wooden arms, legs, hearts, and so on, play a great part. Dusty pigtails may be seen hung up, the former wearers having in time of sickness offered the adornment of their heads, or straw sandals, to give strength of leg to the donors. Votive pictures again, to commemorate deliverance from deadly peril, are not

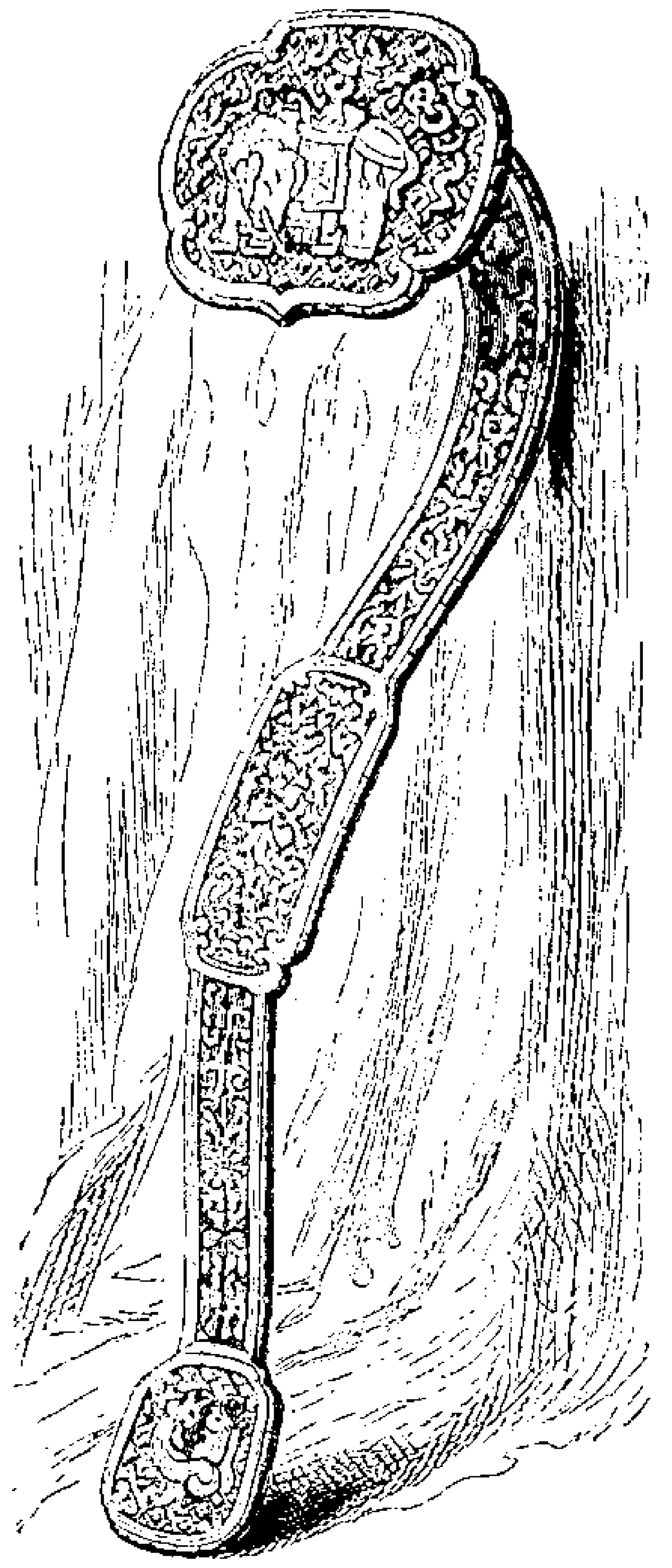
wanting. In Japan, just as in Europe, the way to a pilgrimage temple leads by rows of booths, in which are for sale amulets, rosaries, little images to be worn in the sleeve or girdle, but most of all those of Dai-koka the cheery god of wealth,



Buddhist domestic altar, from Japan—one-fifth real size. (Munich Museum.)

most popular among Japanese household deities. Buddhism understands admirably how to get its professors into the twilight mood of a semi-consciousness, conducive and beneficial to faith. The sacred space of Buddhist temples with its gigantic lights, its silver-gilt lotus-flowers, curious lacquer-ware, bells, chalices, gongs, and drums, a collection of objects from places ever so remote, of profound symbolism, denote mysticism for the cultured Buddhist, while it touches the

simpler observer with holy awe. In the thick incense-smoke, priests with shaven heads, in rich vestments, may be seen moving noiselessly about the altar on the soft mats. They light the sacred candles in the great candlesticks, muttering prayer the while and touching the little bells that hang around. From the background statues of Buddha look down; the largest of them, at Nara near Osaka, is 54 feet high. From the great chest, appointed to receive the offering of the faithful, comes almost incessantly on festivals the chink of the dropping coins. Modes of praying are various; with some, prayer consists in the emphatic repetition of words not understood, in a strange tongue; with others in lifting the hands and rubbing them together, in moving the head up and down, in counting the beads of the rosary. In general the worship is quickly finished. Few show real devotion, or fling themselves on the ground in fervent prayer. But the most curious prayers are balls of chewed paper, with texts, vows, or wishes written on them; these are spat through the *grille* into the god's face. If they stick, they are almost sure to be heard.

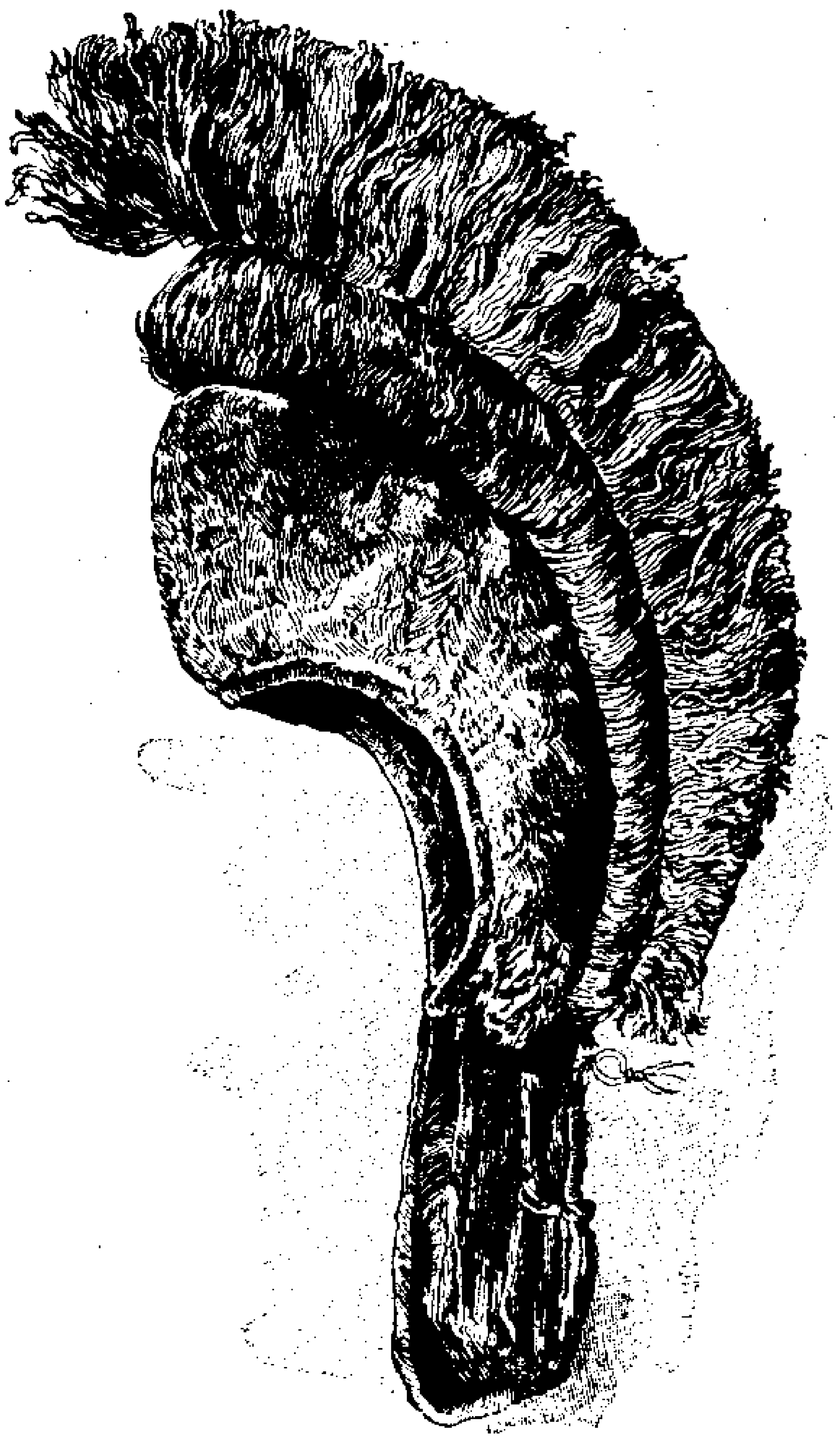


A *Yu-i*, or staff of red lacquer, representing the lotus-flower; a symbol in China and Japan of imperishableness, and an auspicious token, borne especially by Shinto priests—one-fourth real size. (Munich Museum.)

In Further India the smallest village has its temple, and the herdsmen of Central Asia carry their tabernacle about with them. Strangers are lodged in these, which serve at the same time as meeting-houses. Often they are nothing but large sheds open on three sides, and on the fourth, where a low plank bed is placed, closed with a wall of straw or bamboo. In the middle stands a little wooden hut with a few carvings, from every projection on which hang amulets, prayer-forms, ribbons of many colours. In Ladak nearly every village has its monastery, one son out of every family becoming a lama in it. Prayer-cylinders stand at the entrance; the courtyard is adorned with bells, lamps, and flags. In the little towns planted by the Chinese in the remotest parts of Central Asia they build small Buddhist temples; in the compartments of which, no larger than niches, stand numerous images of Buddha, with candles burning before them, while the undying fire flames in the middle. The walls covered with inscriptions bear in their upper part, like the ceiling, pictures illustrating the life of Buddha, his sufferings, his death, and his apotheosis. The school hard by, with its long benches and desks, has quite a European look. Larger places have larger temple-premises, represented by whole parks and cemeteries. At Bassak, renowned throughout the Laos country for its monastery, the pagoda is surrounded by numbers of pyramidal tombs, and protected by two walls. In the Chinese colonies in Further India, notably in Assam, it was early remarked that the Chinese temples were more richly and handsomely furnished than those of the natives "though they are ostensibly dedicated to the same

deities." Upon the altar may be seen a heap of Buddha-images of the most various materials, and from the size of a finger-nail to 20 feet in height. But Japan is most rich in temples. In Kioto 3000 temples of Buddha testify to this day of the power possessed by the Buddhist Tycoons in the capital and under the eyes of the Shintoist Mikados. China too has countless temples in every city.

In Buddhist countries the monasteries in out-of-the-way districts, and the hermitages, people every mountain and ravine with shrines. On the spur between the Brahmapootra and its tributary the Ki-Chu, which flows by Lhassa, stands at a height of 16,000 feet the temple of Sama-Yu, said to have been built by Buddha himself; a chief temple with gilded images and four side-temples. The preference for an elevated site for temples and sepulchral monuments extends as far as the Volga. In Cambodia a temple or a statue looks down from every hill. "Many statues," says Delaporte, "have been chiselled *in situ* out of the rock of the hill-side; cliffs have even been hewn into the form of towers with battlemented stages." In the mountains of the Koko-Nor there is a place called the "Thousand Caves," where a vast number of caves, large and small, have been excavated by human hands, in two and three stories, connected by staircases. In a temple at the far end of the suite of caverns a Buddhist monk guards the holy place. Every cave is first excavated and then lined with clay. The roof and walls are covered chequer-wise with countless little idols. In one of the largest sits a Buddha, 80 feet high, his foot 20 feet long; in others are iron bells and drums of peculiar shape. From the Bamian Valley, nearly 9000 feet above the sea, we hear of two Buddha-statues, 115 feet and 150 feet high respectively, wrought in the living rock and surrounded by numerous artificial caves and niches. Among the traces of the Dungan insurrection in Central Asia are thousands of smashed statues of Buddha.



Headdress of a Tibetan lama, of yellow wool. (After Rockhill.)

The elevation of pilgrimage to the rank of a great politico-religious institution has caused remote spots like Ceylon, Lhassa, Urga, to become important centres for a great part of the Asiatic world. Every year thousands of Buddhists go on pilgrimage to Lhassa with no less zeal no less craving for a blessing than that which takes Mussulmans to Mecca; in the network of monastries at Potala they hope to participate in the Dalai Lama's blessing. From the fruitful lowlands of China, from the interminable deserts of Mongolia, from the wild gorges of the Himalaya and Kuen-lun, the streams of pilgrims flow. They make offerings in hundreds of thousands, even the poor bringing their mite. The palace of the

Dalai Lama, to the north of Lhassa, on a stony hill rising from the swampy valley-bottom, shows temple upon temple from the slope of the hill to the summit, where stands the gilded palace of the great divinity. Portals shaded by lofty trees lead to four hundred stone steps. In front of them assemble the faithful, in festal attire, on horses with many-coloured trappings. When the right hand of the Dalai Lama has rested in benediction on their heads, they return happy to their homes, and in future will visit only a re-born Buddha of lower rank, or *Kutukhta*. Part of the powerful influence of these centres resides in their great colleges of priests, whose effects are felt afar. Those of Lhassa are attended by youths from Ladak.

The Buddhist priest with his shaven head—in Tibet he wears a yellow helmet, like the feather-helmets of Hawaii—clad in a simple but conspicuous robe, red or yellow according to his sect, with his staff and his begging-cup, after the pattern of Buddha, in his hand, is an impressive apparition. Priestly celibacy is in some countries a matter of law, in all a godly practice. On his journey to the Tashi or "Teshoo" Lama in 1785, Turner noted that in Bhootan "any matrimonial contract proved almost a certain hindrance to advancement to offices of political importance"; and he adds the following remark, applicable to most Buddhist countries: "The higher orders of men, entirely engrossed by political or ecclesiastical duties, leave to the husbandman and labourer, to those who till the fields and live by their industry, the exclusive charge of propagating the species." Colonies of women and children in the neighbourhood of Tibetan monasteries belong to lay-brethren who have not taken vows of chastity. In the most insignificant village of Further India, in the smallest encampment of Mongol herdsmen, one may hear till far into the night the same muttered hymns, with trumpets and cymbals, and see the clouds of incense rising at the same hours. In the most elevated valleys of Tibet, butter-lamps by hundreds stink in front of the images of Buddha, artfully modelled themselves in butter. The priests form no real caste, and do not inherit their office.[1] But they appear in throngs in countries where every family devotes a son to religion and celibacy, or where, as among the Calmucks, every sixtieth person enters the religious life. In Tibet and Mongolia the "cloister-rabble" arrange predatory raids *en masse*, or as in Siam, plays the mischievous part of a swarm of drones towards the economic prosperity of the country. Buddhism was once remarkably active in the mission-field; and even at the present day missionaries, disguised as Chinese traders, carry on a propaganda among the Buriats of East Siberia.

In the *baksa* or *bakshi* of the herdsmen on the steppes of Central Asia and South-East Europe, the minister of the lofty ideals of Buddhism or Islam again comes so very near the Shaman that the difference is often hardly to be perceived, being often confined to one or two details of ritual stripped of all higher thought. He is rather the minister of the superstitions of his yet more degraded fellows. Radloff describes the Kirghis *bakshis* as mere jugglers, who make a great show of licking red-hot iron, or sticking knives in their throats and needles in their muscles. The highest pitch of knowledge attained by a Calmuck *bakshi* is acquaintance with the Tibetan in which he mutters his prayers as he squats on his haunches. His chief labour is the mechanical learning and repetition of the *Nom*. The fact that no Calmuck priest, even the highest, understands Russian,

[1] [*Sic*; but a celibate priesthood is not apt to be hereditary.]

shows the way in which this class is bound within the narrow limits of tradition. The [illegible], young acolytes at the lowest stage of the lama hierarchy, serve him and work for him. When the *bakshi* dies, they say of him: "he is become a god"; and his image is now esteemed like those of the gods. The *baksa* or the *dargow*, as witch-doctor, has entered on the inheritance of the Shaman who once operated with the same means and with similar success; and on this he practically depends for respect and influence. He has to play the *Kobysa*, the wonder-working instrument with three horse-hair strings, hung round its edge with all kinds of clinking metal, and must also have the power of easily throwing himself into convulsions of raving and foaming. He has to draw omens from blade-bones of mutton, as Rubruquis long ago described; this may be done with either fresh or charred bones, by interpreting the lines and cracks in them. Further, he has to know a *materia medica* as over-copious as the Chinese. In the belief of his patient, however, the way in which the medicaments are applied to the ailing body is much more important than the ingredients of which they consist. It is significant that we find the smith as the assistant of the *baksa*, and that at betrothal-festivals he has charge of all the customs connected with the fire, which emerge as relics of an older religion.

An Indian fakir. (From a photograph.)

Of all the great Buddhist nations the Chinese are the most tolerant, which is another point in which they approach Europeans. In Siam the Chinese adapt themselves to the strictest Buddhism, even entering the monasteries, which is by no means in accordance with their active natures; in the Indian Archipelago they may be found contributing to the erection of Mussulman mosques, and opening their hospital at Batavia to Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans alike. In spite of their terrifying exterior, the Chinese deities are the easiest to manage. The Chinese values the practical advantages of his faith, his religion being in great measure the art of living a peaceful, happy, and useful life. The Mongols are most fanatical just because they have less of this; the spirit of the great Akbar, who impartially put all religions on a level in India, has at least not remained alive among them. The experience of missionaries on the Mongolian-Chinese frontier has been that the

Mongols cling more firmly than the Chinese to their Buddhist faith. Yet the herdsmen of the steppe are among the most credulous and superstitious of mankind. The favourite subject of conversation with the Mongols is always the cattle and the pasture; but the priest forms the other principal topic, his medicine, the mode and manner of employing it, especially the secret words of conjuration, the charms; in the first instance, it is true, more as concerning the ailments of beasts than of men. Herein there is no distinction between Turks and Mongols.

Confucius's doctrine is recognised in China by all the learned men in the country, but many of them in practice follow a form of Buddhism which, like the philosophic Taoism, degenerates into a savage idolatry. Japan long allowed Buddha, Confucius, and the innumerable *kamis* to be peacefully revered side by side. In the eastern parts of Further India, as in China, idolatry sprung from Buddhism is the religion of the lower classes, of women, of the unlearned, while people of rank and education invoke Confucius. China for political reasons feigns an official respect for everything connected with Buddhism, and has contrived to assign to an image of Buddha at Pekin the rank of one of the first Buddha figures in Asia. Kang-hi had the chief works of the Chinese classics translated into Mongolian, and distributed them among his Mongol-speaking subjects. The Chinese Government displays a really astounding official tenderness for the religion of the Mongols. It has accurately laid down the route by which they bring a new spiritual chief to Lhassa when their *Kutukhta-Gygen* is dead, and protects the caravans. In Pekin it is known that the Mongols are quiet when the *Kutukhta* is peaceful, and care is taken not to let them remain without a spiritual chief. Yet more important is the influence which China has long secured in the election of the Dalai Lama; greater, indeed, than any power ever permanently possessed in the Roman Conclave. With a force hardly weakened by distance it adheres firmly to its purpose of extending over the Tibetans, by means of a similar "moral" suzerainty in Lhassa, an influence like that which it has over the nomads of Central Asia by virtue of its possession of the most sacred Mongol cities. As the Tibetans are no less superstitious than poor, not merely taking off their hats when they pass a monastery, but shuffling past it on their knees, this influence is not hard to acquire. Religious matters are the Tibetan's favourite subject of conversation. Religion fills his inner world entirely. The predatory Yograis of the Tibetan mountains, with all the practical sinfulness of their violent and reckless lives, are punctilious in their performance of the external precepts of religion, and may be heard constantly muttering Buddhist prayers. Curiously enough, with all this they do not recognise the political position of the Dalai Lama. In Further India, Siam is now the nursery of Buddhist religious zeal. Every son of a respectable family has to pass a year in a monastery; even king's children become monks or nuns, and the king takes a pious care for the welfare of the numerous religious houses.

Japan seems, indeed, a country of recent Buddhism, when we find that religion appearing there only in the sixth century A.D.; but nowhere has it departed so far from its original shape. The Japanese, conceiving of Shintoism only as ancestor-worship, and of Confucianism only as a system of philosophic ethics, can combine with both an almost convinced worship of Buddha. He is capable of political fanaticism, while the influence of three equivalent religions

has destroyed his religious seriousness. The modern Japanese likes to represent himself to Europeans as an atheist. Yet with this, sects, some imported from India, some of home growth, have nowhere flourished so luxuriantly. Between the philosophic Buddhism of a few priests of the higher sort, and some scholars of high literary culture, and the Buddhism of the masses, there is in Japan as great a gulf as exists in India between the sublimer Brahminism and the religion of Siva. The vulgar Buddhism reveres a host of idols and amulets in forms of worship, which in some sects ensnare through their pomp, in others captivate by their artful simplicity. The artificial fostering of Buddhism ultimately reached the point of persecuting Christianity; whereby it became the state religion of the Tycoons and their adherents, to whom political service was rendered by monkish orders—some, who may be compared to the Templars, with arms; others as overseers of the people and keeping an eye on opponents.

Christianity has made its way in at many points of South and East Asia, but has never gained any great space in the conflict with the old religions deeply rooted in the life of states and peoples. With enormous sacrifices the Jesuits seemed, first in Japan, then in China, to have gained the sovereigns and the ruling classes; but in both cases they were wrecked when the goal was almost reached. Since then the propaganda has been independently active in the southern and western provinces of China, the most remote from the centre. In the neighbouring Tonking and Annam, French and Spaniards have worked with comparative success, so that we may assert the existence of some two million Christians in Southern China and the north of Further India. Even in Kuldja, Ujfalvy found a small church with a congregation of seventy Christian Chinese, converted in West China.

Of the eight elements recognised by the Buddhists—earth, fire, water, air, flint, iron, mountain, heaven,—the first five can become the residence of the dead body, and modes of burial are various accordingly. In India and Further India many points of agreement with Malay and Polynesian customs turn up. Among the Todas the "fresh" burial takes place immediately after death in a tree trunk; later on the body is burnt, and only at the end of a year are the ashes interred, with sacrifices of buffaloes, with an underlying idea of his pets accompanying the dead man. Among the Khassias the corpse is placed in a hollow tree; honey is poured over it, which keeps it from decaying till the end of the rainy season, and then it is burnt. The Moormees on the Sikkim frontier burn the body and put the ashes solemnly away in a pot; and similarly the Varalees of Further India, who, on one day in the year, deck the place where the ashes repose with flowers, and light little candles there. In Tonking the bones are collected from the graves and put into little earthenware coffins with round holes in the sides. Cremation is of course very common in India, and has been so, as the urn-sepulchres show, from early times. The Dards on the frontier practise it, and it occurs too in Tibet, where it is also not uncommon simply to throw the corpse into the open. The "Towers of Silence" near Bombay are nothing but gigantic scaffolds, on which the bodies of Parsees are exposed to the sun and the vultures, till the bare bones drop through and fall down. Of Indian dolmens we have already spoken on p. 363. Another point of similarity with early European burial-places, is seen in the little lumps of clay, in size from a walnut to a pill, which the graves in Coorg contain in abundance. Laos and Khas bury their

dead, or expose them in a covering of bark; the weapons and implements of the departed are attached to a post beside his head, and a little mortuary shrine is erected hard by. Water "burial," especially in the sacred Ganges, seems in India always to be the form preferred by persons of stricter views. In 1880 there died at Ava the wife of a Burmese king, who boasted descent from the old kings of India. When dying she made her husband promise to commit her ashes to the Ganges. An urn was prepared from the princess's own gold ornaments, and after solemn cremation her ashes were placed in it. Four Brahmins then travelled with them to Benares and flung them with due ceremony into the Ganges. Then the urn, filled with water from the sacred stream, was brought back to Ava, and presented by the sorrowing spouse to one of the temples. In March 1881 took place at Bangkok the solemn cremation of the king's favourite wife, who had, with her only daughter, been drowned during a river-excursion in the previous year. The bodies, in coffins of sandalwood, were borne by priests and court officials to a wooden palace built for the purpose, and there laid out on a pyre of fragrant woods. The queen was dressed in European, her daughter in native clothes; and with each were laid her most costly ornaments. During the night, officials and court-attendants kept watch in the mortuary house with burning torches. In the morning two silver buckets full of Ganges water were placed on the pyre, before which the priests offered some funeral prayers. After this the king, with his brothers and ministers, entered the building, recited a short prayer before the pyre, bade farewell to the departed, and then with a torch set fire to the heap. Then all left the palace, to the four corners of which fire was applied by attendants, and the edifice, with its costly contents, burnt to the ground.

The Japanese inter in enclosed cemeteries, the Chinese and Koreans in their ploughed fields, piling up a mound from one to two yards high—in the case of an emperor, ten or eleven yards. Well-to-do people build tombs, whitewashed and conspicuous from afar, with walls and cypress-groves round them. A Chinese funeral, in the case of persons of rank, is the occasion of a display of colour, particularly scarlet, that to us is unintelligible, in palls, tablets inscribed with the name and titles of the deceased and his ancestors, lanterns, together with noisy music to drown the lamentations for the dead. Luxury extends even to the coffin; it is made of rare woods, in South China from the fragrant wood of the *Anisoptera sepulcrorum*. Among the lower classes funeral rites are very simple. Four bearers carry the coffin, followed by the white-robed widow in a hand-cart. Formerly, 150 suits of clothing, for use in the next world, were buried with an emperor; but ordinary persons take with them only a copper coin. The cruel practice of interring with a grandee some members of his suite, which cost thirty persons their lives so late as the burial of the first Manchu empress, was abolished by Kang-hi. In Japan it is said to have been given up about the beginning of our era. It is doubtless a relic of it, when, as even now in China, slaves, in the shape of paper-dolls, are placed at the grave's foot.

In Egypt, ancestor-worship has, in the incomparable care taken for the residences of the dead and for the equipment of the corpse with everything necessary for its entry into the next world, even with papers attesting its merits for the information of the Deity, assumed an air of rigid formalism. No race has ever bound its own life so intimately with the life of the departed; and if it did

not from this draw all the benefits of spiritualisation, it is an important point that this profound notion was here held with a seriousness which made it an inalienable possession of mankind. How much indeed have the Egyptians enriched humanity by their single-minded efforts to maintain it, ending though they did in rigidity? In their mortuary chambers they are said to have copied their own wooden huts of palm and sycamore, so that the dwellings of the dead differed from those of the living only in being more permanent. The custom of stone graves extends throughout North Africa as far as the Hamitic dialects; but in Asia Minor especially we meet with stone dwellings of the dead, built like small houses or even palaces, only more durable; while stone chambers recur in India and Japan. Though Asiatic races may otherwise have departed from the sedulous preservation of corpses which has, in the sphere of Egyptian culture, spun a web of the most curious practices, the fundamental notions are not so far apart. In the invocation of the departed soul we meet the same advanced ancestor-worship, of the wide spread of which in Asia we have given examples. How near the conceptions of the soul in East Asia come to those of Malays and Polynesians many funeral customs show. The Korean funeral rite begins with calling back the soul that has flown; it is enticed by flapping one of the dead man's garments at it. The corpse is clad in travelling dress, and the hands wrapped in cloths against the cold. Wives, children, and slaves mourn three years for the head of the house. Mourning is shown by covering the face with strips of cloth stretched between two bamboo sticks.

Mussulmans have departed furthest from the dignity with which Egypt surrounded the dead. They bury quickly; the cemeteries are not walled, and paths cross them in all directions. In a country like Persia, full of old monuments, it is seldom that a new one of equal solidity and dignity is erected. In these countries care goes no further than laying the dead man's head toward Mecca or Kerbela.

D.—WESTERN ASIATICS AND EUROPEANS

§ 26. THE CAUCASIAN RACES

Historical position of the Armenian and Caucasian region—Statements as to survivals of races—Effects of seclusion—Antiquated manners and customs—The chief groups: Armenians, Kurds, Georgians, Cherkesses, Chechenes, Lesghians, Ossetes—Scattered fragments of races and colonies—Dress—Economic and political features.

THE almost impracticable mountain-ranges between the Black Sea and the Caspian were even in ancient times the abode of numerous peoples. Here races were crowded together, unable to settle down tranquilly on the narrow tracts of often unproductive soil. Emigrations and immigrations played, down to the most recent fighting with the Russians, a great part. Refractory tribes were often tamed and broken up by means of compulsory settlements. Even in ancient times the origin of the Colchians was traced to forced colonisation from Egypt. Armenian and Georgian colonies in large numbers were planted by Persian monarchs on Persian soil; since the time of Shah Abbas there have been seventeen Armenian villages in the province of Feridan. Similarly Cherkesses have been removed to Bessarabia, and great numbers of them are found in all Cossack pedigrees. Races moved to and fro across the neck of land between the Euxine and the Caspian, which was one of the gates between Europe and Asia; and in the Caucasian mountain country, to either side of which the roads led, remnants settled, and remained hemmed in and secluded. Thus the Ossetes lived confined between Grusians and Kabardians, completely cut off from the lower valleys and the roads to the plain; which explains much in their manners and customs. Near them dwell others into whose midst people retreating from the plain have thrust themselves. Where the contrasts in natural privileges are as great as here, where, only a few days' journey from the Kuma steppe—"undoubtedly," says Koch, "the most desolate region in Europe"—rise the fertile foot-hills of Besh-tau, there was no question in which direction the thronging swarms would give way.

Much that is antiquated and much that is crude has kept itself alive in these mountain solitudes. Points recalling even the Stone Age have been noticed, as when the Armenian Kurds weight the yoke of young bulls with a perforated stone of 12 lbs. weight or so, to prevent them from being over-frisky. The ramifying caverns, in which Xenophon found the Carduchi, still serve as winter quarters for the Kurd and Tartar herdsmen, and even some of the Armenian husbandmen. On the inclement Armenian plateau this marmot-like life is explained by the lack of fuel, but not so in the middle valley of the Kur, on the border of fine forests and close by fortified villages, where a bullet-proof

stone tower is attached to each house. At Nij Noukha they leave a woman in childbirth to herself; among the Mussulman Georgians in the province of Zakataly, who are called Ingiloizes, the poor woman, when her pains come on, is even driven from the living rooms as "unclean," and has to seek some stable or barn, where she must bring her child into the world without any kind of help. Not for a period varying from five to seven days may she return to her family and go about her household affairs. A Khevsur woman has even to be delivered without help in a hut outside the village; and formerly she had to stay there a month, while the father abstained from all festivities for seven weeks. In the Caucasus it is not unusual for children to be suckled till their third year. The servile position of the married woman can hardly anywhere be more pronounced than among Ossetes, Lesghians, and Khevsurs. In winter she has to fetch faggots from the extreme limit of trees down into the mountain-valley, and she does all the labour except ploughing and hay-cutting. It is sometimes said that the men have been so long used to a warlike life as to have lost the habit of work; but the low position of the woman is too universal to have grown up so casually. The Khevsurs still like to give their children names that sound like echoes of their pagan past, as Wolf, Lion, Panther, Bear, for boys; Little Sun, Sun-girl, Rose, for girls. All petting of children in public is scouted. Betrothals are made in the cradle, and purchase of wives is universal. A show of wife-capture precedes the conclusion of the marriage proper. Monogamy appears to have prevailed originally; then concubines were allowed, their children remaining in the house as semi-slaves. The family community of the Caucasian Iberians was noticed by the Romans. Among the Georgians such a community often embraces a hundred members in one homestead. The sacredness of hospitality cannot be exceeded anywhere. When the Cherkess has adopted any one as his guest, that person's life and safety are guaranteed. If danger threatens him, the wife of his host will give him milk from her own breast, whereby he is recognised as a lawful son, and it becomes the duty of his new brothers to defend him against his foes at the risk of their own lives, and to avenge him if slain. The guest only loses his rights if, visiting the same village, he puts up with some other—conduct which turns his first host into his bitterest foe. Blood-vengeance is universal for such crimes as cannot be redeemed with cattle. In Suanetia a church is an inviolable asylum for the criminal. The Khevsurs take dying persons out of doors that they may give up the ghost there. Formerly corpses were arranged in a sitting posture on the stone benches of the dead-house, armed, and with their pipes at hand; but they are now laid in stone graves. The Ossete funeral-feast is repeated every Saturday for a year, and is attended by sports and pugilistic competitions; and the same among the Khevsurs. Not in language only is the Caucasus a region of ethnographic relics and débris.

All Caucasians are perhaps not hybrids in the sense of the Suanetians, who go back to fugitives of Georgian stock, or the Khevsurs, "a mixed race," says Professor Radde, "which has in the course of centuries formed itself in the recesses of the high mountains out of the populations round about"; but in a region of transit and crowding, in a land of refuge, there can be no question of pure races. In the pre-Russian time numerous crossings took place in the Abkhasian lowlands between fugitives from Turkey—Turks, Arabs, even negroes—and native women. The lower strata of Cherkesses are much blended with their

Tartar subjects. Koch has already described the Natokhvagas of [illegible] Kuban. In this constant renewal of blood he has seen the prim[illegible] those physical advantages for which Massudi sang a hymn of [illegible] Circassian women, and which induced Blumenbach to make the C[illegible] type of the white races. Before their subjection the Kabardians [illegible] out as having among the North Caucasians maintained themselves [illegible]

A Kurdish woman. (From a photograph.)

purity, and also as the oldest branch. With them, as among the better class of Cherkesses, great stress was laid upon purity of blood, perhaps not without an afterthought as to the market value of well-bred female slaves.

The Armenians in appearance remind us strongly of Jews; fairer in skin than the Persians, black-haired—though brown hair is often found, and in young people even fair hair—with noses sharply curved, and inclined like the lips to fleshiness, and a marked tendency to putting on fat. Many Armenians could be described as fairer and fatter Persians. This race, which from its numbers, capacity, and past history seemed specially called to play a great part in the seething struggle

of the Eastern Question, long kept so quiet as to cause a doubt whether any strong resolve would ever again be developed from its Jewish pliability. In their political dependence, and in the linguistic isolation which obliges them to learn other tongues, the Armenians have become the link between Turks and Greeks. None of the races of the once vast Turkish empire has ever approached the Turk in a like degree. The Armenians take part, but also profit, in the maintenance of Turkish rule in Asia and Europe.

Far apart from them, on the contrary, are the Kurds, of whom Polak says, that in colour of hair, skin, and eyes, they are so little different to the northern, especially the Teutonic breed, that they might easily be taken for Germans. There is nothing to contradict this racial affinity in the reputation for honour and courage which, in spite of their rapacious tendencies, the Kurds enjoy wherever it has been found possible to compel them to labour or to the trade of arms. In Persia the Shah entrusts the security of his person to Kurdish officers rather than to any others. Their loyalty to their hereditary Wali, which neither Turks nor Persians have been able to shake, is also noted with praise. The Kurd prefers to wander with his herds, and in the winter lives in caves in the earth, like Xenophon's Carduchi. Where Kurds and Armenians come into contact, there arises the opposition between nomad and settled, herdsman and husbandman, oppressor and oppressed. Hence among the gnawing cankers of Turkey in Asia is the claim of the Kurds to a share of the Armenians' property, real and personal—a claim not only set up but acted upon, though the Armenians are tributary subjects of the Porte. The Kurds are a highly-mixed race of a type chiefly Iranian, which has been compared with the Afghan, but is not homogeneous. The eastern Kurds must have received a larger infusion of Turkish blood than the western. "Husbandmen by necessity, fighters by inclination," says Moltke; "The Arab is more of a thief, the Kurd more of a warrior." They are a vigorous, violent race, running wild in tribal feuds and vendettas. Not selling their children, like the Caucasians, they increase rapidly, and have thus extended into Armenian and Persian territory. Their women hold a freer position than those of the Turks and Persians. But the Kurd's greatest friend and fairest ornament is his damascened gun. In Islam they are on the Semitic side, that is, opposed to the Persians, but they have adopted also Nestorian and Jacobite usages.

The Syrians and Mesopotamians have become mixed races, seeing that wherever the plains extend, the Bedouins have pressed in, while in the settled regions the ancient Syrian race, belonging to the Aramaic branch of the Semites, exists now only as a rare survival, having been replaced by Arabs, Turks, Jews, and in recent times even Cherkesses. The basis of the people has, however, remained Semitic. In the towns are also Greeks, Spanish Jews, and those undefinable Levantines of European, half-European, one-tenth European, origin or blend, who prefer to call themselves Catholics. As everywhere in the East, differences of faith go deeper than those of race. The Maronites of the Lebanon, Christians of old standing, annexed only in late times to the Church of Rome, are faced by the Druses with a religion which upon a Mussulman foundation embraces Christian and Zoroastrian elements. After hard fighting with the Maronites, a great part of them has in these last decades migrated to the Hauran. A peculiar position is held by the Ansariebs of Syria. Christians and

Mussulmans treat them as outcasts, and will not take their evidence in a court of law. They are said to deform their skulls.

The Georgians, called by the Russians Grusians, are of all the Caucasian races that which most nearly corresponds to the ideal; tall, powerful figures, clear-skinned, brown or black-haired, dark or gray-eyed, of strong physiognomy, owing to the broad low forehead, somewhat strongly prominent nose, and broad face. In many valleys the population is disfigured by goitre and cretinism; and in the higher mountain regions the strain is on the whole better than in the lowlands. Naturally, all the forms are not beautiful. There are Tartar blends of unmistakable stamp, and many a traveller has been as much disappointed in the Caucasian beauties as in the Colchian wine. There are districts with handsome people and less handsome. Artwin is rich in this line, while the surrounding Armenian country and the district of Tiflis are poor. The Georgians, whose historical importance has long been a thing of the past, have by means of their daughters exercised continuously an ennobling effect on the breed of the neighbouring peoples. Georgian women are numerous and influential in all the harems of the East; their blood flows in the veins of Turkish, Egyptian, Persian, and Tartar grandees, and in more recent times they have frequently married Russians. The Georgian character has an indolent and sensual vein, which has tended more and more to repress them, and that not in presence of Europeans only. The Armenians, especially, have found the way to attract to themselves the once large possessions of the Georgians, and in Tiflis, the old capital of Georgia, it is not the Georgians but the Armenians—who make up 40 per cent of the population—that set the tone to-day.

Beside the Mingrelians, the Lazes, who inhabit the ancient Colchis, and the Swans or Suanetians who live north of the Mingrelians, between them and the Abkhasians, in the most secluded of the larger Caucasian valleys, are more closely akin to the Georgians in language. The 12,000 "free Swans," independent till a generation ago, who live about the sources of the Ingur on the south side of the great chain, are among the most vigorous races of the Caucasus; dwelling exclusively in villages of castellated houses with tall towers for defence. Imeritians seem to have immigrated from the south-east, Mingrelians from the west; but to both the Suanetian language, developed in the seclusion of the mountains, has become almost unintelligible. In spite of vendetta and frequent village feuds, they are an industrious race of men, making an active use of the four months of growth which the climate of their high valley allows. Near akin to them in origin are the Tushins, Pshavs, and Khevsurs, settled further east along the great range; similarly small mixed races, started, no doubt mainly by fugitive Georgians, who live to the east of Tiflis in the basin of the Yora, in the middle and upper mountain regions. Poor, vigorous, simple, quite old-fashioned in manners and usages, they represent a highly original national existence. Their religion is an indication of their fortunes. Like that of the Suanetians and Ossetes, it is a very motley Christianity, worn very threadbare, in which, spite of the mutilated Church prayers recited by the "decanos," Islam has crossed its notions in great variety with those of Christianity; while in addition to these, nature-worship goes on at sacrificial altars and in sacred groves. Among the Suanetians, Queen Thamara is the great saint. Her churches are little chapels, inconspicuous among the gigantic towered houses.

We do not find among the Northern Caucasians that affinity of language, or that yet more intimate affinity of customs, which we do among those south of the range. They fall into several linguistic groups, and have undergone more modifications from the surrounding races. At least three groups may be distinguished. We have first the Cherkesses in the western half of the Caucasus district, and beyond from the frontier of Mingrelia nearly to the Straits of Yenikale. Physically, these people come nearest to the Georgians, with whose daughters the famed "Circassian" girls vie for the prize of beauty. Among their individual tribes differences are noted, which come to this, that certain groups like the Abkhasians, to whom is ascribed a strong mixture of Georgian blood, are browner of skin, blacker-haired and leaner, while the Kuban Cherkesses who roam the country about the northern foot of the Caucasus are less regular of feature and less conspicuous of stature. But the princely families of the Cherkesses and Kabardians are also said to be darker of skin and hair than the majority of their subjects, which they themselves, as Mussulmans, love to ascribe with pride to Arab descent. The Cherkess character is distinguished from that of their neighbours on the east, especially the Kists and Lesghians, by nobler traits. But a good deal of Tartar reaches from the steppe into the Northern Caucasus; such as the imitation in architecture of the felt *yaourts*, or where a stationary mode of life is in fashion, the arrangement of the *sakla* or flat-roofed hut of wattle-work daubed with clay, supported by four posts, and the watch-tower of wattle and daub to correspond. Deeper in the mountains the building is more solid. The Cherkesses in all their ramifications are Mussulmans, and afford, especially where they have immigrated amid Georgian populations, several examples of the rule that in the Caucasus the Mussulman is more industrious than the Christian. They fall into the two great groups of Adighes—to whom belong the Cherkesses proper—and Kabardians, and of Asegas and Abkhasians. Large portions of both have migrated to Turkey since the last Russo-Turkish war.

The Chechenes, as the Russians call the people whom the Georgians call Kisti, and who call themselves Nakhtchuri and Nakhtche, that is "people," live, about 140,000 in number, to the east of the Kabardians, and the great military road. By Chechnia is briefly understood the country between the Assa the Sulak, and the last terraces of the Caucasian range known as the mountains, of Little Chechnia. The Chechenes migrated to their present seats from the mountains, and drove the Turkish Kumuks eastward; but in the course of the struggles with the Russians, in which they were some of the most stubborn participators, some of their clans withdrew again into the hills. They are a race of "Uzdi," or free men, knowing no chiefs, but self-governing within their clans, which still bear the names of the villages once occupied by them in the mountains. Tradition, manners, and customs all point to their having once been Christian. Islam did not succeed in penetrating them till the end of last century. The Chechenes have always passed for one of the most warlike, and at the same time most savage and cruel, of Caucasian races.

The Ossetes, about 111,000 in number, occupy the highest inhabited regions of the Caucasus, round Kasbek. Their language assigns them to the Perso-Armenian kindred, history to the once Christian stocks of the Caucasus. Islam has indeed loosened the bond between them and other Christian races, but has not been able itself to gain a footing. A religion has grown up quite peculiar to

themselves, recognising no priestly status, but only hereditary or elective priests, strictly speaking only overseers of the popular temples, and with the name of "*decanos*" or "*papar*." The Ossetes still revere the Virgin as "Mady Mairam"; but they locate her on mountain-heights and in caverns, where the tutelary spirits of the villages also have their places of worship in towers and houses lying higher than the village. The oldest man in the commune holds the office of sacrificing priest, and has alone the right to enter the narrow door of the temple whither the victims are brought. The temple is small, low, dark, without windows or ornament of any kind; inside stands a stone altar for sacrifice, covered with a few glasses of beer and various amulets. These village tutelary spirits seem to get more reverence than all the other saints to whom the Ossetes apply, like Elias and Nicholas; and next to them the patron saints of all beasts of the chase, of whom the Ossete always first asks permission to shoot when he will go a-hunting. Inanimate things, also, have their patron saints; in short, there is no object connected with Ossete life that has not its "god" or "saint." Ossete magicians and soothsayers, as also the persons who conduct marriage and burial ceremonies, apply to "saints" without number in their prayers and conjurations—to the saint of the cobweb, the saint of hair and nails, the saint of wind and grass, the saint of beetles, worms, and snakes. Every step is surrounded with magic and incantations, and the magician is the real priest. To him are known most of the songs that contain a mythology of their own, singing as they do of the giant heathen race, the Narts, who once inhabited the Caucasus. The deeds of the Nart princes, among whom the Promethean figure of Batras or Batiraes is conspicuous, remind us of those who are renowned in the heroic legends of Persia. Many other things in the manners and customs of the Ossetes point to an exterior source in the remote past. Unlike Orientals, they sit on benches and stools. Judgements are pronounced in the assembly of the village *patres familias*, formerly even capital sentences; but the head of the house has to execute them on his own people. Family ties, and those of hospitality, stand high with the Ossete. Before a carouse with his friends he says a kind of grace, his cup in one hand, the meat in the other. Originally the Ossete has neither writing nor numbers; he casts his accounts with a notched stick.

The most easterly group of North Caucasian peoples embraces the inhabitants of Lesghia and Daghestan; small peoples, with some 400,000 souls, who speak several distinct languages, and have been pressed far back by their neighbours. Part of them, in racial character and mode of life, form a transition to the Tartars of the adjacent lowlands; pasturing herds and flocks, they dwell, like their predecessors in Roman times, the Albani, in felt *yaourts*, differing from those of the Tartars in their elongated form, or in little wooden houses put together in separate pieces for convenience of transport from one feeding-ground to another. The very name points to mixed descent. The centre of Daghestan is inhabited by so-called Avars. "Avar" is of Turkish origin and denotes "robber." These people have, however, no common name, but call themselves after the principal villages of each tribe. The name Lesghian is said also to mean "robber." The agricultural Kumuks or Kasi-Kumuks of this region have nothing in common with the Turkish tribe of the same name north of the Terek, save the name, which has been applied to them without justification. Persian influences are strongly felt here. The architecture of the flat-roofed stone house, with its broad

surrounding wall, the careful fittings of the interior, are far enough from Cherkess simplicity. Their strict Shiite profession marks the Lesghians as more pronounced Mussulmans than their western neighbours, but has not prevented their Bairam feast from borrowing many features of the Russian Easter.

The Avars of Daghestan, mentioned above, are not of Turkish type. Racially, they are Caucasians, and their language stands near that of the Chechenes in the East Caucasian group. Thus they have nothing to do with the Huns who penetrated to Central Europe. There seem, however, to be points to support the assertion of their kinship with the Avars who entered Europe later. Tradition and language point to a northern origin and arrival from a level country; according to Khanikoff even to a former nomad state. When we remember that the Avars are said to have carried an Alan tribe along with them, that the Ossetes came into connection with the Alans, and, lastly, that in the Ossete territory skulls have been found deformed in the same way as the Avar skulls, we seem to have an explanation of the so-called Avar skulls here and in Eastern Europe.

In the dress of the Caucasian peoples Tartar influence prevails to the north, as also in the use of felt for clothing, as in the *bourkas* or sleeveless coat; Armenian and Persian to the south. Religious differences make themselves apparent also in the clothing. The women of the Shiite Lesghians wear the long baggy trousers, close-fitting coat reaching to the knees—both gaudy in colour—blue shift, low fez-like cap; but among them, as among their Mussulman sisters in the Caucasus, the veiling of the face is found only as an exception. Armenian and Georgian women, on the other hand, wear long clothes. White, which men avoid, is preferred by women; and they wear red caps, which the men despise. On the other hand both sexes, especially among the vain Kabardians, take much trouble to get as small a waist as possible. There can be few places where the women's dress, through the influence of silk and cotton goods, has lost its originality so much quicker than that of the men. The peculiar ornaments of the head and the belt are all that remain in many valleys of Daghestan. The men's dress is more uniform. The *chokha* or close-fitting coat reaching beyond the knee and usually girt, its gray colour relieved by fur trimmings, the cap of cloth or fur, sometimes hemispherical, sometimes of fantastic height—its variations in these respects, and in shagginess afford some index of the wearer's greater or less pugnacity—the socks knitted in tasteful patterns and sometimes with a gold thread in them, and, finally, the leather slippers of Persian shape with pointed toes, are found both north and south of the mountains. Variations in details are naturally not excluded. Customs like that found in Suanetia of sewing crosses on the garments, especially where a stab or a shot has pierced them, are not universal. The arrangement of the cartridge-belt across the breast, the shape of the head-covering, the longer or shorter cut of the clothing, are subject to alterations. Mussulmans shave the head, the Lesghians leaving a triangle over each ear; and the fashions of dressing the beard vary from tribe to tribe.

The primary weapon in the mountains is the iron-shod pole, to which a projecting handle or arm on which to hang a powder-flask, and a forked top to serve as a gun-rest, give an original appearance. It is a long way from this to the load of weapons in which the Cherkess swaggers. In the fighting times sword, dagger, and pistol were indispensable component parts of these people's dress. For special occasions were added the mail-shirt, the musket, the Asiatic bow, and a

well-filled quiver. Many valuable damascened weapons were fo[illegible] from Persia and Turkey, and old panoplies, handed down [illegible] to generation, were [illegible] princely houses. H[illegible] were similarly treat[illegible] with white eagle-[illegible] highly valued, and [illegible] rank might not venture [illegible] Archery has remained [illegible] present day a favourite [illegible] of young people in the [illegible] country.

An Armenian. (From a photograph.)

The mountain districts and elevated plains of the Caucasian region not being on the whole eminent for fertility, the Ossetes, Khevsurs, and their fellows in the higher parts are unable to carry on either Alpine farming to any adequate extent, or agriculture with any certainty of profit. Above all they have no means of wintering large herds. The single great cattle-breeding district is what was Turkish Armenia, from which there has long been a large exportation of sheep. The well-known story of the fat tails, which for convenience sake are stowed in little go-carts, has been recently related afresh by Dr. Arzruni of Tiflis with reference to the flocks at Van, where Angora goats are also bred. A considerable amount of live-stock too is bred in Lesghian territory, where a peculiar thin and goat-like breed of sheep is well suited to the mountain pastures. The Caucasian goats are said to pair with the wild *besoar* goats. The warlike Cherkesses take much trouble in breeding thoroughbred horses. In the fertile lowlands and terrace-lands of Mingrelia, Imeritia, Georgia, Kakhetia, agriculture, which here includes rice-growing, has fallen off. The vineyards and orchards, of which former travellers tell with delight, occupy now a much smaller region. It is asserted that the climate has grown more and more uncertain, and the vine-disease has attacked even the wild grapes of the Mingrelian forests. But the

natives of this part are lazy and luxurious. The wines of Kakhetia have the reputation of being the oldest and most genuine in the Caucasus. The Georgians, however, both make and drink the most wine; drinking it too at interminable carouses regulated by traditional customs. Opium-smoking has unhappily been introduced from Persia. The vine grows at even 3300 to 4300 feet above the sea. Here too silk is grown, and maize and the Italian millet (*setaria*) cultivated, as well as wheat. Life is less easy here than in the lowlands, but in the Caucasus industry increases with the altitude. Barley and oats are the mountain crops. On the north-eastern slope the limit of corn extends to 8000 feet or more. In the lower parts of Daghestan, where drought proclaims the proximity of the steppe, artificial ponds may be found near almost every village. The plough is little used, and the sickle full of notches serves rather to catch hold and tear up than to cut. Corn is kept in large baskets standing on frames in the open, or in trenches underground. Bread is of the oriental kind, toasted rather than baked; often too in the form of unleavened flat cakes. In Daghestan it is made of barley- or bean-meal. The taste for onions and garlic is very general; in many districts they may be called the chief garden vegetable. Pulse, especially in the form of broad beans, ranks next to them.

How important is the preservation of the forests in these elevated, cold, and in parts naturally arid regions may be learnt from the decline of industry and population at Erzeroum since the cession of the Soghanlu forests to Russia. The legend that these forests were the creation of an Armenian king has been taken to imply that forestry once stood higher in that country; and from Daghestan we have a story ascribing to plantation the origin of a plane-grove near Nukha. Wood, above all the fine wood of the box, has long formed an article of export in the Caucasus. Many of the wild plants that grow there in profusion have been turned to use by the Caucasian peoples. In Daghestan the shoots of a certain *rhamnus* are used for tea, and the stalks of various species, *heracleum, andropogon, cnidium* are eaten, as well as the leaves of *Sempervivum pumilum*.

The women support a domestic industry, which formerly was in the main concerned with clothing. The coarse Lesghian cloth, the gold embroidery on leather of Daghestan, the silk sashes of Kumukh, the home-made carpets which cover the floor of Lesghian huts, have become articles of trade. The taste for wooden vessels, cut out of one block, seems to recall older times; the like are used by the Basques. Very good unglazed earthenware is made in the Caucasus. Plates and dishes, beautifully painted and glazed, such as adorn the walls of peasants' rooms in Daghestan, are the produce of trade or of ancient raids into the border provinces of Persia. There is a demand for earthenware vessels of large size, milk being churned by shaking in them, and wine being stored in them underground. Bronze-working was once highly developed in the Caucasus; later, and indeed to the present day, the industry, imported from Persia, of inlaying polished steel with gold has flourished.

The entire political life and the historic activity of the Caucasian races is closely dependent on the fashion of living in strong castellated houses of several stories, walled round, often furnished with loopholed towers 70 or 80 feet high, which, even combined into villages, stand detached on the hillside. These towered houses are most frequent in the mountains. Among the free Suanetians every homestead has its tower. But even the Mingrelian, where the fertile

lowlands invite to denser habitation, sticks fast to his solitary walled [illegible] while in Daghestan an embankment and ditch surround the home[illegible] being a mighty structure of stone. Here, in rooms often ver[illegible] furnished, the members of the family live together in a close and exc[illegible] housekeeping, such as the Romans admired long ago in the Iberi [illegible] Georgia. Here was developed their vigour in self-help and their [illegible] the fight. Wife and children, as regards the father's authority, are sla[illegible] the Ossetes and other peoples, no son starts a conversation or sits in [illegible] presence; when the father enters, all rise. Questions of peace [illegible] decided in the assembly of heads of families. Common interests, which [illegible]

A Suanetian homestead. (From Freshfield's *Exploration of the Caucasus.*)

the smaller races have been clearly circumscribed by geographical considerations, bound these compact village-tribes together politically; and similar confederations have been by no means always confined to the heart of the mountains. Armenia possesses a remarkable relic of ancient freedom in its republic of Khotorjur, consisting of eight Catholic villages, the inhabitants of which are by ancient custom bound to render mutual services almost amounting to community of goods. The lively family and tribal sentiment of the Armenians is at times in its economic results found inconvenient by neighbouring peoples.

Like their social arrangements, the much-lauded valour of the Caucasians, which is not unconnected therewith, is not peculiar to one stock, but is a common possession of all, though not exercised by all alike. Georgians, Cherkesses, and Lesghians were formerly the most conspicuous. Vendettas and the interminable feuds between clans and villages have contributed to its training. Where warlike practice pervaded whole generations, as during the long period of the Russian wars in the Caucasus, a closer union was effected among the clans of freemen under fighting chiefs, of whom Schamyl is the most notable example. Turkish Begs from the borders of the steppe had long intruded as conquerors

into the independent life of the village republic, and reduced large populations on the north side to serfage; while the relations of dependence in which some Nogai tribes of Turks, like the Karachais, stood towards the Kabardian mountain tribes, had been broken up. Even since their subjection the mountain peoples have remained bound together in free family union. Persian influence seems to have operated on weapons and equipment, but also that of mediæval Christianity on manners. Even at this day the Suanetian dedicates himself in chivalrous devotion as *linturali* to a woman by the ceremony of kissing her on the breast, after which he is bound to her by a relation of pure friendship and protection.

The days have gone by when the Caucasian coast tribes appeared as seafaring people, equipped with swift galleys, dreaded as pirates; and when great expeditions were sent out to put a stop to this mischievous trade, which even in ancient times was bound up with kidnapping and slave-dealing. Trade, necessary then as now to the not over-productive mountain country, must have been served, as it would seem, in earlier times also, more by foreign than native navigation The Caucasians have always wanted salt and corn, offering in exchange timber, hides, wax, and honey. They had not, like their Sarmatian neighbours, who, Strabo tells us, would not even procure iron, and had accordingly to tip their spears and arrows with bone, any objection to trade. In metal-work they formerly surpassed all their neighbours. The raw material they must have got out of Caucasian mines; but in the forms of the ancient bronze articles of which quantities occur, Iranic influences, older than Islam, make themselves felt.

§ 27. THE EUROPEANS

Peoples of recent history—The Semites—Greece and the Phœnicians—The Oural-Altaic peoples—Arrival of the Magyars—Germanic points of contact—Aryans—Level of ancient Aryan culture—Ancient and modern Greeks—Etruscans—Development of Romans and Romance peoples—Spaniards—French—Roumans—Celts, Gauls, and Belgians—Germans—Goths, Scandinavians, Teutons, English—Letto-Slaves—Russians.

HAVING reached the threshold of Hither Asia and Europe, we find races before us whom we might denote by the name "historical," did we not fear to conclude by reviving a misconception which we have been indefatigable in opposing. In the history of mankind the lots fall diversely, but to each race its task is assigned, and none is left without an opportunity for casting its threads, be they only modest ones, into the great fabric. There is, however, doubtless a recent history, so closely connected with our own, and with the present time, that we cannot think of it otherwise than as a portion of our own past. After we pass the border of Asia Minor, and the old frontier of Europe in the Scythian steppe, the people are no longer alien to us in the same manner as those of Africa, of America, of the Arctic region, of Australia, and of a great part of Asia. If not of kindred stock, they are of kindred culture, for their historical fortunes have been closely bound up with our own, and we know more or less of their past. We stand here on the threshold of our own history. Ethnology lays the pen down for history to take up. Our only remaining duty is to give the races of Europe their place in the picture of mankind that we have tried to draw.

Europe is closely united with Asia. Herder long ago [illegible] impossibility of writing the history even of Central Europe without [illegible] of Central Asia constantly in view. On the other hand, our quarter of [illegible] is divided from America by the Atlantic, from Africa by the [illegible] Hence we find no cases in which America has influenced Europe, [illegible] Africa has done so directly. Wherever we are to look for the primitive [illegible]

A Syrian girl of Damascus. (From a photograph.)

the European races, it certainly is not outside the European-Asiatic limits. The ethnographic connection between Asia and Europe is not less intimate than the geographical. It comes about by many of the Semites in the Mediterranean, of the Turks in Asia Minor and in the Balkan Peninsula, of the Caucasians across the bridge formed by their territory, of the Oural-Altaic peoples in the region of the Ourals and the White Sea. Each of these groups has habitations to-day in both Asia and Europe; and in the case of two, the Semites and the Turks, an Asiatic origin is highly probable.

In the western parts of Hither Asia we come in the very earliest times across a family of peoples who physically show much resemblance to the Hamites of ancient Egypt, but perhaps even more recall the linguistically separate inhabitants of the Armenian highlands, Kurds, Armenians, and Georgians. These are

the Semites, who stand to the Hamites as regards language in a connection that reaches far back, being also locally their nearest neighbours. The Bible and the Egyptian records both attest the intimate mutual relations of the two races. We need only recall the origin of the Phœnicians in the Red Sea region, the foundation-stones common to Babylonian and Egyptian culture, the numerous and intimate relations in later times between Phœnicians, Jews, and Arabs on the one side, and Egyptians on the other. It is one of the symbolical facts of history, that the oldest caravan road of which we hear, that from Gerrha on the Persian Gulf to Babylon and Egypt, along which Edomites and Midianites traded with myrrh, balsam, and the spices of Arabia and India, united the Hamitic and Semitic domains. If we say that all Hamites and Semites have been as cultured races distinguished by a striking intellectual tendency to looking at things from the outside, and formed at an early period vigorously constituted states (for the monarchies of Babylon, Nineveh, and Egypt undoubtedly stand on the same bases), we shall be reckoning up rather consequences than causes.

Semitic races were the bringers of three great things; Chaldean civilisation, Christianity, and Islam. The Chaldeans gave themselves out as a colony of the Egyptians; and there can indeed be no doubt that their culture stood in closely kindred relations with that of Egypt, and they afterwards came into near contact. Baal-worship, radiating from Mesopotamia, spread over a great part of Hither Asia, and such external political movements of Egypt in older times as we know of, are conflicts with the Baal-worshipping races of Hither Asia. This religion had its great centre in Babylon, but Tyre was the point whence it flowed westward. In it, as in the Egyptian religion, astronomic and cosmogonic elements are strongly marked, but they stand out more clearly in Baal the Sun, Astarte the Moon, and the union of the two in one system, than in the religion of the Nile valley with its greater local colour, the result of overpowering natural impressions. The popular mind, on the other hand, dominated by locality and unable to grasp the grander and profounder parts in the priests' structure of doctrine, fastens by preference on local connection in the theogonies and mythologies. The thoughts of the priests of Baal might not have been without reference to a supreme divine Being, who guides the revolution of the stars; but the Jews were under no delusion when Baal-worship appeared to them as idolatry in its most genuine form. In the popular cult Baal was the fire, to which sacrifices were offered by reason of its consuming violence. Baal appears also as Moloch, who could be reached through the fire only. Though the purer idea of purgation by fire may here not have been far off, in actual fact the cult of Moloch degenerated unquestionably into a cruel murderous idolatry, which held men's souls in a gloomy slavery. And if in Astarte, the prototype of Aphrodite, was meant to be venerated the opposite of the devouring fire, the hot scorching sun, the dry summer, namely, the productive power of moisture, the gentle moon, the budding spring; here, too, the instinct of the masses went far astray into customs deeply degrading to the woman, and, in the sacrifices offered to the forces of nature, quite forgot the morality without which sacrifice is divorced from religion.

Monotheism alone was called to overcome the shallowness of the popular religion with the refining force of priestly doctrine. With this the Jews, who lived nearer to Egypt, the "cradle of religions," step into the foreground of history. The Jews received the historical education of a confined and oppressed

people. Like their kinsmen in Arabia and Syria they were originally nomads. Their oldest books know nothing of fixed altars, and their sacrifices are always of cattle. They took to a settled life on conquering and dividing the land of Canaan. But the promised land was only an oasis. They could hardly spread themselves inland, they never took permanently to the enfranchising and enriching sea, and accordingly remained poor and at the mercy of the caprices of more powerful neighbours. Once, in the time of their greatest power and prosperity, they pushed as far as the sea; but the only road to the sea, that by Eziongeber on the Gulf of Akabah, quickly fell into the hands of Tiglath Pileser; one of the chief causes of the political collapse of the Jews. The misfortunes of the national ruin, however, brought about a purification which in a race æsthetically deficient, but spiritually proud and austere, tended to strengthen the conception of a deity all-powerful and all-knowing, and at the same time jealous and severe. Exile, too, brought them into contact with Chaldee and Persian spheres of thought, which renewed older influences. Of Abraham we are told that he came from the land of the Chaldees, and Joshua says: "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood," that is the Euphrates. From Chaldæa, as from Egypt, were drawn higher and lower notions, the religion of the priests and the beliefs of the people. So also in Israel, the prophets taught something better than the belief and practice of the masses. Even within the Old Testament traces occur of fundamentally diverse conceptions of the Deity; the directions given in Leviticus for the burnt sacrifices form a marked contrast to the words of the Psalmist: "Thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it Thee; but Thou delightest not in burnt offerings." The deeper, nobler, simpler notion, that a humble spirit was the "sacrifice of God," ultimately won the day. The secret of this final victory lies in the historical circumstances and in the Semitic disposition. The principles—great simplicity, effort to dedicate all worship to One only, moral seriousness, avoidance of those lavish anthropomorphic pictorial fancies which created the Asiatic pantheon, were no less germane to Ishmael than to Israel. In the race itself alterations went on, under the influence of variation in national surroundings. Then in contact with the Greeks, fundamentally Aryan, yet touched by the Semitic spirit, who, independently of the Jews, had gone through a process of spiritual refinement in the direction of truth, knowledge, and beauty, Christianity grew up into a power capable of transforming races; to it, before all, the ethnographer refers the abolition of woman's degradation, of polygamy, of slavery, of caste-separation. As for the Jews, even now, scattered about the world as they are—for China has its Jews no less than Morocco,—without political status of their own, and sometimes oppressed, they remain influential in the intellectual, the moral, above all the economic life of other nations. They have by the most various roads adapted themselves to the cultured races of Europe, but have undoubtedly brought with them very various racial elements. The contrast between the German and Polish Jews and their Portuguese kinsmen may certainly be traced to the influence of the surrounding peoples; and intermixture, opposed though it be by sundry laws and usages, has surely effected much. But the wide gap which separates our Jews to-day from their kindred the Syrians and Arabs, certainly did not first arise in Europe. Anyhow it has not been able to remove something of a mulatto strain even from the blonde Jews.

Those great traders, the Phœnicians, were the transmitters of Semite culture

to Greece and Italy. Their mighty foundations in Africa remained, from the point of view of culture, lifeless in comparison with the far-reaching consequences of their contact with the Aryan races of the Mediterranean. Ancient Greece knew itself to be closely connected by navigation with Phœnicia and her colonies, and could point to many places of Phœnician origin favourably situated for trade. Thucydides mentions Phœnicians, together with Carians, among the earliest inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean islands. In his view Minos of Crete was the first creator of a naval power, the sovereign of the eastern Mediterranean, and the coloniser of the Cyclades. The islands, as Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia—the most northerly point where Egyptian traces are found—were the rallying and radiating points of Phœnician influence and Phœnician activity. The significance of this remarkable people to Northern and Central Europe, where they appear in union with the Etruscans as the diffusers of important inventions, above all of bronze, can at the present day be conjectured rather than accurately indicated.

A Maronite priest. (From a photograph.)

In the Greek character and in the advantage rapidly acquired by Greek culture of a high degree of specialisation, lay an inducement to an exclusive self-esteem which valued its own belongings too high, those of "barbarians" too low, and early forgot its dependence on Asia. As a matter of fact elements from Assyria and Asia Minor may be traced in the very details of Ionic architecture, others from Egypt in those of Doric, and the discoveries at Troy and Mycenæ take us back to a time when Greeks were at one with Asiatics in worshipping beast-headed idols, which afterwards dissolved into symbols and slight poetic allusions. Homer's "ox-eyed Hera" is in Mycenæ a goddess with the head of a cow on a human trunk. Barbaric simplicity in the matter of images for veneration displays itself in sculpture down to the time of Pheidias. The Icarian Artemis was represented by a rough-hewn block of wood, the Hera of Samos by a board, the Athena of Lindus by a flat beam, the Dioscuri at Sparta, by two blocks with a cross-piece. Reminiscences and survivals of animal-worship, human sacrifice, and unchaste customs, can be shown to have existed in great

quantity. These degrading notions had, in the independent training which their insular position bestowed, been refined by the same Aryan spirit in the Greeks to which we owe the exaltation of science over superstition and poetry. Here again Semitism furnishes or hands on the stones of the edifice and the knowledge of their primary manipulation of Greek. Divisions of time and systems of measurement are of Chaldee origin. Even antiquity marvelled at the Chaldean astronomers, who were regarded by the Greeks as a priestly caste with valuable secret sciences. From the worship of the stars, to which they ascribed an influence over all that lived, they had advanced to persevering observation, from which was gained no profound science indeed, but scientific bases for chronology, weight, and measure. Astrology, however, remained the ultimate aim of their labours, and this brought them into the bondage of a superstition, whose chains Europeans bore even to the time of Kepler. They were convinced that men's destinies were guided by an immutable law made manifest through the stars. To comprehend what predicted the approach of events conditioned by heavenly influences was the aim of their reflections and endeavours. But as necessity was recognised in other phenomena than those of the stars, the most unimportant event could only come to pass by virtue of universally prevailing and interacting causes. Thus historical occurrences and human destinies were brought into connection with phenomena which passed for prognostics, and a system was created of fixed rules for ascertaining the future; an art of soothsaying which holds a position on a level with that of the more famous sister-science of astrology. Arts that have spread over the world, divination by arrows, augury from the entrails of sacrificial animals, interpretation of dreams, soothsaying from water, fire, precious stones, are here seen in their oldest traces. Chaldee and Egyptian teachers brought to Greece the rudiments of mathematics which already, as an inductive science, showed itself capable of a high degree of perfection, at a time when the value of the critical and experimental methods was not yet apparent. The great geometers, mathematicians, astronomers of Greek antiquity, worked or learnt in Asia Minor, Egypt, Sicily. They laid the foundations of a science independent of religion or superstition, indicating one of the greatest advances in the history of the human mind, the later era of which must be reckoned from Pythagoras.

Ancient Semitic influences may be presumed to extend far into the Mediterranean basin, but they are difficult to prove in detail, especially where later Moorish effects have been blended with them. The resemblance of the Maltese, the only European who has preserved much of the Arabic language, on the Phœnician soil of Melita, to the South Italian, is no evidence against a mixture of Semitic blood; for the South Italian himself, like the South Spaniard, has a dash of it, though the language of the former especially has preserved few traces. The industry of the Maltese is a legacy from the Phœnicians. Malta is a hive of busy creatures who plant out swarms in a circle all around. These two or three islands yearly send out thousands of hard-working men to those parts of the Mediterranean coast where there is a lack, if not of men, of arms to create, just as did once the narrow space of Phœnicia; an interesting example, from many points of view, of colonisation from a small centre. Sicily was in Semitic hands, with certain interruptions, for a thousand years. Even when the Iberians, to be mentioned presently, were seated there, the coast was girt by Phœnician colonies, which made it all the easier for the Saracen element to take root.

Although probably a good deal of Europe which is now grass plain was once forest, the conditions seem nevertheless to have been favourable for the development of steppe-races who require room to move. As far back as history can look we meet in the regions north of the Euxine with nomads under the collective name of Scythians. The Scythians of antiquity were a widespread group of nomad peoples, of whom some stood nearer to the Iranians, others to the Turks. The best known of them to us are the Sauromatæ, dwelling east of the Don as far as the Caucasus. There were fair people among them ; and the view already expressed by Klaproth that they were connected by language with the Ossetes, has received recent support. That Scythians were also seated in Central Asia, separated by the Ugrians from their fellows of the Euxine, appears certain during the age of Greek trade with the countries lying beyond the Black Sea to the north-east. People from the west did not at that time come upon compact Turks and Mongols till reaching the Desert of Gobi, where the horse-owning Arimaspians dwelt, or East Turkestan, where were the bald-headed Agrippæans, or the parts between the Kuen-Lun and Lake Koko-Nor, where the Issedones were located. The great diffusion of Iranic elements in the Finno-Ugrian languages shows the old influence of Aryan peoples, themselves doubtless nomad.

If in the ancient accounts of the Scythians there are many points of resemblance with the nomad Turks of our own time, we meet with genuine Turks in those races of horsemen, the Huns and the Avars,—men of small stature, with large heads, small eyes, and beardless faces,—who in the North Pontic regions gave the impulse to the great migration of the Germanic races. These people, who always roamed and made their appearance as armies, have disappeared. Whence they came, what non-Turkish elements, Finn, Ugrian, and Aryan, were swept along with them, we can no longer say with certainty. That the history of the wandering of the nations shows in the traits common to Huns, Alans, and East Goths, evidence of this sweeping along and combination, is a fact to which importance must be attached, seeing the two groups of Turkic peoples who have remained on the stage of western history are far removed in point of breed and manner of life from the Turks as we have already had to depict them.

These two are the Ottoman Turks and the Magyars. Just as in the classic works of Ottoman literature the Turkish words have disappeared beneath the Arabic, so the Ottoman shows physically only slight traces of his Turanian breed. Those Turkish families who settled in Asia Minor with Ertogrul and Dundar, the founders of Ottoman sovereignty, may well have fused into themselves the relics of the Seljuk Turks, of whom we have information going back to the middle of the seventh century. But their number was infinitesimal compared with that of the Osmanlis in Europe and Asia who speak Turkish to-day. Any large natural increase was impossible, the Turks having always been a fighting nation ; other peoples must have been incorporated. Osmanli is a collective name for a hybrid race which has absorbed into itself first races of Asia Minor, then Slave, Armenian, Greek, and Arab elements. In a country where all the better houses contain one or more negroes and negresses, the Ethiopic element also must not be overlooked. Christians and Mussulmans, Greeks, Turks, have in Asia Minor undergone so many adjustments and assimilations that the difference between them are now only matters of details in dress, as when the Greeks are forbidden to wear green turbans. The decrease in the numbers of the ruling Ottomans

made the influx of these elements easier. Polygamy alone was sufficient to cripple half the Turkish race economically and intellectually; and next to this comes the widespread practice of abortion. The great piece of Europe and Western Asia which the Turks have ruled, and the small part which they have held, were in an essentially similar position whatever the nationality of the subject part may have been. The Turk, and the renegade who clave to him, were the lords, the privileged class, the people in enjoyment; the reverse side alone belonged to all others. In these regions the Turk is the destructive, the terrible element. He it is, according to legend, who built all the robber-castles whose ruins stand on dizzy heights; he hurls innocent prisoners over precipices, and ravishes the maidens. Force and pride are in his nature; once he possessed many of the talents which accompany conquest, but at all times very few of those which tend to the retention of what has been conquered. So long as he took on himself only the task of defending the country, he had the advantage of warlike training and achievement; otherwise he sat broad-based on his huge estates, looking down on the shopkeepers of the towns while the peasants had to work for him. It is significant of the pride of the Turkish race that throughout Asia Minor the least intrusive people are the Turks, those most infected with this fault the active, trading, bustling Armenians. When the Turk does work he is excellent in all the lower walks—as cattle-breeder, husbandman, small artizan, caravan-attendant. At Nijni Novgorod fair the Tartars are in demand as porters, and Tartars from Kazimoff are waiters in the *traktirs* all over Russia. Nor is it the talent that fails the Turk for higher things, but he lacks energy and astuteness; and as he is in close contact and competition with just the cleverest traders of Western Asia—the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews—his economic decline is inevitable. The difficulty of the written character, and the great difference between the written language with its infusion of Arabic and the language of conversation, is the cause of very few Turks being able to read and write; while the Greeks are often even cultivated and have the advantage of closer relation with European life.

The privileges of the ruling race were and are extraordinarily great and tangible; freedom from taxation, justice of their own, preference in all cases. If a Turk is found dead in a Greek village in Asia Minor, all the notables go to prison; while as a rule a Turk who kills a Greek or Armenian is acquitted; a Greek or Armenian who kills a Turk, condemned. The upshot of Mr. Tozer's long inquiries and conversations at Sivas was that the Mussulmans regard themselves as a ruling class, and let the Christians feel it, in town and country alike. A request from them is a command. To this must be added the corruption of the judges, whose election by the people is a mere form. In reality they are the creatures of the local authorities, and often crassly ignorant. When, further, the game is shared in by populations who as Mussulmans are on the side of the Turks, but for whose deeds and misdeeds the Turks take no responsibility, like the Kurds or the Cherkesses, the situation becomes doubly hard. Compulsory labour and extortions of various kinds, contemptuous and insulting language, often accompanied in the case of men with blows, and in that of women far too often with yet worse treatment, have been for many years familiar features in all reports upon the condition of the Armenians in Turkey. On the frontier of Kurdistan the nomad Kurds quarter themselves for the winter in the Armenian villages on the plain, compelling the Christians to feed them and their cattle

without the slightest payment in return. So formerly did the nomads in the North-Western Caucasus. This explains why the inhabitants of the villages who are well supplied with hay, corn, and *teзek* (dung for fuel), appear to be poor. Thus the Turkish Empire, the last instance of a state founded by Asiatic nomads, has retained almost unaltered the character of a conquered country, and is falling to decay through the operation of the same means as were employed to create it. Very different is the position of the Turks in the Russian Empire, who early received some Finnic elements, and perhaps for that very reason have come into closer junction with their neighbours. Herein may be found some justification for distinguishing them as Tartars, though they are wont with pride to call themselves Turks. Even the "Golden Horde," in its palmy days, exercised no strong influence upon the Great Russians, in whose midst it held, as a ruling minority, a position no less foreign than that of the Turks in Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria. After losing the supremacy, it held stubbornly to its religion—for the Tartars who were compulsorily baptized in the eighteenth century are to-day as little of Christians as ever, even though they dare not officially desert the State Church—but fitted itself into the Christian community much as the Jews have done. The Polonised Tartars of Lithuania live to-day like the Jews among their neighbours, and the Crim Tartar women have even laid aside the veil. Attention has often been drawn in Russia to the danger of a Tartar propaganda, for the Cheremissians and Votyaks in North-East Russia learn Tartar more easily than Russian, and from their mode of life come more into contact with the Tartars, but the same efforts are made to Russify the Tartars as in the case of the other nationalities of the great empire.

A Votyak woman of Ichevsk.
(From a photograph.)

Very different are the conditions on the Theiss, Szamos, and Maros, where the Magyars have been settled for a thousand years and more. At one time ruling, at another subject, this race has been crossed owing to the intentional thrusting in among them of foreign, especially German colonists, and also by the continuance or return of the Slaves and Roumans who occupied this region before them, so that racial characteristics have been perhaps even more diluted among them than even among the Ottomans. They crop up, however, here and there, perhaps most markedly in the Szeklers of Transylvania, and other detached fragments, in the form of yellowish skin, hair of a deep brownish-black, rather wide cheek-bones; and an indefinable Oriental air may be noted in most Magyars

of good family. The fact that the structure of the Magyar language is Finnic, while it contains Mongol and Turkish words, and has in more recent times borrowed from German and Slavonic, points to a good deal of mixture in the composition of this people. The Ugrians of Southern and Eastern Europe are collectively of a more or less Mongolic character; but those who find in the Magyar intellect "a purely realistic way of looking at things, living in the world of sense; averse to all abstraction, and therefore, like the eastern branches of the race, always grasping at the concrete image," allow themselves to be influenced overmuch by the language, which is but the clothing of the intellect. Voguls, Votyaks, Meshtcheriaks are dark-haired, yellow-skinned, broad-faced people, for the most part powerfully built, whose affinity with the Mongols is undoubted. The same is claimed in even a fuller measure for the Tepters, who have actually been designated as hybrids between Bashkirs and Tartars. Ysbrand Ides is quite right when on entering the Mordvinian territory he finds himself already among the "Tartars of Siberia." We have already (book ii. § 33), ascribed similar racial characteristics to the Vogulo-Ostiaks of Northern Asia; and the Magyars make their appearance in history under no different form. All these peoples reside in the Volga and Oural district, and on the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian. The Huns and Avars also came from these steppe-countries beyond the Volga and in the Ourals. The next of kin to the Magyars in language are the Permians, Votyaks, Syrianes, Samoyedes, and Ostiaks, in the north and north-east of the Oural country. South of the present seats of these peoples, about the Middle Obi and the Baraba Steppe, we may look therefore on linguistic grounds for the primitive home of the Magyars. On their way westward they seem to have tarried about the northern foot of the Caucasus between the Caspian and the Black Sea, where on the banks of the Komma still stand the ruins of Madjar or Madjari.

The Finnish branch of the Oural-Altaic races, to which the Magyars stand nearer in language, embraces northern peoples in Europe and in Asia. We have already made acquaintance with the Ostiaks of the Hyperborean domain. Races of Finnish stock undoubtedly once spread much wider. A great part of Eastern Russia was occupied by them, and it is almost certain that the Votyaks, Cheremissians, Mordvinians, Permians, and others were once in connection with the Baltic Finns, and that the Karelians of the Western Volga region still represent one of the links. In the domestic architecture of the Finnic tribes the simple huts may be traced back to the Lapp tents on poles; while subterranean huts with square trap-door-like entrances go all the way from Saghalien to the Middle Volga, and a form of them may be seen to this day on the shores of Lake Balaton in Hungary. That the Esthonians were in touch with the Mordvinians before the Slaves pushed their way to Lake Ilmen is shown by the similarity in the arrangement of their houses and premises. In the uncertainty of the older records as to the distribution of the nomads in Central Asia the idea that the Finno-Ugrian races once spread further southwards, even to Persia and Assyria, cannot be established with any security; and in any case it is hazardous to base their existence in Western Asia upon the traces of pre-Chaldaic peoples. As, however, has been said above, the presumption of an ethnographic stratum below that of the Semites of Western Asia may be called probable. Of late years it has been thought that we are getting near them in the Chaldean inscriptions in

a strange language which, after being claimed as Cushite, have now been referred to a pre-Semitic race belonging to the Turanian family of speech, the Accadians, or Sumerians. If the hypothesis of such a population is well-grounded, they must also have been the first holders of Chaldean culture, and the Semites must have got it from them only at second-hand. But it is striking that on the many Chaldean bas-reliefs no Turanian faces appear, but always the same people with thick curly beards, abundant wavy hair, curved noses, regularly and finely-domed skulls. Even the lower class, the conquered, the eunuchs, show no clear reflection of the Turanian type. If foreign elements are sought in these figures, we are led to think first of the neighbouring Armenians and South Caucasians.

In one group belonging by language to the Finnic family, Germanic racial characteristics appear. The Esthonians are described as stalwart people, blonde, or dark with blue eyes, and thus of German habit—for a Mongol characteristic remains in the broad face and the scanty beard; and in the same way their character seems less distinct from the German than that of the Slaves or the Magyars. They are honest and clumsy. Here we have affinity with the fair light-eyed breed, coupled with an Oural-Altaic language. This branch of the Finnic family, including the Baltic Finns (among whom those of Tovastchus, who are held to be the purest Finns, are also the fairest), and part of those in North-West Russia, must have found themselves in quarters where Mongol admixture was difficult. What effect such admixture has upon the racial characteristics we may learn from the results of the mixture of the Siberian Russians with Bashkirs, who show the greatest resemblance to the Eastern Finns on the Volga. The fair Finns may have escaped the strong Mongol mixture owing to the intrusion of some other race; or there may have been a time when the two were not brought so closely into contact as at present, although the Finns extended further to the east. One intervening link dropped out when the Bulgars of the Don and the Lower Volga separated and went to the Middle Volga and the Danube. At that time the Finns moved westwards; yet their seats reached further towards the east than now, seeing that they included Lake Ladoga. The settlers before them in what is now Finland were the Yetuns, probably a Finno-Ugrian people, from which, however, the modern Finns do not descend immediately. A whole list of old German borrowed words in Finnish points to a time, long before their contact with Sweden, when the Finns felt the influence of German neighbours in their old abodes in Central Russia. But, further, before any contact of which history tells, Germanic influence must have penetrated deeply from Scandinavia, bringing iron and bronze into the country. Thus the Finns, who besides this appear in history about the fourth century as a subject race to the Goths, have to all appearance been long and intimately connected with Germanic peoples. With this agrees, like their language, their whole level of culture, as it is attractively depicted in the "Kalevalá," developed at the end of the first century A.D.

When the great racial families of our quarter of the globe are in question, it is usually Teutons, Romans, and Slaves that are spoken of. At the present day, however, it ought no longer to be left out of consideration that science has established a fourth community in Europe, in the peoples of the Finnish family. The thought of the old connection of the Finnish peoples will never miss its effect on the general intellectual life of the stocks which it embraces. Those who

uphold this idea are the Finns, the Esthonians, and the Magyars, the three most civilized offshoots of the family, each of whom, by researches into its past, contributes materials which throw light on the family history. The Finns, who from the outset were the more favoured, rendered important service to the progress of early European history; they made a brilliant addition to the literature of the world, and have brought a brisk and original intellectual life into bloom in one of the most inconspicuous provinces of the Russian empire; they have, with material support from a lively scientific activity, succeeded in creating a distinct national life, which has come into existence almost without contest or friction, and will redound to the profit of culture and science if it is allowed to develop peaceably.

For some centuries Finland was a Swedish province, and even under Russian sovereignty Swedish long remained the language of intercourse and education. In the district of Viborg alone, which once was one of the German Baltic provinces, German is still the social, and, till lately, was also the official language. But since the beginning of this century the language of the Finns, who constitute about 70 per cent of the population of 2½ millions, has materially gained in diffusion and importance. From being the subject of learned inquiry it has become the language of intercourse and education for the cultivated classes, and since 1872 has taken the place of Swedish as the official language. Finnish schools and a Finnish press have grown up rapidly, and at the university the language of the country occupies ever more space. This process has not remained entirely unopposed. The Christianity, the Reformation, the whole culture of Finland, were the work of the Swedes, whose influence was and is accordingly great. The assumption that a Finnish national life would do less than one in common with Sweden to awaken Russian jealousies has not been fulfilled. The Slaves of Russia approach this quiet young national life with the same demands as in the German Baltic provinces. Till 1890 the country lived in a prosperous condition, enjoying an extensive autonomy with a representative constitution; it escapes serious social disorders, being mainly agricultural, without the serfage of which the consequences are still dominant in Russia, and keeps up a brisk intellectual life which will survive adversities.

The sciences of Finnish philology, archæology, and ethnology arose at the Swede-Finnish University of Helsingfors. While toilsome journeys in North-East Europe and Northern Asia were bringing nearer the races of kindred speech, researches were busily carried on amid the people itself. To Lönnrot the Finns owe the collection, sifting, and putting together of the national heroic poem, the Kalevalá, which, but for the trouble taken by the university, would inevitably have disappeared in a few generations. This epic has contributed largely to the development of the Finnish national consciousness. About the end of the 'twenties Lönnrot devoted himself zealously to the collection of the so-called Runes, the popular ballads, and, from the fragments of the songs sung by the Finns of Northern Russia in the parts about Archangel and Olonetz, succeeded in putting together the heroic legends surviving among the people. The fight of Kaleva's sons with the Pohja, the adventures of the heroes Wainamoinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemmikainen, and all kinds of legends entwined about the chief personages, form the material of this heroic poem, which takes its place as a national epic beside the Homeric poems, the Nibelungen Lied, and the great

epics of India and Persia. Kalevalá is the name of the place where the heroes of the poem dwell.

Like veins of gold in some dull rock, these ballads run through the life of the people as they struggle for existence in their inclement climate, appearing here in greater, there in less abundance and beauty. The antiquated style of diction, the delight of the people in singing, the historical associations and poetical beauties alike make the attraction of the Finnish popular poetry. Lönnrot tells the following story of his collecting period: "In the Dwina country an old peasant, by name Arhippa, from whose wonderful memory I took down runes for two whole days, said to me: 'It was different when I was a child, and went fishing with my father to Lake Lapukka; you ought to have been there. Our mate was a capital singer, but my father was still better. They sang all night long, shaking hands with each other, and never the same song twice. I was only a boy, and it was sitting and listening to them that I learnt my best runes. If anybody would have collected them then, it would have taken him a week to write down what my father alone knew.'"

In the last decades a little Esthonian literature has grown up, and the feeling of intellectual independence has begun to grow among the Esthonians also. This, too, twenty or thirty years ago a scarcely-considered little race, will gradually enter the ranks of peoples which make their own way. At present there are reckoned to be about 650,000 Esthonians; the Cours have died out; the Livonians, to the number of 3000 souls, subsist in the north-west of Courland; and the Letts, who outnumber the Esthonians, Slaves though they are, are still sharply separated from the Russians. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the first missionaries were sent to the Letts, the Slavonic neighbours of the Esthonians; and later, orders of chivalry and temporal powers took part in combating these stiff-necked heathens. They succeeded in spreading Christianity with some rapidity, but never could get it to take root; and even in writings of the last century we find it stated that hardly one Esthonian in twenty knew that he was a Christian. How far heathen traditions have remained alive among the people we learn from their heroic legends, their myths, and their fables. Learned and poetic minds thank heaven for the preservation of these testimonies to the popular spirit of poetry; but it also reminds us of the social position of these races and of their exclusion from foreign culture by the state of degradation in which they were kept by their masters, who only removed the yoke of serfage from the Esthonians of the Baltic provinces at the very late date of 1819.

Esthonian literature till the most recent times consisted almost exclusively of church and school-books, or at most of calendars. The oldest book is doubtless the catechism, printed at Lubeck in 1553. The fact that in the seventeenth century two written forms of Esthonian grew up, that of Revel and that of Dorpat, has made it very hard even to the present day to develop an Esthonian written language universally recognised. The rise, however, of the language to independence, its perfection by a strict fixing of its structure and nature—for till then the way had always been to translate from German into Esthonian—dates from 1813, when a clergyman called Rosenplanter began to publish his "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Esthonian language." The most conspicuous monument of the subsequent successful cultivation, especially by the

clergy, of Esthonian research, has been raised by Kreutzwald in his collection, which has appeared since 1857, called "Kalewi-poeg."

The origin of the Aryans is no longer sought exclusively in the highlands and mountains between India and Iran. It has been transferred to the Black Sea regions, to the Rokitno marshes, to the Taunus; even to the pile-dwellings of Switzerland. Reasons of ethnography and geography justify the view of those who look upon the Aryans as a half-nomad people of the steppes, breeding cattle and tilling the ground as well, all the way from Central Asia to the "black earth" of Russia, having the Finns to their north. The question as to the origin of a race, in all cases where historical evidence is lacking, is one that we must not try to answer too precisely. One can set limits to the region within which a race moved in earlier or later times; but without the evidence of history it is hardly ever possible to fix the point of departure, the goal, or even the route of a migration. Are we indeed to assume a single origin for all the races whom we find in possession of Aryan languages? A distinction has to be made between the origin of the family of language and that of the peoples using it. The Teutonic and Slavonic Aryans, blond, fair-skinned, and light-eyed, are in point of breed deeply severed from the dark-skinned Aryans of India and the light-brown Aryans of Iran, who take their place nearer to Arabs, Jews, or Egyptians. Between the Vistula and the Ganges, contact, intimate and permanent, must have taken place more than once between fairer and darker races; but the assumption that all these races were of one and the same origin is not on that account either necessary or probable. It is in the first place an important point that the fairest people whom we know of may be traced historically to the east and north of Europe, where we find their most distinctive characteristics, fair hair and light eyes, existing among Finnish peoples also, and even making some way into Mongolic peoples. Further, south of the Ossetes in the Caucasus, no races exclusively of this type occur; while history teaches us that in the wanderings of the nations the preponderant direction has been from north to south, and that the fair Aryans do not acclimatise themselves in hot countries, and can hardly therefore have developed there. The inference from all this seems to be that the fair Aryans originated in the north, and that not far from the Finns, who inhabited the most northerly parts of Europe, and that these vigorous pulverizers of southern empires rather brought their language to warmer regions than took it thence.

What was the condition of culture in the Aryan races before they came in contact with Mediterranean influences? Philology claims to show that the inventory of old Aryan culture contained ploughs, cereals at least to the extent of barley, milk-products, live stock, carts, looms, iron and other metals; regarding everything as known to the original Aryan stock, for which words derived from the same root occur in the various sister and daughter Aryan languages. That in the wanderings to and fro a word of this kind may have been lost, and that words from the same root may have different meanings, are points here left out of consideration.[1] It is safer for us to hold directly to what history furnishes us with. How do Aryans first meet us in history? The Germans appear in

[1] [Even if taken into consideration, it is not clear how they would affect the argument. One group of cognate words, of similar meaning, is surely evidence of *some* community of origin between the languages in which they occur.]

Tacitus as tribes not long in possession of their present abodes, and only partially composed to a settled life in them. Half-nomads and half-agriculturists as they were, it was easy to divide them into a sedentary half that stayed at home to till the land, and guarded the rights of property in the soil, and another that went forth to seek fame and wealth. Celts, Germans, and Slaves were wanderers even before that first wandering recorded by history; as is evidenced by the military organisation, so full of consequences historically, with which they meet our view. In the customs of the South Slavonic and Albanian highland tribes on the east of the Adriatic we find ancient fashions, for analogues of which we may go to the Ossetes and the Siah-posh; the simple narrow stone house with its tower, containing the stable below and the windowless dwelling-rooms above, the diet of flat cakes and cheese, the stubborn adherence to clan-organisation, the inferior position of women, who, however, here as there, are the inviolable mediators between combatants, the blood-feud, all the coarse simplicity of life, with, at the same time, an exaggerated esteem for the armourer's trade, have obviously undergone no essential alteration from a time which must be fixed amid Thracians and Celts, and long before any contact with Rome. A further key is furnished by the advance of Finnic races beyond their earliest known level, when they came in contact with Aryans, to the date of the Kalevalá, about 1000 A.D. The old Finns were chiefly hunters and fishermen, the dog being the most important domestic animal in use. They were also acquainted with reindeer, horse, and ox; but not with pig, goat, or sheep. Their agriculture seems to have been originally very limited and elementary, for they certainly grew only barley. The tent, *kola*, made of poles and hides; and the hut, *sauna*, sunk in the earth, with only the roof appearing above ground, a kind of artificial cave, were their dwellings. They were clothed in skins, stitched together with bone needles, and had sledges and snow-shoes. They were also acquainted with tanning, with the manufacture of felt, with copper and silver, but seem to have first got iron from Scandinavians. At a date fully a thousand years nearer to us, that of the Kalevalá ballads, the following had been added to their possessions: the log-hut lined with moss, without chimney, but with a fireplace of masonry, benches, and tables (the Iberians and Celts were an object of wonder to the ancients, from their habit of sitting at meals), arrangements for drying and threshing the corn, ploughs and harrows, dogs, horses, oxen, pigs, sheep, and bees. They ate bread and drank beer. Barley was their corn. That buckwheat is not meant is shown by the fact that the men of the steppe were still far off from the forest-dwellers who grew barley in recent clearings. The cultivation of buckwheat is suited to a lazy form of farming, such as we imagine that of the old, only half-settled, peoples. In Pallas's time people in Siberia scratched the surface of the black earth, sowed buckwheat, and went on getting harvest after harvest for years, the grain always sowing itself afresh during the process of gathering. The condition of the European Aryans, as we know it from the writers of Greece and Rome, shows a number of barbarian traits. Among many the clan, mother-right, exogamy subsisted. The human sacrifices of the British Celts are too much in harmony with their other customs to allow us to assume that they were introduced by Carthagenians. Human life, female especially, was in low estimation. Among Germans and Celts personality was in bondage to the clan, while all objective desires and impulses were allowed to range freely; and these were the conditions of their

existence at a date when the doctrine of training to beauty and proportion had attained to hoary antiquity in Greece and Rome. Pillage and murder are the glory of the heroes of Teutonic legend, and revenge for injustice suffered watches for requital even to the fourth and fifth generation, making no distinction between the perpetrator and the other members of his race.

The Greeks are the oldest Aryan race of Europe whom we see emerging into the clear light of trustworthy record. Apart from their Semitic predecessors, the existence of aborigines, "barbarians," may be suspected or shown everywhere in later Greece. Not all Greeks shared the flattering privilege of "autochthony"; indeed the right view of the degeneration of Hellenedom is to be found in their contact with the remnants of older non-Hellenic populations. As a matter merely of conjecture we may look for these in the Thraco-Illyrian group of races, with whom the Leleges and other pre-Hellenic populations stood in a relation of kinsmanship. Before the Dorian migration we find the Ionians in Attica and on the Saronic Gulf, the Achæans in Peloponnesus and Bœotia, probably also in Western Greece. Those who then as Dorians, and long afterwards as Macedonians, set the Hellenic world in movement and gave the impulse to a wider grasp, were at that time still tribes in the district about Olympus. Afterwards in a great migration they seized the most southern parts of Greece, forced some of the Ionians to emigrate to Asia Minor, and even colonised there themselves. Greeks also colonised extensively from Colchis to Massalia, but for lack of backing *en masse*, confined themselves to islands and spots on the coast. Like the spread of the Phœnicians along the coasts, that of the Greeks also takes hold always only on the borders of a country, finding, however, a guarantee of long duration in the length of its line and the number of its supporting-points, in spite of, or perhaps rather on account of, the shifting of those points. When Persia had subdued Phœnicia, Carthage remained independent; and when the Greeks in Greece became barbarised, an independent self-supporting Greek power maintained itself on the Hellespont. The coast and island Greeks of Asia Minor always retained their hold on the sea, and have in some cases kept their blood purer than those of the mainland. Thucydides says: "The Ionians, and most of the islanders, were colonies of the Athenians; but most of the places in Italy and Sicily, and some in other parts of Greece, were colonised by Peloponnesians." The latter, however, were never so successful colonists politically as the Ionians. They founded some flourishing colonies in the western Mediterranean, but, like the Carthagenians in Spain, no lasting states or daughter-peoples of permanently Greek character.

At present, if we count Roumanians, four separate nationalities are crowded into the small kingdom of Greece. The hypothesis that the modern Greeks are Slaves speaking a corrupt form of Greek has been rejected. But in any case Slavonic settlers advanced far into the Peloponnesus, though they were swamped in the Helleno-Albanian blend. Local names, fragments of language, usages, tell of them. Of fugitive Albanians in the worst days of Turkish supremacy Greece received the greatest number next to Italy, and whole tracts in the Morea, in Bœotia, in Attica, were covered with Albanian tents. Even in Athens, Albanians formed for a long time the majority of the population. Their number in Greece is estimated at 200,000 souls.

The races, many in number, which in ancient times inhabited the north of the

Balkan peninsula, where they fell under Greek, Italian, and finally Slavonic influences, have been designated as the Thraco-Illyrian group. Their remnants are the Albanians, Arnauts, or to use their own name, Skipetars. Their language is a member of the Aryan family, but is so isolated that one can hardly speak of a close affinity in any particular direction. At the present day the Albanians who are divided into two dialectal groups, and even more sharply by religious cleavage, occupy a narrow space between Antivari, Janina, the Adriatic, and the eastern tributaries of the Upper Vardar. Their number is stated at 1,600,000. Some scattered settlements encroach upon Servia and Bosnia, and as has been said, there are 200,000 of them in Greece. There are large and flourishing Albanian colonies in Southern Italy, and smaller ones in various parts of the Austrian Empire. The Albanians offer an example of a race with an intense longing for separateness, which throughout its history has never developed a kingdom—for even Scanderbeg ruled only over a part of Albania—nor a capital; but on the other hand, in spite of its pronounced consciousness of tribal or clan-relationship, carried even to the point of keeping up exogamy, has absorbed by dint of its own political energy a great part of the stray Slavonic groups in its midst. Within the boundaries given above there still dwell some 800,000 Slaves, Roumans, Greeks, and Turks, who are too much disintegrated to be able to assert themselves against the Albanians. Only the large country side about Djakova and Ipek in the north of Albania, bordering on the Slavonic countries of Montenegro, Rascia, and the former Servia, has remained Slave; though into it too not a few Albanian colonies have been wedged. Albanians have distinguished themselves both in ancient and modern times in foreign services, civil and military; so warlike are they that even the Catholic Miridites did not, till quite recently, disdain to take service under the Crescent.

The Apennine peninsula before the Roman time was inhabited by races who may be recognised, from the similarity of old place-names in Liguria and Sicily, as widely-distributed members of the Aryan family of language. As would correspond to the geographical position, peoples with Illyrian affinities were settled in the east of the peninsula; but we cannot say with any degree of probability in what direction the Siculi and Ligures who occupied the western parts show traces of kinship. The Ligurians extended principally along the north-west coasts of Italy as far as the Rhone, and were settled in the Western Alps perhaps to beyond Mont Blanc, and in the Rhone valley to beyond the Isère. It is possible that they once reached further to the westward. In Italy their traces go far to the south; and in ancient times the view was expressed that Ligurians had once been seated on the soil of Rome. They are depicted as vigorous, hardy, warlike people; probably they were short-headed and dark-haired. In culture the inland Ligurians were behind their fellows on the coast, and in many districts they appear as half-savages, dwelling, to a large extent, in caves, clad in skins, tilling the soil inadequately, using dug-out canoes, and so on. The Etruscans, who by their trade gained a great influence over the material culture of Central and Northern European peoples in pre-historic times, set clearly before our eyes the way in which culture was communicated between East and West, Asia and Europe. The racial affinities of this stock, which dwelt originally in the Alps, then spread as far as the right bank of the Tiber, founding and possessing isolated offshoots especially in the nature of cities, scattered far

and wide, will perhaps always remain in doubt; but that it united and disseminated Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek elements of culture is certain.

The development of the Roman Empire denotes the diffusion throughout Southern and Western Europe of the language and ethnographical peculiarities of Central Italy. The Romance group of races, numbering 96 millions, which in two Great Powers and several influential states of medium size dominates the south and west of Europe, rests upon this ancient political basis. Never has an empire transformed so many peoples in so short a time, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Tagus. Roman history is at first the narrow history of a tribe, and becomes, as the historical horizon expands, a national and universal history of geographic comprehension and fusion. Italy, as an ethnographic conception, is quite recent. It has grown in order to fill up the form of the Alp-encircled peninsula. It did not exist when there was still a Liguria, Cispadane and Transpadane Gauls, an Etruria, a Greater Greece. Where the history of Italy frees itself from the mists of legend, three races meet our view in the peninsula: Latins, Italians of autochthonous descent, or at any rate very old settlement, and immigrants of more recent date. The Latins and their neighbours appear in early times to have been more or less subject to the Etruscans. As they fought their way to better rights, so later did also the other members of the geographically secluded race. But how the Romans originally conceived of their own position toward the other peoples of Italy, Mérimée has sought to show clearly by a comparison drawn from modern colonial history. The European is the Roman, "l'être noble par excellence"; the Creole represents the Greek, the Italiote, the Etruscan; mulattoes and negroes are the Gauls, the Germans, and the other barbarians. Larger and larger portions of these races were Romanised, some being formally adopted into the Roman citizenship, some only annexed to the community of speech; whence the wide spread of the Romance daughter-languages. A feeling of respect for an ancient and kindred culture made the Romans treat first the Greek cities, then the country generally, with a certain partiality. This, however, did not prevent the Greek language in Italy, as in the other domains of Greek colonisation in the western part of the Mediterranean basin, from retreating before Latin in popular use, almost proportionally to its spread among the upper classes as the language of cultivation and luxury.

The Pyrenean peninsula was in pre-Roman times inhabited by the Iberi, who reached into the Garonne districts, along the south coast of Gaul, and to the neighbouring islands, perhaps even further. According to the ancients, Iberians lived in Sicily before the Sikels came over from Italy. Wilhelm von Humboldt's conjecture that the Iberians were from the outset a remnant already dwindling of a former "generation of races" once more widely spread, has much to be said for it; nor can the possibility be denied of an old connection between this population and the lighter North Africans of the mainland and the Canary Islands. A survival of the Iberian language is still spoken by the Basques, little more than half a million in number, round the Bay of Biscay. The occurrence among the Basques, in Corsica and in Sardinia, of the *couvade*, and of the practice of boiling by means of hot stones, shows us the last remnants of an ancient stratum of culture under Phœnician, Greek, Roman sovereignty. As a breed the Basques are without doubt mixed, and approach the dark Celts and Ligurians. We have spoken of Phœnician settlements on the Spanish coast, and Strabo

distinguishes the Turdetani as the most cultivated of the Iberians. We must think of the Iberians as a race that were generally at a lower stage than the Celts. The mountaineers especially can have risen little above the level of the Caucasian or Albanian hill-tribes. Such details as old writers report of them, their clothing entirely black, their sacrifices of horses and men, their moon-worship, are enough for us to recognise that beside much peculiar to themselves they were permeated by Celtic influences. Even before the Roman time Celts had made their way into the north and south of the peninsula; and in many districts, especially Lusitania, their language predominated. Then the Romans held the whole peninsula for over five centuries. West Goths and Vandals were merged in the Ibero-Celtic superficially Romanised population of "toga-wearers," and no less that part of the Moors which, together with numerous Jews, escaped expulsion from the soil of the peninsula in the sixteenth century. In consequence of this, Roman forms of speech prevail here also; the nearly allied Portuguese and Spanish in the west, south, and centre of the peninsula, Provençal and Catalan in the north-east and east. From the picture of the old Iberian, proud, military, eloquent, we see emerge the modern Castilian. Even the ancients knew that the mixed Celtiberians took more after the Iberian than the Celtic side, in spite of the political preponderance of the Celt over the more peace-loving Iberian.

The conquest of Gaul by the Romans occupied, roughly speaking, the second and a large part of the first century B.C. It was not lost till about 400 A.D. and in this period was laid the foundation of the French race, though as the name of this clearly proclaims, German Franks took a large share in its development. Provincial names, like Normandy and Burgundy, speak of the presence of other Germanic stocks on Gaulish soil. Here again the language, though not the Celtic character, of the preponderant mass of original inhabitants has been changed. The Romans recognised the delight of these people in fighting, their readiness of speech, and instability of mood; but also, in the revival of Latin literature, their high intellectual endowments. The population of France has never been homogeneous. Iberians were settled in the south-west, Ligurians in the south-east, while in dialect, institutions, and laws the Belgians were different from the Celts of Gaul proper. There were Phœnician and Greek settlements, and Saracens forced their way far up the course of the Rhone. The German immigrations, in which the Alans also took part, have been mentioned. On the side of language France is divided by the forms once prevalent of the affirmative particle, into the *Langue d'oc* and the *Langue d'oil*, but since the political preponderance has fallen to the north of the country, the *Langue d'oil* has been the written language; the *Langue d'oc* or Provençal holding a place somewhat analogous to our Northumbrian or Lowland Scots. The literary revival of it in recent decades has made so far no change in the political insignificance of the division. The northern limit of the *Langue d'oc*, which ultimately depends upon the old frontier of the Ligurians towards the Celts, runs from about Bordeaux to Lyons in a line somewhat convex to the north, extending beyond lat. 46°.

The Roumanians first appear in history as a restless pastoral race of mountaineers, coming into collision with their sedentary neighbours when driving their herds down to the valleys, or descending to the lowlands in search of plunder. We do not find large and continuous spaces filled by Roumanians, both north and south of the Carpathians, where even to-day their principal quarters lie, till the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first mention of them in Transylvania dates from the time when the German agricultural colonies were invited to that country from whom originated the loyal Saxons of "Siebenbürgen," to give their own name. Immigrating by thousands, these made desert regions habitable. Some centuries later the Roumanians appear as an increasing population, interfering already with the extension of any other. Their more recent historians also assume that the original home of the present Rouman population of Hungary is to be sought in the northern, western, and southern heights of the Carpathians of Transylvania. The broad backs of the Carpathian chain afforded excellent pasture, rising as they do so gradually as to appear almost level; for which reason the Roumans called them *poiana* from the Slavonic word for "plain." Here the chief wealth of the Roumanians is formed by flocks without number. Those who subsequently descended from the hills into the plain and the valleys are agriculturists, and maize forms their chief food. The language comes down from the remains of the Roman colonists who once were numerous in Dacia. Breed, language, and history testify to the absorption of a large Slavonic agricultural population, a process which took place in the retirement of the Carpathians far from the Slave kingdoms of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus we cannot see in the Roumanians the descendants of either Romans or Dacians; in them we have before us a mixed race with Illyrian, Roman, and Slavonic elements predominating.

The Celts are the first to bring a power essentially Central European upon the stage of the world's history. Gaul, and more especially "Gallia Celtica" lying between the Ocean and the Alps, the Garonne and the Seine, is their nucleus; but they held at times Britain, the North of Spain, and the Etruscan countries beyond the Po, as well as a great part of High Germany and the Alps. They appear as clever husbandmen, metal-workers, and sailors, from whom the Romans learnt much. We get a good notion from their attack on Rome, of the way in which they pressed forward; strong men, with tall shields and long swords, prepared for a sudden assault, but not for planned well-considered warfare. Perhaps they gave the Romans the first sight of German warriors; for there were fair-haired and blue-eyed people marching with the Gauls. The combination of Gaulish and German elements is yet more probable in the armies of the Cimbri or Teutones. The progress too of the Roman wars with the Gauls brought German races ever afresh into play, who seem to have been even more warlike and unsettled than the Gauls. Thus it is not improbable that the Nervii of what is now Hainault were Germans. Even then the mixture of the two elements, from which in later times under Roman influence the French nation proceeded, must have begun. This perhaps explains the fair Celts of the north, whom the French distinguish, as the Cymric race, from their short-headed, dark-haired "true Celts." It is important to observe how the Romans from the outset secured their influence in Gaul by offering themselves to the Celts as protectors against the Germans. In fact, from Cæsar's time onwards they succeeded more and more in keeping the Germans on the other side of the Rhine and the Romanising of the Celts progressed in Gaul meanwhile. Britanny no doubt became Celtic again, and part of Aquitaine remained Iberian, while Celtic was still spoken at Lyons about the end of the second century and at Treves till the fourth; but the development of the French nation as one essentially Celtic in character, Roman in language, rests on the presumption that within the four and a half centuries referred to above, a compact

Celto-Roman population had developed, which the Germans were able to subdue and to influence, but not now to annihilate as a nation. In the Breton Peninsula, only strengthened by a Cymric influx from Britain, more than a million Celtic-speaking people have maintained themselves; but of these the majority are by this time bilingual, and their Celtic is full of French words.

Celtic is also the mother-tongue of fully 2 millions of people in the British Isles. In 1891 official statistics reckoned the number of those speaking Celtic *only* at 590,000; not including of course any who had emigrated to America, whither $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Irish went in the years from 1821-1890. The total number of Celtic-speaking persons on the earth cannot certainly be put below 3 millions. The Celts have been driven into mountains, islands, and peninsulas in the extreme west of Europe. The larger half, in Britanry and Wales, speaks the Cymric dialect, the other the Gaelic. In the parts where they live the Celts belong to the remoter regions, to the rural districts, and socially to the less cultivated and less wealthy classes. In Scotland the Gaelic region is in the north and west, and the islands on the western side are Gaelic with the exception of Arran; while the east coast with its numerous towns is with few exceptions Teutonic till we reach Thurso in Caithness, and the Orkneys are the same. Altogether some 10 per cent of the Scottish population speak Gaelic. In Ireland the Gaelic speech has been losing ground since the reign of Henry VIII., at first gradually, since Cromwell's time more rapidly, and most rapidly of all in the last half century. In the eastern half of the island it has almost disappeared, keeping its hold still in the west and south, especially in Connaught. About 800,000 Irish speak it, to whom must be added 25 per cent of the neighbouring Isle of Man, a great majority of whom however are bilingual. The most flourishing is the Cymric of Wales, the only country that possesses a modern Celtic literature; where, counting the neighbouring parts of England that contain Cymric districts, the language is spoken by nearly a million persons.

The Germans at the beginning of their history make their appearance to the eastward of their present seats, into which they advanced after driving out the Celts. The fair Celts of Gallia Belgica, the fair Galatians, the similarity in mode of fighting and in other customs, suggest the idea of close relations in early times between Celts and Germans, the remembrance of which has been preserved in the belief of some old writers that the Belgæ were of German origin. Thus Plutarch's name, *Celtoscythae* for Cimbri and Teutones, seems to indicate as well their eastern home and the traces of a nomadic life as their early mixture with Celts. From the very outset we meet with three separate branches of the stem, Scandinavians, Goths, Teutons. The former hold in possession the peninsula named from them, the Danish islands, and part of Jutland. The Goths wander south and west, from the north-east of the modern Germany and Poland; as East and West Goths, hasten the break-up of the Roman Empire, found kingdoms of their own of transitory prosperity, and become merged in those they have subdued. The Teutons also marched from the east. The Lombards settled east of the Lower Elbe, the Suabians yet further east, the Vandals in Silesia, while Tacitus puts the Angles in the country between the Elbe and the Vistula. Pressing to south and west, the Teutons come into collision with the Romans. To the south they originally reached hardly to the line of the Main; from the Upper Rhine to Bohemia, the place-names give evidence of Celtic settlements. Tacitus

thought he could divide the Teutons into three tribal groups, Ingævones on the sea, Herminones in the middle, Istævones to the south and east; and in fact the division in point of language between High and Low Dutch seems to have been already founded in his time. The Low Dutch stand nearer to the Goths, while the High Dutch having long lived in closer intercourse with the Celts, are less pure representatives, even from a racial point of view, of the Germanic element. In their eastern division both have by colonisation on Slavonic soil given rise to the variety with a cross of Slave seen in the Germans east of the Elbe and in the Austrians. From the High Dutch, that is the Franks, proceeded the conquest of Gaul which created France, from the Low Dutch, Angles and Saxons, that of Britain, which has caused the term "British" to denote a race of fundamentally Germanic stock. The Scandinavians ruled the northern seas, settled Iceland and Greenland, founded sovereignties of their own in Northern France and Southern Italy, entered Britain from north and south, and concluded the transformation of the British people by the invasion which started from Normandy in the eleventh century, importing into the English language plenty of French-Romance elements, but not much altering the Celto-Germanic character of the people. Lastly Scandinavian and Teutonic Germans have operated as formers of states in the Finnish and Slavonic East; for without their help the rise of such powers as Bohemia, Poland, Russia, is inconceivable.

The Letto-Slaves are reckoned the youngest branch of the Aryans of Northern Europe. This, however, is only in culture; for we have no evidence that they were the last to branch off from the Aryan stem. The higher European culture having diffused itself throughout Europe from the seats of the old Roman Empire, namely Rome and Byzantium, those living farthest to the eastward received it in their western portions from the Old Rome, in their eastern from the New. The Lithuanians and the Prussians were the last to be won to Christianity. But in older times, before any Northern Aryan race had come into contact with this new culture, they do not seem to have been in any way behind the others. From the outset we meet with them as agriculturists, gradually spreading husbandry over wide regions. Russian historians assume that between the Finnish hunting-races of the north and the Scythian herdsmen of the south, Slavonian agriculturists from the fertile southern slopes of the Valdai Range pushed forward among both one and the other as bearers of culture, and in course of time conquering and ruling from the upper course of the Dnieper and Dwina. Even to the ancients the Slaves, owing to their settled habits, their dwelling in houses, and their custom of fighting on foot, seemed a very different race from the Scythians and Sarmatians. They dwell to the east of the Middle Vistula, and are distinctly different from the Lithuanians who are seated to the eastward of the Lower Vistula. They numbered among themselves some fair tribes, but were separated from the other Aryans by a copious admixture of Mongol blood, leading to the view that they were still settled in the east of Europe at a time when the advance guard of the Central Asiatic Mongols was able to reach them and influence them; while the Celts and Germans seem to have left their abodes in the east before this possibility had supervened. Then, however, the Slaves increased rapidly in number, partly through the absorption of Finnish elements, and pushed forward *en masse* into the heart of Germany, when the Germans abandoned their seats east of the Elbe to move south and west. Slavonic traces extend to the middle dis-

trict of the Main and as far as the Inn. Through the efforts of the German peoples to win back these districts, and their partial success in doing so, arose the motley shuffling and mixing of German and Slavonic populations in East Germany and Austria.

The Slaves found freer space for their expansion in the wide lowlands of Eastern Europe. Divided into the three branches of the Great, Little, and White Russians, or as they may be quite generally designated North, South, and West Russians, the Russians have spread themselves over the territory between the Bug and the Ourals, between the White Sea and the Black, mixing at the same time with the Finns and the Tartars who retired before them, and in later times with Germans. The politically dominant and most rapidly increasing section is formed by the Great Russians, who also furnish the largest number of colonists for Siberia, and in the discharge of the laborious task of annihilating Mongoldom in Europe have gained a great preponderance as regards bulk. The Russian type has been strongly modified by mixing with Turkish and Mongol races, though physically not so much as the Mongolic itself. But a diminution of the physical stature of the population owing to Mongol admixture is established, and perhaps the intellectual dimensions have decreased yet more greatly. The Mongol capacity for dumb obedience and suffering in silence, favourable to the formation of political herds, has passed to the Russians. Russian fishermen embrace Shamanism in alliance with the Ostiaks of the Yenisei; and the Russian Cossacks and factory-hands of Turuchansk occasionally sacrifice a sable or a squirrel to the pagan deities, just like the Tungooses of the same district. Intermarriage has perhaps progressed furthest with Tungooses, Mongols, and Buryats, most of all in the parts about Lake Baikal, on the Amoor, and above all in South-East Siberia. Baptized Buryats who have taken Russian wives and live in community with Russians in special villages separate from the Buryat settlement, sometimes also scattered about in Russian settlements, are a conspicuous element in the country population of Siberia, and are easily taken for Russians. Closer inspection, however, makes it yet easier to detect the Mongol element in this hybrid race with its dark skin, soft hair, narrow eyes, but on the whole not uncomely, and above all vigorous. In the villages of Transbaikalia the Russian colonists are cattle-breeders in the same fashion as the native Buryats, and do little in the way of agriculture; their women cultivating the same domestic arts as the Buryat women. The Cossacks eat raw meat exactly like the Buryats, like them go in cases of sickness for medical treatment to the Shamans, and beside the cross on their breasts wear a little bone as an amulet. Even the Buryat language has found entrance into the Russian dialect of Transbaikalia; a number of words, especially those employed in hunting, cattle-breeding, and the like, being borrowed from the Buryat. The even more pronouncedly *mestizo* breed of Russian Yakouts in the region of the Lower Lena shows similar features. In these phenomena is repeated what was accomplished long centuries ago in the broad lands on the Volga. The close intimacy too of Russian and Finnish life still permeates Russian Christianity with a host of pagan usages. Chuvash idols are set up beside the highly-venerated St. Nicholas, and pictures of Christian saints are equipped with attributes belonging to the idols; they are believed, for example, to inform God whether so-and-so has been fasting or not. To the facility with which he accommodates himself to races at a lower level than his

own, the Russian owes his success in conquest, and his menacingly wide distribution. His statesmen are glad to make this capacity of avail as a foundation for the "Asiatic mission" of Russia. The Little Russians, who are the least Tartarised, have since the time of Peter the Great been the most open to Western influences, and have done most to spread them; in a word they are the most European among the Russians. Physically they are marked by taller stature and more refined features; they are more mobile, more receptive, but also softer, less decided and enterprising than that born colonist the Great Russian. In the family and commune the Little Russian is more independent, and his wife is freer.

Among the Slaves of Eastern Europe, and the Finns, we may expect to gain more insight into pre-historic conditions of culture than even among the mountaineers of Southern Europe, for very little of Western influences has penetrated into the inmost recesses of their abodes. The Russian plough, formerly with no iron about it, without wheels or mould-board, merely a cross piece with two shafts in which the horse goes, two handles, and a flat plough-tail, which has spread all over Siberia, receiving some improvement on the way, is an antiquated form. With it goes the Finnish harrow of split fir-branches. In the district of Pensa, Pallas found the agriculture careless indeed, but much better among the Tartars than among the Russians, and similarly in the Ufa district, where it was not uncommon for a whole village to be broken up and a new one built elsewhere on account of a decrease in the productiveness of the soil. Neither manuring nor careful ploughing was usual here, and they burnt the straw. In the Crimea, where the Greeks and afterwards the Genoese were the instructors of the Tartars in the cultivation of field and garden crops, the Tartars have learnt to manure in the hills where the soil is limited. Strabo describes the Crimea as a perfect granary, and in later times it served as such for Byzantium. Other civilizing influences from the south have been operative here, if only with interruptions; though many a discovery of precious metals and amber points to the trade which once connected the Black Sea with the Baltic by way of Little Russia and Poland.

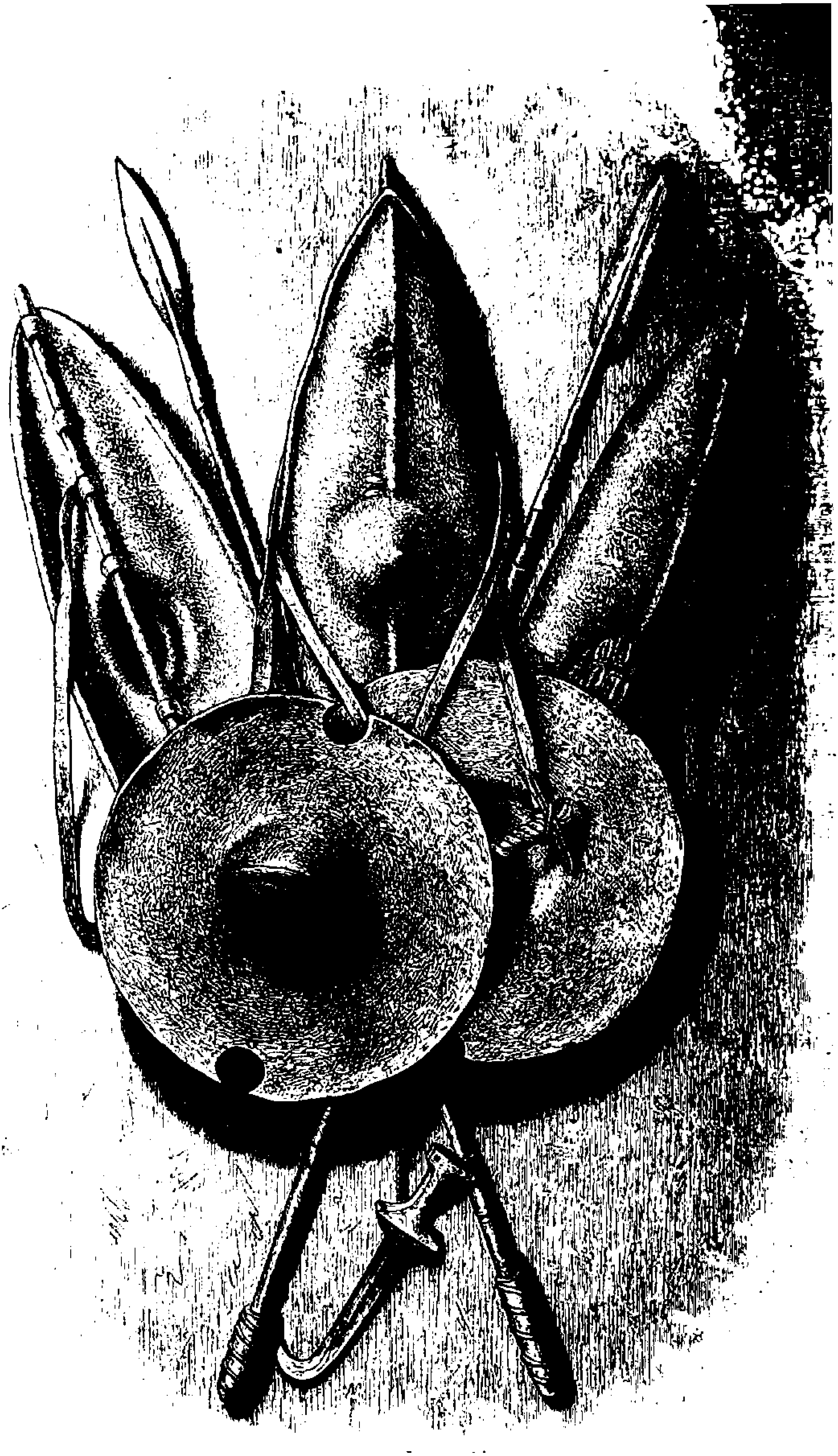
This great and ponderous mass of Eastern Europe has been won step by step, from south and west, for Europe, that is for civilization, in which process, however, the mixing with Finnish and German elements has not outweighed the Mongol infusion. A western and an eastern principality were created round Kieff and Moscow respectively; the former resting on the Lithuanians, then on Poland and Little Russia; the latter looking for support to Great Russia and absorbing the Poles who had been earlier gained for civilization and strongly permeated with German blood. These are stages in the development of a power, both European and Asiatic, which also ethnographically stands on the threshold and is fortunate enough in no relation to be measured purely by a European standard. Both its strength and its weakness lie in the monotony which recalls its own plains. The Russian people, for all its wide extension, is above all things more homogeneous than any other in Europe.

The Bulgars were settled on the Don, when the Chazars, after the Huns had drawn off in a westerly direction, founded their great empire on the Lower Volga. One part of the Bulgars went to the Lower Danube, and became fused with the Slaves into the hybrid race known to-day as Bulgarians; another took the road to the Middle Volga, and founded the Great Bulgarian kingdom, the capital of which lies in ruins near Kazan, while its population has been merged in the Great Russians.

The South Slaves include the Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, who are scattered about over Austrian, Hungarian, and Turkish territory, and have attained to independence in Servia and Montenegro. In language they are closely akin to the Russians. They are a taller, more vigorous, more warlike race than their brothers on the Save and Drave. Among them are conspicuous the outlying peoples to the south, who dwelt mixed with Albanians and Greeks towards the Adriatic. To them belong the Croats, the Dalmatians, the Herzegovinians, and, remarkable for their maintenance of old habits, the Montenegrins, those heroes of the Black Mountain regarded by some as an untamable, lawless race of robbers, by others as a heroic band distinguished by manly beauty, vigour, and nobility of mind. Their stature alone makes them conspicuous above their fellows of the same stock ; and the fact that amid the epidemic renegadism of the Bosnians, and between Turkey, Austria, and Venice, they preserved their religion and their independence, surrounds them not unjustly with a halo in the eyes of the Slavonic world. When a great race falls into the power of a foreign conqueror, and yet retains within itself such a point for all struggles after freedom to crystallise about, that point will often be called to great influence. In the case of the Montenegrins, however, their position far from the centre must be somewhat detrimental to this prospect.

The West Slaves include the Poles, the now extinct Polawas of the Lower Elbe, the Czechs, the Slovacks, and the remnant of the Wends or Sorbs, 150,000 in number, surviving in Lusatia ; all peoples dwelling in a situation politically unfavourable and promising no future, compressed between the territories of the German and Magyar languages. In the course of eight hundred years a great part of them has been merged in these races. Their separation from the East and South Slaves took place at a time when Mongol admixture had already altered the breed in a considerable measure, and the two halves of the Slavonic race are knitted no less closely by the frequent cropping up of Mongoloid characteristics than by affinity of language.

The Lithuanians, probably known to Tacitus as Aestii, on the amber coast, have at the present day been pushed away from the sea ; they live to the east of East Prussia, and in the Russian Governments of Kowno, Vilna, Souvalki, and Grodno. Statements as to the existence of Lithuanians in the most southern parts of Courland are based on crossing and confusion with Letts. Their total number cannot exceed $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions. Hemmed in between Prussians, Poles, and Russians, they have been decreasing for centuries. In Courland and Livonia live about a million Letts, their next of kin. The old Prussians whose language became extinct in the seventeenth century, formed a westerly prolongation of them as far as the Vistula. Both races are described as fair, light-eyed, powerful men, and in early times dwelt together with the East Germans. From the south-west of Courland the Letts spread into the extreme north-east of Germany, where under the name of Cours, mixed with Germans and Lithuanians, they can be proved to have resided since the sixteenth century on the low spit of ground called the Kurische Nehrung, and to have formerly extended to the coast of Samland. Even in the district of Memel and Nimmersatt their language has driven out Lithuanian as the fisherman's tongue, while German and Lithuanian have become the languages of their Church.



Nubian Weapons. (Hagenbeck collection, Hamburg.)

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